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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

VOL. VI



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ST. PATRICK'S DEANERY

From "Essays Divine, Moral, and Political," Lond. 1714

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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

EDITED BY
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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BISHOP OF OSSORY, FERNS AND LEIGHLIN

VOL. VI



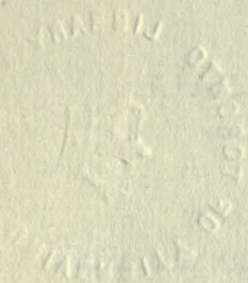
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THE CORRESPONDENCE

JOHN BURNETT SWIFT D.D.



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CONTENTS

LETTERS

	PAGE
MCLXIX. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. April 3, 1737	1
MCLXX. THE EARL OF OXFORD TO SWIFT. April 7, 1737	3
MCLXXI. SWIFT TO THE REV. THOMAS SHERIDAN. April 9, 1737	4
MCLXXII. SWIFT TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON. April 9, 1737	8
MCLXXIII. SWIFT TO ——. April 15, 1737	9
MCLXXIV. WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT. April 17, 1737	10
MCLXXV. SWIFT TO WILLIAM GRAHAM. April 26, 1737	12
MCLXXVI. SWIFT TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON. April 30, 1737	13
MCLXXVII. THE HONOURABLE MARGARET DAVYS TO SWIFT. May 27, 1737	15
MCLXXVIII. SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE. May 31, 1737	16
MCLXXIX. SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES STOPFORD. June 9, 1737	18
MCLXXX. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. June 11, 1737	18
MCLXXXI. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. June 12, 1737	19
MCLXXXII. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD. June 14, 1737	20
MCLXXXIII. SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES STOPFORD. [June, 1737]	22
MCLXXXIV. THE REV. THOMAS SHERIDAN TO SWIFT. June 22, 1737	23
MCLXXXV. JOHN BARBER TO SWIFT. June 23, 1737	25

	PAGE
MCLXXXVI. WILLIAM KING TO MRS. WHITEWAY. June 24, 1737	26
MCLXXXVII. WILLIAM KING TO SWIFT. June 24, 1737	28
MCLXXXVIII. ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT. June 30, 1737	30
MCLXXXIX. SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE. [June] 1737	32
MCXC. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. July 2, 1737	34
✓ MCXCI. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. July 2, 1737	34
✓ MCXCII. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. July 3, 1737	35
MCXCIII. THE EARL OF OXFORD TO SWIFT. July 4, 1737	35
MCXCIV. SWIFT TO SIR JAMES SOMERVILLE. July 7, 1737	36
MCXCV. SWIFT TO ERASMUS LEWIS. July 23, 1737	37
MCXCVI. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. July 23, 1737	39
MCXCVII. MISS REBECCA DINGLEY TO SWIFT. July 25, 1737	40
MCXCVIII. ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT. August 4, 1737	40
MCXCIX. SWIFT TO THE CORPORATION OF CORK. August 15, 1737	42
MCC. THOMAS FARREN TO SWIFT. September 14, 1737	43
MCCI. LORD BATHURST TO SWIFT. October 5, 1737	44
MCCII. SWIFT TO WILLIAM WALKER. October 7, 1737	46
MCCIII. SWIFT TO ROBERT COPE. November 11, 1737	47
MCCIV. VISCOUNT MOUNTJOY TO SWIFT. Novem- ber 17, 1737	48
MCCV. ANDREW RAMSAY TO SWIFT. November 29 [O.S. 18], 1737	49
MCCVI. CHARLES FORD TO SWIFT. November 22, 1737	50

CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
MCCVII. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD. Novem- ber 26, 1737	52
MCCVIII. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. Novem- ber 26, 1737	53
MCCIX. LORD BATHURST TO SWIFT. December 6, 1737	54
MCCX. SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER. December 15, 1737	55
MCCXI. SWIFT TO MICHAEL CLANCY. Christmas Day, 1737	56
MCCXII. LADY HOWTH TO SWIFT. December 26, 1737	57
MCCXIII. MICHAEL CLANCY TO SWIFT. December 27, 1737	58
MCCXIV. SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER. January 6, 1737-8	58
MCCXV. MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO SWIFT. January 10, 1737-8	59
MCCXVI. SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER. January 17, 1737-8	60
MCCXVII. SWIFT TO MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON. January 28, 1737-8	61
MCCXVIII. SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. February 2, 1737-8	63
MCCXIX. ANDREW RAMSAY TO SWIFT. February 20 [O.S. 9], 1737-8	65
MCCXX. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITE- WAY. February 14, 1737-8	65
MCCXXI. MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO SWIFT. February 23, 1737-8	66
MCCXXII. SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER. March 8, 1737-8	67
MCCXXIII. SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER. March 9, 1737-8	68
MCCXXIV. JOHN BARBER TO SWIFT. March 13, 1737-8	71
MCCXXV. SWIFT TO JOHN NICHOLS. March 14, 1737-8	73
MCCXXVI. WILLIAM KING TO DEANE SWIFT. March 15, 1737-8	73
MCCXXVII. SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER. March 31, 1738.	74
MCCXXVIII. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD. April 3, 1738	76
MCCXXIX. ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT. April 8, 1738 .	77

	PAGE
MCCXXX. ALEXANDER MACAULAY TO SWIFT. April 13, 1738	80
MCCXXXI. WILLIAM KING TO DEANE SWIFT. April 25, 1738	80
MCCXXXII. MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO MRS. WHITEWAY. May 6, 1738	81
MCCXXXIII. THE EARL OF OXFORD TO SWIFT. May 30, 1738	82
MCCXXXIV. SWIFT TO MISS MARGARET HAMILTON. June 8, 1738	83
MCCXXXV. MISS MARGARET HAMILTON TO SWIFT. June 13, 1738	84
MCCXXXVI. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. June 13, 1738	84
MCCXXXVII. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. June 29, 1738	85
MCCXXXVIII. SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER. July 13, 1738	85
MCCXXXIX. WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT. July 25, 1738	87
MCCXL. JOHN BARBER TO SWIFT. July 27, 1738 .	88
MCCXLI. SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON. August 5, 1738	90
MCCXLII. SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER. August 8, 1738	91
MCCXLIII. SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE AND VIS- COUNT BOLINGBROKE. August 8, 1738 .	93
MCCXLIV. SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER. August 31, 1738	96
MCCXLV. MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARD- SON. September 16, 1738	96
MCCXLVI. BISHOP SYNGE TO SWIFT. September 18, 1738	98
MCCXLVII. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. [October 3, 1738]	99
MCCXLVIII. ALEXANDER POPE TO SWIFT. October 12, 1738	100
MCCXLIX. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. Nov- ember 21, 1738	102

CONTENTS

ix

	PAGE
MCCL. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. November 27, 1738	102
MCCLI. MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO MRS. WHITEWAY. November 29, 1738	103
MCCLII. THE COUNTESS OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. December 4, 1738	104
MCCLIII. WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT. January 2, 1738-9	104
MCCLIV. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. January 2, 1738-9	106
MCCLV. WILLIAM KING TO SWIFT. January 5, 1738-9	107
MCCLVI. DEANE SWIFT TO SWIFT. January 12, 1738-9	108
MCCLVII. WILLIAM KING TO SWIFT. January 23, 1738-9	109
MCCLVIII. WILLIAM KING TO MRS. WHITEWAY. January 30, 1738-9	111
MCCLIX. SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER. February 16, 1738-9	112
MCCLX. WILLIAM KING TO MRS. WHITEWAY. March 6, 1738-9	114
MCCLXI. MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON. March 28, 1739	116
MCCLXII. WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO MRS. WHITEWAY. April 5, 1739	118
MCCLXIII. WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT. April 10, 1739	119
MCCLXIV. SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON. April 17, 1739	120
MCCLXV. WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT. April 17, 1739	122
MCCLXVI. SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER. April 19, 1739 .	122
MCCLXVII. MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON. April 19, 1739	124
MCCLXVIII. SWIFT TO THE IRISH SOCIETY. April 19, 1739	125
MCCLXIX. THE REV. WILLIAM DUNKIN TO MRS. WHITEWAY. April 25, 1739	125
MCCLXX. SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE. April 28, 1739	126
MCCLXXI. SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE. May 10, 1739	127
MCCLXXII. GEORGE LYTTTELTON TO SWIFT. May 16, 1739	128

	PAGE
MCCLXXXIII. ALEXANDER POPE TO SWIFT. May 17, 1739	129
MCCLXXXIV. SWIFT TO GEORGE LYTTELTON. June 5, 1739	133
MCCLXXXV. MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARD- SON. July 20, 1739	135
MCCLXXXVI. GEORGE LYTTELTON TO SWIFT. Au- gust 4, 1739	137
MCCLXXXVII. JOHN SCOTT TO SWIFT. September 7, 1739	138
MCCLXXXVIII. JAMES CORBRIDGE TO SWIFT. Septem- ber, 1739	140
MCCLXXXIX. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. Sept- ember 29, 1739	144
MCCLXXX. SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER. Decem- ber, 4, 1739	145
MCCLXXXI. THE REV. ROBERT THROP TO SWIFT. December 10, 1739	146
MCCLXXXII. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. December 31, 1739	147
MCCLXXXIII. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. [January 1, 1739-40]	148
MCCLXXXIV. SWIFT TO ——. January 2, 1739-40	148
MCCLXXXV. SWIFT TO ——. January 9, 1739-40	149
MCCLXXXVI. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. January 13 [1739-40]	149
MCCLXXXVII. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. January 18, 1739-40	150
MCCLXXXVIII. LORD CASTLE-DURROW TO SWIFT. Feb- ruary 2, 1739-40	151
MCCLXXXIX. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. February 3, 1739-40	153
MCCXC. SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES STOPFORD. March 17, 1739-40	153
MCCXCI. MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARD- SON. March 25, 1740	154
MCCXCII. ROBERT NUGENT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. April 2, 1740	156
MCCXCIII. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. April 29, 1740	157

CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
MCCXCIV. — TO SWIFT. [May 1740]	157
MCCXCV. SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON. May 13, 1740	159
MCCXCVI. MRS. WHITEWAY TO ALEXANDER POPE. May 16, 1740	161
MCCXCVII. WILLIAM PULTENEY TO SWIFT. June 3, 1740	162
MCCXCVIII. ALEXANDER POPE TO MRS. WHITEWAY. June 18, 1740	164
MCCXCIX. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY. [July 26, 1740]	165
MCCC. MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. October 7, 1740	166
MCCCI. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. October 8, 1740	167
MCCCII. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. Decem- ber 17, 1740	168
MCCCIII. MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. December 20, 1740	168
MCCCIV. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITEWAY. December 24, 1740	169
MCCCV. MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. December 30, 1740	170
MCCCVI. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITEWAY. January 2, 1740-1	172
MCCCVII. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITEWAY. January 10, 1740-1	174
MCCCVIII. THE EARL OF ORRERY AND ALEXANDER POPE TO SWIFT. March 22, 1740-1	175
MCCCIX. SWIFT TO EATON STANNARD. June 8, 1741	177
MCCCX. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT. July 7, 1741	177
MCCCXI. AN AFFIDAVIT OF RICHARD BRENNAN. June 16, 1742	179
MCCCXII. AN AFFIDAVIT OF THE REV. FRANCIS WIL- SON. July 13, 1742	179
MCCCXIII. THE KING TO THE RIGHT HON. LUKE GARDINER AND OTHERS. [August 12, 1742]	181
MCCCXIV. THE RIGHT HON. LUKE GARDINER AND OTHERS TO THE KING. [August 17, 1742]	183

	PAGE
MCCCXV. MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. November 22, 1742	185
MCCCXVI. DEANE SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. December 19, 1742	186
MCCCXVII. THE EARL OF ORRERY TO DEANE SWIFT. December [24], 1742	187
MCCCXVIII. DEANE SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY. April 4, 1744	188
ENTRY IN ST. PATRICK'S REGISTER. Oct- ober 19, 1745	190

SUPPLEMENTAL LETTERS

MCCCXVIIIa. THE REV. THOMAS SHERIDAN TO SWIFT	191
MCCCXVIIIb. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY	192
MCCCXVIIIc. ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT	192
MCCCXVIId. MRS. WHITEWAY TO ALEXANDER POPE	192
MCCCXVIIIE. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ARRAN	193
MCCCXVIIIf. SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES KING	195

APPENDIXES

I. POPE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SWIFT AND ITS PUB- LICATION	197
II. THE PRESERVATION OF SWIFT'S CORRESPONDENCE FROM 1728	202
III. REBECCA DINGLEY	204
IV. "AY AND NO"	206
V. THE PREFACE TO MACAULAY'S TRACT	207
VI. SWIFT AND THE AUTHOR OF "THE SHARPER"	208
VII. DR. JOHNSON'S DEGREE	209
VIII. SHERIDAN AND HIS RELATIONS WITH SWIFT	210
IX. SWIFT'S PATERNAL RELATIONS	212
X. THE WRITINGS AND FRIENDS OF SWIFT'S LAST YEARS	218
XI. SWIFT'S TRAVELS IN IRELAND AFTER 1727	226
XII. SWIFT RELICS	227

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

	PAGE
CLIVA. THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND TO SWIFT. November 3 [1712]	233
CCXVIII A. SIR JOHN STANLEY TO SWIFT. November 20 [1713]	233
CDLXXXA. ADRIAN DRIFT TO SWIFT. January 25, 1721-2	234
CDLXXXIA. SWIFT TO ADRIAN DRIFT. February 3, 1721-2	235
CDLXXXIB. ADRIAN DRIFT TO SWIFT. February 15, 1721-2	237
DCVA. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD. [August 12, 1726]	238
DCLXXXIVP. SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD	238
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA	241
POSTSCRIPT	247
INDEX TO CORRESPONDENTS	251
GENERAL INDEX. COMPILED BY CONSTANCE JACOB	257

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	TO FACE PAGE
ST. PATRICK'S DEANERY. From "Essays, Divine, Moral, and Political," Lond. 1714	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE VICINITY OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL. From Rocque's Plan of Dublin in 1756. A. The Cathedral; B. The Deanery; C. Naboth's Vineyard	10
DELVILLE. From a photograph by Mr. Thomas J. Westropp, M.A. Dubl.	76
THE STAIRCASE AT DELVILLE. From a photograph by Mr. T. F. Geoghegan	98
SWIFT'S ESCRITTOIRE. From a photograph by Mr. T. F. Geoghegan	226
SWIFT'S CABINET. From a photograph by Mr. T. F. Geoghegan	226



CORRESPONDENCE OF JONATHAN SWIFT

MCLXIX. [*Deane Swift*.¹]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Cork, *April 3, 1737.*

DEAR SIR,

I AM very glad there are twelve thousand pounds worth of halfpence arrived; they are twelve thousand arguments for your quitting Ireland.² I look upon you in the same state of the unfortunate Achæmenides amidst tyrants and monsters. Do you not remember the description of Polypheme and his den?

Domus sanie dapibusque cruentis
Intus opaca, ingens. Ipse arduus, altaque pulsat
Sidera, (Di talem terris avertite pestem!)
Nec visu facilis, nec dictu affabilis ulli.
Visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro.³

Remember also, that

Centum alii curva haec habitant ad litora vulgo
Infandi Cyclopes, et altis montibus errant.⁴

Translate these lines and come away with me to Marston; ⁵ there you shall enjoy *otium cum dignitate*; there you shall see the famous *Sacsockishkash*, and his two pupils,⁶ who shall attend your altars with daily incense; there no Archbishops can intrude;⁷ there you shall be the sole lord and master, while we your subjects shall learn obedience

¹ A draft of this letter is printed in the "Orrery Papers," i, 209.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 432.

³ "Aeneid," iii, 618.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 643.

⁵ His seat in Somersetshire.

⁶ *I.e.*, Orrery's sons.

⁷ As will be seen from a subsequent letter (*infra*, p. 9) the Seneschal of the Archbishop of Dublin was then endeavouring to exercise authority over the Liberty of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

from our happiness. If you ever can think seriously, think so now, and let me say with the curate of my parish, "Consider what has been said unto you, ponder it well, lay it up in your heart, and God of his infinite mercy direct you." Mrs. Whiteway shall be truly welcome to Marston's homely shade, Hector shall fawn upon the Doctor, and I myself will be under the direction and government of Sir Robert Walpole.¹

You tell me, I am to carry a load for you to England;² the most acceptable load will be yourself, and that I would carry with as true piety as Æneas bore the ancient Anchises on his shoulders, when he fled from fire, from blood, from Greeks, and from ruined Troy. Can you expect that Lords move regularly? Is it not below our station to think where or when we are to go? But if my coach and six is in order, perhaps I may have the honour to start a hare in Stephen's Green about the 1st of next month.³ In the month of June I will hope to set sail with you to England. Mr. Pope will come out beyond the shore to meet you; you will exchange Cyclops for men, and if one must fall, surely the choice is right:

Si pereo, hominum manibus periisse juvabit.⁴

My next shall be longer. I am now forced to bid you farewell; but hereafter expect my whole life and conversation. You shall certainly have the cheeses. If you will come to Somersetshire, I will eat one for joy.⁵ The best in England are made in my manor. I am so well, that I had

¹ *I.e.*, Mrs. Ridgeway.

² Swift sent the manuscript of the "Four Last Years of the Queen" by Orrery to Dr. King, also his "Polite Conversation" to Mrs. Barber, and letters to Pope.

³ The open space in Dublin called St. Stephen's Green, now known as a public park and one of the triumphs of modern landscape gardening, was then a damp meadow, affording to the citizens only such recreation as they could obtain from perambulating a walk by which it is surrounded. Owing to the condition of the Green, Dublin then enjoyed, according to a contemporary historian, an advantage over all the other great cities of the world in being the resort in winter of snipe, which were attracted to its midst in incredible numbers no less by the swampiness of the meadow than by immunity from the sportman's gun (Harris's "Hist. of Dublin," p. 481).

⁴ "Aeneid," iii, 606.

⁵ According to Deane Swift "Orrery hated cheese to such a degree, that he could scarcely bear the sight of it."

almost forgot to answer that kind part of your letter. It is only you that can add health and happiness to

Your very affectionate obliged and faithful servant,
ORRERY.

MCLXX. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO SWIFT

Dover Street, *April 7, 1737.*

GOOD MR. DEAN,

I AM extremely obliged to you for several letters which I, with great shame and concern, acknowledge that I have not answered,¹ as also several remembrances of me and my family in your letters to several of your friends, but particularly in your letters to Mr. Pope; I stand very strongly obliged to you upon these accounts. I dare say you will do me that justice that you will not attribute my not writing to proceed from any neglect of you, or from any forgetfulness. I am certain of this, that I do retain the warmest esteem and sincerest regard for you of any one, be he who he will, and therefore I hope you will pardon what is passed, and I promise to amend, if my letters would in the least be agreeable to you.

One reason of my writing to you now is, next to my asking your forgiveness, this: I am told that you have given leave and liberty to some one or more of your friends to print a History of the Last Four Years of Queen Anne's Reign, wrote by you. As I am most truly sensible of your constant regard and sincere friendship for my father, even to partiality, if I may say so, I am very sensible of the share and part he must bear in such a History; and as I remember, when I read over that History of yours,² I can recollect that there seemed to me a want of some papers to make it more complete, which was not in our power to obtain; besides there were some severe things

¹ So far as is known Swift had, however, only sent Oxford one letter, a reply to the last letter Oxford had written him (*supra*, vol. v, p. 222).

² Probably Swift had shown the History to Oxford when he was with him at Wimpole just ten years before the date of this letter (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 409).

said, which might have been then very currently talked of, but now will want a proper evidence to support; for these reasons it is that I do entreat the favour of you, and make it my earnest request, that you will give your positive directions, that this History be not printed and published, until I have had an opportunity of seeing it, with a liberty of showing it to some family friends, whom I would consult upon this occasion. I beg pardon for this. I hope you will be so good as to grant my request; I do it with great deference to you. If I had the pleasure of seeing you, I could soon say something to you that would convince you I am not wrong; they are not proper for a letter, as you will easily guess.

My wife desires your acceptance of her most humble service. My daughter is extremely pleased with the notice you are pleased to take of her; she is very well; she brought me another granddaughter last month; she desires your acceptance of her most humble service, and would be glad of the pleasure of seeing you here in England. The Duke of Portland so far answers our expectations, that indeed he exceeds them; for he makes the best husband, the best father, and the best son; these qualities are, I assure you, very rare in this age. I wish you would make my compliments to my Lord Orrery; do you design to keep him with you? I do not blame you, if you can. I am, with true esteem and regard, Sir,

Your most obliged and most faithful humble servant,
OXFORD.

I wish Master Faulkner, when he sends anything to me, would say how you do.

MCLXXI. [*Faulkner and Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO THE REV. THOMAS SHERIDAN

April 9, 1737.

ABOUT a month ago I received your last letter, wherein you complain of my long silence;¹ what will you do when

¹ No letter from Sheridan has been preserved since the one written in September of the previous year (*supra*, vol. v, p. 379). The last extant letter from Swift was dated two months earlier.

I am so long in answering? I have one excuse which will serve for all my friends, I am quite worn out with disorders of mind and body. A long fit of deafness, which still continues, hath unqualified me for conversing, or thinking, or reading, or hearing; to all this is added an apprehension of giddiness, whereof I have frequently some frightful touches. Besides, I can hardly write ten lines without twenty blunders, as you will see by the number of scratchings and blots before this letter is done; into the bargain, I have not one rag of memory left, and my friends have all forsaken me, except Mrs. Whiteway, who preserves some pity for my condition, and a few others who love wine that costs them nothing.

As to my taking a journey to Cavan, I am just as capable as of a voyage to China, or of running races at Newmarket. But, to speak in the *Latinitas Grattamiana, tu clamas meretrix primus*, for we have all expected you here at Easter, as you were used to do. Your muster-roll of meat is good, but of drink in sup port able.¹ Yew wann twine.² Mystress alba via³ hath eaten here all your hung beef, and said it was very good. The affair of high importance in their family is, that Miss Molly hath issued out orders, with great penalties, to be called Mrs. Harrison, which caused many speck you'll ash owns.⁴ I am now come to the noli me tan jerry, which begg ins wyth mad dam.⁵ So I will go on by the strength of my own wit upon points of the high est imp or taunts.⁶ I have been very curious in considering that fruitful word *ling*, which explains many fine qualities in ladies, such as grow ling, ray ling, tip ling (seldom), toy ling, mumb ling, grumb ling, curr ling, puss ling, buss ling, strow ling, ramb ling, quarry ling, tat ling, whiff ling, dabb ling, doub ling. These are but as ample o fan hunn dread mower; they have all got cold this winter, big owing tooth in lick lad ink old wet her, an dare ink you rabble.⁷ Well, I triumph over you, Is corn urine cap a city.⁸

¹ Insupportable.

² You want wine.

³ Mistress Alba Via.

⁴ Speculations. Mrs. Whiteway's daughter must have been then a young woman of at least twenty-five. She married Deane Swift two years later.

⁵ *Noli me tangere*, which begins with Madam.

⁶ Highest importance.

⁷ These are but a sample of a hundred more; they have all got cold this winter by going too thinly clad in cold weather and are incurable.

⁸ I scorn your incapacity.

Pray, tell me, does the land of Quilca pay any rent? Or is any paid by the tenants? Or is there not any part of fifty pounds to be got? But before you make complaints of ill payments from your school, I will declare I was never so ill paid as now, even by my rich debtors. I have finished my will for the last time,¹ wherein I left some little legacy, which you are not to receive till you shall be entirely out of my debt, and paid all you owe to my executors; and I have made very honourable mention of you in the will, as the consideration of my leaving these legacies to you. Explain this proverb:

Salt dry fish, and the wedding gold,
Is the vice of women both young and old.²

Yes, you have it *i nam o mento time*.³ The old hunks Sheppard has buried his only son, who was a young hunks come to age.⁴

Here is a rhyme; it is a satire on an inconstant lover.

You are as faithless as a Carthaginian,
To love at once, Kate, Nell, Doll, Martha, Jenny, Anne.

¹ In his last letter to Orrery, Swift had mentioned that, "upon the city's favouring of fanatics" he had altered his will, and revoked his appointment of the Corporation as the trustees for building his Hospital (Craik's "Life," ii, 199). A note made by Lyon (Forster Collection, No. 579) explains that "he took offence at the Board of Aldermen upon this occasion. There were two candidates for the place of physician to the Blue Coat Hospital, one of whom was a Dissenter, and the other was a member of the Established Church. As he espoused the cause of the latter, he recommended it to some of his friends in the Board, but when the election came on, they made choice of the Presbyterian, which provoked him not a little, and the rather as one of them defended it afterwards, when he was reproached for so doing, and said he would do it, if it was to be done again; upon which the Dean, being determined to leave his fortune solely in the management of those who are friends of the establishment, went home and altered his will, and appointed other trustees for his intended Hospital, instead of the aldermen."

² *I.e.*, lingering.

³ In a moment of time.

⁴ "This morning [April 5] died universally lamented," says "Pue's Occurrences," "Anthony Sheppard junior Esq., member of Parliament for the borough of Longford." He is remarkable as having been the first secretary of the Dublin Society. His family is now represented by Viscount Doneraile. He was a kinsman of Lord Allen, which may account for Swift's contempt.

A Specimen of *Latinitas Grattaniana*.

Ego ludam diabolum super duos baculos cum te.
 Voca super me cras.
 Profecto ego dabo tibi tuum ventrem plenum legis.
 Sine me solum cum illo. Ego capiam tempus.
 Quid pestis velles tu esse apud?
 Ego faciam te fumare.
 Duc uxorem veni super.
 Ego dabo tibi pyxidem in aure.
 Ego faciam te secare saltum.
 Veni, veni, solve tuum scotum, et fac non plura verba.
 Id est plus expensi quam veneratio.
 Si tu es pro lege, dabo tibi legem, tuum ventrem plenum.
 Ut diabolus voluit habere id.
 Quid est materia tecum?
 Tu habes vetus proverbium super tuum latus; nihil est numquam in periculo.
 Cape me apud illud, et suspende me.
 Ego capio te apud tuum verbum.
 Tu venis in farti tempore.
 Est formosus corporatus homo in facie.
 Esne tu super pro omni die?
 Morsus: esne tu ibi cum tuis ursis?
 Ille est ex super suam servationem.
 Tu es carcer avis.
 Ego amo mendacem in meo corde, et tu aptas me ad crinem.
 Ego dicam tibi quid: hic est magnus clamor, et parva lana.
 Quid! tu es super tuum altum equum.
 Tu nunquam servasti tuum verbum.
 Hic est diabolus et omne agere.
 Visne tu esse tam bonus, quam tuum verbum?
 Ego faciam porcum vel canem de id.
 Ego servo hoc pro pluvioso die.
 Ego possum facere id cum digito madido.
 Profecto, ego habui nullum manum in id.
 Esne tu in aure nido?
 Tu es homo extranei renis.
 Precor, ambula super.
 Ego intro non in tuas querelas
 Ego feci amorem virgini honoris.
 Quomodo venit id circum, quod tu ludis stultum ita?
 Vos ibi, fac viam pro meo domino.
 Omnes socii apud pedem pilam.
 Faeminae et linteum aspiciunt optimè per candelaë lucem.

MCLXXII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

April 9, 1737.

SIR,

I HAVE wondered, since I have had the favour to know you, what could possibly put you upon your civility to me.¹ You have invited me to your house, and proposed every-thing according to my own scheme that would make me easy. You have loaded me with presents, although it never lay in my power to do you any sort of favour or advantage. I have had a salmon from you of twenty-six pounds weight, another of eighteen pounds, and the last of fourteen pounds; upon which my ill-natured friends descant, that I am declining in your good-will by the declining of weight in your salmon. They would have had your salmon double the weight: the second should have been of fifty-two pounds, the third of a hundred and four pounds, and the last of two hundred and eight pounds. It seems this is the way of Dublin computers, who think you country gentlemen have nothing to do but to oblige us citizens, who are not bound to make you the least return, farther than, when you come hither, to meet you by chance in a coffee-house, and ask you what tavern you dine in, and there pay your club. I intend to deal with you in the same manner; and if you come to town for three months, I will invite you once to dinner, for which I shall expect to stay a whole year with you, and you will be bound to thank me for honouring your house. You saw me ill enough when I had the honour to see you at the Deanery. Mrs. Whiteway, my cousin, and the only cousin I own, remembers she was here in your company, and desires to present her humble service to you, and no wonder, for you sent so much salmon, that I was forced to give her a part.

Some ten days ago there came to see me one Mr. Lloyd a clergyman, who lives, as I remember, near Coleraine.² He had a commission from the people in and about that town which belongs to the London Society. It seems that, three

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 425.² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 429.

years ago, the Society increased their rents from three hundred pounds to twelve hundred pounds a year; since which time the town is declined, the tenants neglect their houses, and the country tenants are not able to live. I writ a letter by him to Alderman Barber, because their demands seem very extravagant; but I had no other reason for doing so than the ample commission he had from the town of Coleraine. I wish I knew your sentiments in this affair. I never saw the gentleman before, but the commission he had encouraged me so far, that I could not refuse him the letter.

Although I was ill enough when I saw you, I am forty times worse at present, and am no more able to be your guest this summer than to travel to America. I have been this month so ill with a giddy head, and so very deaf, that I am not fit for human conversation; besides, my spirits are so low that I do not think anything worth minding; and most of my friends, with very great justice, have forsaken me. I find you deal with Faulkner. I have read his Rollin's History. The translator did not want knowledge enough, but is a coxcomb by running into those cant words and phrases which have spoiled our language, and will spoil it more every day. Your presents are so numerous that I had almost forgot to thank you for the cheese; against which there can be no objection but that of too much rennet, for which I so often wish ill to the housewife. I am, Sir, with true esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

MCLXXIII. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO —

Deanery House, *April* 15, 1737.

SIR,

I FIND that ever since you have been employed as Seneschal to my Lord Archbishop of Dublin, you have been upon all occasions encroaching upon the Liberties of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, in a most arbitrary and unprecedented manner. You know very well that our

¹ Brit. Mus., Egerton MSS 201, f. 2.

Liberties were confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the reign of Edward the Fourth, which Act we have by us in the book called *Dignitas Decani*, and the Archbishop then alive was cast, although he did not act in a degree so arbitrarily and magisterially as you, who like a lawyer call it a merit in any court to extend your jurisdiction.¹ I resent this so highly, that knowing I am in the right, by having the opinion for many years of several able lawyers, I will resist by force any of your people who dare to enter our Liberty, as having any power here. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

If the Archbishop knew the foot we stand on, I believe he would not much approve of your proceedings.

Endorsed—Letter to the Archbishop's Seneschal; not sent by Mr. King's² advice.

MCLXXIV. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT

April 17, 1737.

REVEREND SIR,

I RETURNED last night from Derry, where I have been for some time past, and where you will be received with great respect. I pleased myself with the hopes of finding

¹ The chartulary, to which Swift refers, is preserved in the archives of St. Patrick's Cathedral. It contains a collection of charters and documents relating to the history of the Cathedral, and as the Bishop of Ossory points out in a calendar of the volume which he contributed to the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. xxv, sec. C, p. 481) it derives its name from the phrase "*dignitas decani et omnium canonicorum*," which is frequently used in referring to the privileges of the capitular body, and it concerns the Dean no more than any member of the Chapter. The Archbishop who had sought in Edward the Fourth's time to curtail the privileges of the Dean and Chapter was John Walton, previously Abbot of Osney, near Oxford, and the statute by which he was restrained is printed by Mason in his "*History of St. Patrick's Cathedral.*"

² Probably the incumbent of St. Bride's Church (*supra*, vol. v, p. 255).



THE VICINITY OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

From Rocque's Plan of Dublin in 1756

A. The Cathedral; B. The Deanery; C. Naboth's Vineyard

at home an account of the time you design being here. My disappointment occasions you this trouble, and I hope you will suffer that which can do it best to plead my excuse for being so importunate.¹

Sir, I take the country to be as pleasant the latter end of this, and all the next month, as any in the year; the fields are putting on their gayest liveries to receive you, the birds will warble their sweetest notes to entertain you, and the waters in the river Bann, when they come in view of your apartment, will tumble in great hurry to wait on you, and leave you with reluctance. I must brag of my situation, and will pawn my credit with you in those matters, that you will pronounce it the most delightful you have seen in Dublin at least.

Sir, I will not conceal from you any longer a self-interest I have in honouring this place with your presence. All the inclosures I intend in my demesne are now finished, and I am ready to begin what I intend by way of ornament; but until I am fixed in the scheme of the whole, which I would have adapted in the best manner to the place, I would do nothing. I have delayed coming to a final resolution, till I shall have the opportunity of entreating your opinion and assistance after viewing the whole. It will perhaps afford yourself no disagreeable amusement, and occasion something elegant and correct in miniature, where nature has almost done everything. When you let me know that you have fitted your stages, I will contrive to meet you as far as Armagh or Stewartstown.² I will only add, that it is one that loves you, as well as admires you, that is thus troublesome to you; and that I am, with the greatest truth, as well as esteem, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

¹ It is doubtful whether Swift's letter of the 9th had then reached Richardson.

² The first town was distant from Dublin sixty-three miles and the second seventy-seven, while Coleraine was a hundred and nine.

MCLXXV. [*Scott.*¹]

SWIFT TO WILLIAM GRAHAM

Deanery House, Dublin, *April 26, 1737.*SIR,²

AS you hold a lease from me, and the Chapter of my Cathedral of St. Patrick's, which came to you by your mother, who was a person I much esteemed, you are obliged, by your lease, to pay annually thirty-one pounds, fifteen shillings; and yet, whereas you are obliged to pay half-yearly, you have thought fit to be two full years in arrear, and now owe us sixty-three pounds, ten shillings. This lease is a part of our economy, as we call it; that is to say, it is all applied to the repairs of the Cathedral, to the payment of the organist, and other church servants.

Now, Sir, I remember you were at Doctor Sheridan's school, where you were taught all the principles at least of honour and justice; you were left, too, a great estate; and I hear you are at this time one of the Privy Council.³ However, our Procurator assures me, that he never received one line in answer to his frequent letters for payment of your rent. I can impute this way of delaying to many causes; you have either forgot the lectures of Dr. Sheridan, your master, or you have heard it was an unfashionable thing in a gentleman to pay his just debts, or you are exalted by your great estate, or by your seat in the Council, or, perhaps, you have been drawn into the association against the clergy, and therefore, you very reasonably conclude, that their churches, especially cathedrals, should suffer, as well as their own maintenance. However, I am sorry that, although Christianity be much out of fashion, there might not be some remainder of pagan virtues, such as justice,

¹ The original, from which Sir W. Scott copied it, was then in the possession of Leonard McNally (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 71, n. 1).

² The recipient of this letter has been mentioned as Stopford's pupil and Lord Lansdown's son-in-law (*supra*, vol. v, p. 138). It would appear from the following paragraph in "Pue's Occurrences" of 1-4 November, 1735, that he had lost his wife: "Last week died of the small-pox at Carlisle Mrs. Graham, wife to the Right Hon. William Graham of Platten near Drogheda."

³ Graham had succeeded his father as member for the borough of Drogheda.

and honour, and learning, and love of our country left, especially to those who have a vote in making laws, or sitting at a Council board.

I often have, in another kingdom, given advice, with good success, to younger men than you, and of greater titles. If you resent anything I have said, it will much lessen the credit of your understanding, as well as of your regard to common justice. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

Addressed—To William Graham, Esq., at Drogheda.

MCLXXVI. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

Dublin, *April* 30, 1737.

SIR,

IF it had pleased God to restore me to any degree of health, I should have been setting out on Monday next to your house,¹ but I find such a weekly decay, that has made it impossible for me to ride above five or six miles at farthest, and I always return the same day heartily tired. I have not an ounce of flesh or a dram of spirits left me; yet my greatest load is not my years but my infirmities. In England, before I was twenty,² I got a cold which gave me a deafness that I could never clear myself of. Although it came but seldom, and lasted but a few days, yet my left ear has never been well since; but when the deafness comes on, I can hear with neither ear, except it be a woman with a treble, and a man with a counter-tenor. This unqualifies me for any mixed conversation; and the fits of deafness increase, for I have now been troubled with it near seven weeks, and it is not yet lessened, which extremely adds to my mortification. I should not have been so particular in troubling you with my ailments, if they had not been too good an excuse for my inability to venture anywhere beyond the prospect of this town.

¹ *Supra*, p. 10.

² His memory was here at fault; he was at least twenty-two (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 414).

I am the more obliged to your great civilities, because I declare, without affectation, that it never lay in my power to deserve any one of them. I find by the conversation I have had with you, that you understand a Court very well for your time, and are well known to the Minister on the other side. The consequence of which is, that it lies in my power to undo you, only by letting it be known at St. James's that you are perpetually sending me presents, and holding a constant correspondence with me by letters. Another unwary step of yours is inviting me to your house, which will render your election desperate, by making all your neighbour squires represent you as a person disaffected to the government.¹ Thus I have you at my mercy on two accounts, unless you have some new Court refinements to turn the guilt upon me.

I wrote a long letter some weeks ago;² but I could not find by the messenger of your last salmon that he knew anything of that letter, for you take, in every circumstance, a special care that I may know nothing more than of a salmon being left at the Deanery. Thus there is a secret commerce between your servant and my butler. The first writes a letter to the other, says the carriage is paid, that the salmon weighs so much, and was sent by his master to me. If some of our patriots should happen to discover the management of this intrigue, they would inform the Privy Council, from which an order would be brought by a messenger to seize on the salmon, have it opened, and search all its entrails to find some letter of dangerous consequence to the State.

I believe I told you in my former letter, that Mr. Lloyd, a clergyman, minister of Coleraine,³ but who lives four miles from it, came to me upon his going to England, to see his old father in Chester, and from thence goes to London to wait upon the Society. He showed me very ample credentials from the magistrates of Coleraine to deliver to the Society, upon some hard things that colony lies under. It

¹ Richardson was elected in the following year member for the borough of Augher in room of Sheridan's enemy Richard Tighe, who had died in July, 1736.

² *Supra*, p. 8.

³ As appears from subsequent letters, Dr. Squire was incumbent of Coleraine, and Lloyd has been previously mentioned by Swift as incumbent of a neighbouring parish (*supra*, vol. v, p. 431).

seems, about three years ago, their lease was out; the rent was three hundred pounds a year, but upon the renewal it was raised to twelve hundred pounds, which was beyond what I have known in leases from corporations. I had never seen or heard of Mr. Lloyd. He is middle-aged, and walks with a stick as if he were infirm. I wrote by him to Alderman Barber, putting the case as Mr. Lloyd gave it me, who says that the townfolk and tenants of the estate round Coleraine would be content to double the rent, but that the present prodigious addition had made the townfolk let their buildings decay, and the country tenants were in despair. I then wondered you came to mention nothing of this to me, since you are concerned for the Society. If Mr. Lloyd has not fairly represented the matter, he has not behaved himself suitable to his function. However, pray let me know the truth of the matter, and how he came to be employed: only I find that he is not known to any of my acquaintance that I have seen since.

Pray God preserve you, Sir, and give you all the good success that I am convinced you deserve. I am, with true esteem and gratitude,

Your most obedient and obliged servant,

JON. SWIFT.

MCLXXVII. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE HONOURABLE MARGARET DAVYS TO SWIFT

May 27, 1737.

SIR,¹

I KNOW you are always pleased to do acts of charity, which encourages me to take the liberty of recommending a boy about ten years old, the bearer of this, to your goodness, to beg you would employ it in getting him put into the Blue Coat Hospital.² I received the enclosed letter from him this morning. Your compliance with this request, and pardon for this trouble, will oblige, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

M. DAVYS.

¹ The writer was a sister of Lord Mountcashell (*supra*, vol. v, p. 373). She married the fifth Earl of Barrymore.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 131.

MCLXXVIII. [*Elwin.*]

SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE

Dublin, *May 31, 1737.*

It is true, I owe you some letters, but it has pleased God, that I have not been in a condition to pay you.¹ When you shall be at my age, perhaps you may lie under the same disability to your present or future friends. But my age is not my disability, for I can walk six or seven miles, and ride a dozen, but I am deaf for two months together. This deafness unqualifies me for all company, except a few friends with counter-tenor voices, whom I can call names, if they do not speak loud enough for my ears. It is this evil that has hindered me from venturing to the Bath, and to Twickenham; for deafness being not a frequent disorder, has no allowance given it, and the scurvy figure a man affected that way makes in company, is utterly insupportable.

It was I began with the petition to you of *orna me*, and now you come like an unfair merchant, to charge me with being in your debt; which by your way of reckoning I must always be, for yours are always guineas, and mine farthings; and yet I have a pretence to quarrel with you, because I am not at the head of any one of your Epistles. I am often wondering how you come to excel all mortals on the subject of morality, even in the poetical way, and should have wondered more, if nature and education had not made you a professor of it from your infancy.

All the letters I can find of yours, I have fastened in a folio cover, and the rest in bundles endorsed; but, by reading their dates, I find a chasm of six years, of which I can find no copies,² and yet I keep them with all possible

¹ This letter is probably a reply to Pope's letter of 23 March (*supra*, vol. v, p. 426), from the printed version of which a considerable portion has evidently been omitted.

² In the Correspondence as printed the chasm in Pope's letters is one of seven years, namely from 20 June, 1716, to August, 1723. It is not improbable that the difference has occurred through Swift assigning the latter letter, which appears to have been undated in the original, to the year 1722. In my opinion it is possible that no letter passed between them during those years. Pope begins his letter in 1723 by acknowledging his laziness as a correspondent, with which Swift had

care, but I have been forced, on three or four occasions, to send all my papers to some friends, yet those papers were all sent sealed in bundles, to some faithful friends. However, what I have, are not much above sixty.¹ I found nothing in any one of them to be left out: none of them have anything to do with party, of which you are the clearest of all men, by your religion, and the whole tenor of your life, while I am raging every moment against the corruption of both kingdoms, especially of this, such is my weakness.

I have read your Epistle of Horace to Augustus.² It was sent me in the English edition, as soon as it could come. They are printing it in a small octavo. The curious are looking out, some for flattery, some for ironies in it; the sour folks think they have found out some, but your admirers here, I mean every man of taste, affect to be certain, that the profession of friendship to me in the same poem, will not suffer you to be thought a flatterer. 'My happiness is that you are too far engaged, and in spite of you the ages to come will celebrate me, and know you are a friend who loved and esteemed me, although I died the object of Court and party hatred.'

Pray who is that Mr. Glover, who writ the epic poem called Leonidas, which is reprinting here, and has great vogue?³ We have frequently good poems of late from London. I have just read one upon Conversation,⁴ and two or three others. But the crowds do not encumber you, who, like the orator or preacher, stand aloft, and are seen above the rest, more than the whole assembly below. I am able to write no more, and this is my third endeavour, which is too weak to finish the paper. I am, my dearest friend, yours sincerely, as long as I can write, or speak, or think.

taxed him in a letter to Gay, and writes as if Swift had not heard from him for a lengthened period.

¹ Up to this date forty-one letters from Pope to Swift have been printed, and in addition there are references in them indicating that at least fifteen others were written. See Appendix I.

² From which Pope had sent Swift the lines on himself in February (*supra*, vol. v, p. 415, n. 3).

³ Richard Glover, who convinced one person that he had sufficient ability to be Junius, was said at the time to have written this poem in "the interests of Walpole's antagonists" ("D. N. B.," xxii, 6).

⁴ The author was Benjamin Stillingfleet, a grandson of the erudite Bishop of that name. He became prominent in Mrs. Montagu's circle,

MCLXXIX. [*Copy.*¹]

SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES STOPFORD

Deanery House, *June 9, 1737.*

DEAR SIR,

I HEAR that your curate, Mr. Bury of Finglas, is to be preferred to Dr. Drury's living, and that you must have another curate.² I therefore desire that if you are not engaged, which is the usual Court answer, you will please to confer that curacy upon Mr. Dunkin, who is a most ingenious man, and for whom I procured an addition to his annuity from the University.³ I never heard any ill of him, except a marriage not very prudent; but he is very happy in his wife, and would be glad to succeed your curate, Mr. Bury, and would constantly live at Finglas. I desire to present my service to your lady and Mrs. Stopford.⁴ I am,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

Addressed—To the Rev. Mr. James Stopford at his house in Dawson Street.

MCLXXX. [*Original.*⁵]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

Deanery House, *June 11, 1737.*

YOU will never be quiet until you have quite broken my heart. However, as you have nineteen days of this month left, I hope you do not intend that I am not to see you before

and wore stockings of a colour that justified the designation *bas bleu* ("D. N. B.," liv, 373).

¹ In the Forster Collection.

² Anthony Bury, who became a prebendary of Cashel, had been for twenty years curate of Finglas. At the time of his death, which occurred a few days before this letter was written, Dr. Drury held the prebend of Malahidert (*supra*, vol. ii, p. 132, n. 4).

³ *Supra*, vol. v. p. 359.

⁴ Probably his mother.

⁵ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 382, n. 1.

you go.¹ The papers you will please to take with you for Dr. King at Oxford are all corrected, and may be bundled up in twenty minutes. I continue still deaf. . . . As a friend is called a second self, you have been writing your own character and mistook it for mine. . . .

MCLXXXI. [*Orrery Papers.*²]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

June 12, 1737.

YOU mistook me, dear Sir, as to Mr. Pope's Letters.³ The incomparable author has sent each of us a present of them and of his last Imitation of Horace, by a private hand from London, but they are not yet arrived. When your book comes, which I fancy is entrusted to the Bishop of Derry, and he will be here this week,⁴ you may send me back that which you now have.

I will certainly see you very often before I go, I will constantly write to you when I am gone, and will require no answer but at your utmost leisure and in your best health. As my journey depends upon law business, I mean references, accounts, etc., I am put off *de die in diem*, and cannot positively say when it will be. But as my children, my friends and my health call loudly for my presence in England, I hope to obey their summons either the last week in this month, or the first in the next. I cannot bear the thoughts of parting with you. Let us settle it by a letter the last day wrote from each other. Do not say, do not think, we are to part for ever. Had I no business in Ireland the sight of you would more than make amends for a seasickness. As I draw nearer losing you, my affection, which lay close in my heart, rises in letters, in sighs, in tears, therefore you will excuse this trouble from

Your most affectionate, obliged and faithful humble servant,

ORRERY.

¹ Orrery had returned to Dublin from Cork (*supra*, p. 1).

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 206, n. 1.

³ The volume which Pope had just published (*supra*, vol. v, p. 409).

⁴ Bishop Rundle arrived from England nine days later.

MCLXXXII. [*Original.*']

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD

Dublin, *June 14, 1737.*

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of a letter from your Lordship, dated April the 7th, which I was not prepared to answer until this time.² Your Lordship must needs have known, that the History you mention, of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign, was written at Windsor, just upon finishing the peace; at which time, your father and my Lord Bolingbroke had a misunderstanding with each other, that was attended with very bad consequences. When I came to Ireland to take this Deanery, after the peace was made, I could not stay here above a fortnight,³ being recalled by a hundred letters to hasten back, and to use my endeavours in reconciling those Ministers. I left them the History you mention, which I had finished at Windsor, to the time of the peace. When I returned to England, I found their quarrels and coldness increased.⁴ I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able. I contrived to bring them to my Lord Masham's, at St. James's; my Lord and Lady Masham left us together. I expostulated with them both, but could not find any good consequences. I was to go to Windsor next day with my Lord Treasurer; I pretended business that prevented me, and so I sent them to Windsor next day, which was Saturday, in the same coach, expecting they would come to some *éclaircissement*. But I followed them to Windsor, where my Lord Bolingbroke told me, that my scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same rate; they

¹ In the possession of the Duke of Portland. *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 160, n. 2.

² According to Faulkner, however, Swift answered the letter at once and told Oxford that "although he loved his Lordship's father more than he ever did any man, yet as a human creature he had his faults, and therefore as an impartial writer he could not conceal them." Although Faulkner adds that he was with Swift when he wrote the reply, and was allowed to attach a message to it, his memory was probably at fault.

³ *Recte* three months (*supra*, vol. ii, pp. 46-66).

⁴ *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 78, n. 1.

grew more estranged every day. My Lord Treasurer found his credit daily declining. In May, before the Queen died, I had my last meeting with them at my Lord Masham's.¹ He left us together, and therefore I spoke very freely to them both, and told them, I would retire, for I found all was gone. Lord Bolingbroke whispered me, I was in the right. Your father said, all would-do well. I told him, that I would go to Oxford on Monday, since I found it was impossible to be of any use. I took coach to Oxford on Monday;² went to a friend in Berkshire; there stayed until the Queen's death, and then to my station here, where I stayed twelve years, and never saw my Lord your father afterward.

They could not agree about printing the History of the Four Last Years, and therefore I have kept it to this time, when I determine to publish it in London, to the confusion of all those rascals who have accused the Queen and that Ministry of making a bad peace; to which that party entirely owes the Protestant succession. I was for almost four years in the greatest trust and confidence with your father the Lord Treasurer, as well as with my Lord Bolingbroke, and all others who had part in the administration. I had all the letters from the Secretary's office, during the treaty of peace: out of those, and what I learned from the Ministry, I formed that History, which I am now going to publish for the information of posterity, and to control the most impudent falsehoods which have been published since. I wanted no kind of materials. I knew your father better than you could at that time, and I do impartially think him the most virtuous Minister, and the most able, that ever I remember to have read of. If your Lordship hath any particular circumstances that may fortify what I have said in the History, such as letters or other memorials, I am content they should be printed at the end, by way of appendix.

I loved my Lord your father better than any other man in the world, although I had no obligation to him on the score of preferment, having been driven to this wretched kingdom, to which I was almost a stranger, by his want of power to keep me in what I ought to call my own country, though I happened to be dropped here, and was a year

¹ *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 139, n. 4.

² *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 142, n. 1.

old before I left it, and to my sorrow, did not die before I came back to it again. I am extremely glad of the felicity you have in your alliances, and desire to present my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford, and your daughter the Duchess. As to the History, it is only of affairs which I knew very well, and had all the advantages possible to know, when you were in some sort but a lad. One great design of it is to do justice to the Ministry at that time, and to refute all the objections against them, as if they had a design of bringing in Popery and the Pretender, and further to demonstrate, that the present settlement of the crown was, chiefly owing to my Lord your father. I can never expect to see England: I am now too old and sickly, added to almost a perpetual deafness and giddiness. I live a most domestic life: I want nothing that is necessary, but I am in a cursed, factious, oppressed, miserable country, not made so by nature, but by the slavish, hellish principles of an execrable prevailing faction in it.

Farewell, my Lord. I have tired you and myself. I desire again to present my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford, and the Duchess your daughter. Pray God preserve you long and happy. I shall diligently inquire into your conduct from those who will tell me. You have hitherto continued right: let me hear that you persevere so. Your task will not be long; for I am not in a condition of health or time to trouble this world, and I am heartily weary of it already, and so should be in England, which I hear is full as corrupt as this poor enslaved country. I am, with the truest love and respect, my Lord,

Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

MCLXXXIII. [*Copy*.¹]

SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES STOPFORD

[*June, 1737.*]

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your kind letter this day,² and heartily thank you for it. I am a requester as seldom as I can;

¹ In the Forster Collection.

² *Supra*, p. 18.

because I know, by long experience, how unreasonable most people are in their recommendations, and I feel it still, although I have no power left to do any good office. I value Mr. Bury a hundred times more than I do Mr. Dunkin, whom I hardly know by sight; but as he is a man of genius, I wished him a little at ease, and he signified his desire to me by another hand, for I never had any commerce with him either by writing or personal knowledge. But I repeat that recommenders are no judges of circumstances. Therefore I insist that you shall do all the good offices you can for Mr. Bury, and not once think that there is such a man in the world as Mr. Dunkin. I am weak enough not to consider that in all removals the whole schemes are previously fixed, which, although not often, makes me err with the multitude.

I cannot accept your invitation to dine at Finglas. I am utterly unfit by my deafness and giddiness to go among company. I keep none but those who are trebles or high tenors, nor to my remembrance have dined from home these three months, although I ride and walk as much as I can. I desire to present my humble services to your lady, and Mrs. Stopford; and am, Sir, with the truest esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

I have ordered my groom to go early to-morrow morning, to put [Mr. Bury] out of pain. I write by candlelight, and my bad memory makes me fill my paper with interlineations. I would not give you the constraint of a minute to make Mr. Dunkin an Archbishop.

Addressed—To the Rev. Mr. James Stopford at Finglas.

MCLXXXIV. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE REV. THOMAS SHERIDAN TO SWIFT

June 22, 1737.

CERVE DECANE,¹

EGO longus audire a te, nunc Francisci sunt venti intus.
Dominus Macarty erat apud Sanctas Catherinas, qui olim

¹ As appears from this letter Sheridan was staying with Lady Mountcashell (*supra*, vol. v, p. 373) at her residence near Dublin called

minabatur me cum scripto,¹ et sue ego ibam ad Dunboyn. Non reddebam ad Dublinum apud causa debebam nummum, et ego habebam id non ad cicerem.

Meus filius Thomas sedebat nuper pro scholastica nave, et perdidit id per malitiam unius Domini Hughes, qui gignebat super apud asserem,² et dixit, quod puer erat nimium juvenis pro juramento. Diabolus cape ingratum Socium; nam olim dedi illum doctrinam pro nihil; et sic servit me nunc. Quomodo unquam ego non volo capere ad cor, sed ego faciam optimum de malo mercatu. O qualis mundus est hic! Sed ego dicam non plus. Scio quod scio; et tenebo mentem ad meipsum, et ego solvam id de cum cogitando.

Ego habeo tres libros sapientum dictorum³ transcriptos pro te in pulchra et magna manu, quos mitam ad te per primam opportunitatem, ante ut meus dominus Orrery vadit pro Anglia; nam promisit capere illos cum se, et facere pactum pro me cum praelatore. Corrigo illos libros valde puteus, et jubebas me, sic id ego spero non habebis multum agere; nam est non rationabile dare tibi multam molestiam circum sarciendo stylum. Amica Donaldson⁴ est cito ire ad Dublinum, mittam illos cum illa.

Ego habeo non ullos nuncios, sed quod nostra tempestas est valde calida, in sic tantum, ut omne nostrum gramen est ustum super, et pecora habent nihil edere. Caremus pluvia valde multum, si Deus placeret mittere. Mitte me verbum quid genus tempestatis est in Dublino, et si placet te mitte ad me rationem tuae sanitatis. Da meum humile servitium omnibus, qui rogant pro me, ad Dominum Orrery,

St. Catherine's. It was situated to the west of Dublin, on the border of the metropolitan county with that of Kildare, and derived its name from a religious order to which it had originally belonged.

¹ The allusion is to the titular Earl of Clancarty, to whose connection with Sheridan there has been allusion in Mrs. Sican's letter (*supra*, vol. v, p. 266). He was a nephew of Lady Mountcashell.

² The governing body of Trinity College, known as the Board, was then composed of the Provost and seven senior Fellows. When one was absent his place was supplied by a junior Fellow. It was while occupying that position that Lambert Hughes, who retired early from academic life and obtained preferment in the Church, was able to oppose the election of Swift's biographer to a scholarship, which, however, young Sheridan obtained in the following year.

³ His *bons mots* (*supra*, vol. v, p. 239).

⁴ The Cavan innkeeper.

ad Doctorem Helsham et caeteris amicorum. Precare cape curam de teipso, et sic obligabis tuum humillimum famulum,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

Junii die 22^o, unum mille septem centum et triginta septem.

Servitium et amor dominae albae viae.

MCLXXXV. [*Deane Swift.*]

JOHN BARBER TO SWIFT

London, *June 23, 1737.*

MOST HONOURED FRIEND,

I WAS favoured with a letter¹ some time since by the hands of the bearer, Mr. Lloyd, and by him take the opportunity of answering it. I do assure you, Sir, that as the Society have always had the greatest regard for your recommendation, so, in this affair, they have given a fresh instance of their respect; for they have resolved to relieve their tenants in Coleraine from their hard bargains, and, to that end, have put it in a way that is to the entire satisfaction of the bearer.

I hope this will find you in good health, and that the hot weather will contribute thereto, which will be a great satisfaction to all honest men who wish well to their country. Our friend Mr. Pope is very hearty and well, and has obliged the town lately with several things in his way; among the rest, a translation of Horace's Odes, in one of which you are mentioned as saving your nation,² which gave great offence, and, I am assured, was under debate in the Council, whether he should not be taken up for it, but it happening to be done in the late King's time, they passed it by. I hope you see the paper called *Common Sense*,³ which has wit and humour.

I had thoughts of kissing your hand this summer; but we are all in confusion at Derry about power, which will

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 429.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 415, n. 3.

³ The first number of "*Common Sense, or the Englishman's Journal*," had appeared in February. Chesterfield, Lyttelton, and Dr. King were amongst the contributors.

prevent my coming at present, but I am in hopes of having that happiness before I die. I thank God I hold out to a miracle almost; for I am better in my health now than I was many years ago. Lord Bolingbroke is in France, writing, I am told, the history of his own time: he is well. You will please to make my compliments to Lord Orrery and Dr. Delany. I have many things to say, which in prudence I must defer. I shall conclude with my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to preserve your most valuable life for many years, as you are a public blessing to your country, and a friend to all mankind; and to assure you that I am, with sincerity, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and most faithful humble servant,
JOHN BARBER.

MCLXXXVI. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM KING TO MRS. WHITEWAY

St. Mary Hall, Oxford, *June 24, 1737.*

MADAM,¹

I HAVE this day the favour of your letter of the 14th, which hath given me great pleasure; however, I could not help bestowing some maledictions on those gentlemen at the post-office, who have been so impertinent as to intercept our correspondence; for you ought to have received another letter from me, with one enclosed for our friend in some few days after you had the packet from Hartley. This was in answer to the letter you mention, which I got the very next day, as well as I remember, after Hartley went from London.

As soon as I hear of my Lord Orrery's arrival on this side the water, I will wait on him to receive the papers. The moment they are put into my hands I will write to you again. I do not know why the Dean's friends should think it derogatory, either to his station or character, to print the History by subscription, considering how the money

¹ As appears from this letter, Dr. King had written to Swift several times since December (*supra*, vol. v, p. 400) about the publication of the "Four Last Years of the Queen," and had proposed that it should be printed by subscription. He had also learned that the manuscript was to be sent by Lord Orrery (*supra*, p. 2, n. 2).

arising by the sale of it is to be applied. I am not for selling the copy to a bookseller; for, unless a sufficient caution be taken, the bookseller, when he is master of the copy, will certainly print it by subscription, and so have all the benefit which the Dean refuses. But I shall be better able to send you my thoughts of this matter, when I have talked with some of my friends, who have had more dealings in this way than I have.

And have you at last got store of copper halfpence, and are content to give us gold and silver in exchange for this new coin? This serves to verify an observation I have frequently made, that the grossest imposition on the public will go down, if the managers have but patience to try it twice, and art enough to give it a new name.¹ The Excise scheme, which made such a noise here a few years ago,² passed here last winter with little opposition, under a new shape and title. How would the ghost of Wood triumph over the Drapier, and rattle his copper chains, if the spectre were permitted to meet him in his walks? But I am unawares running into politics, without considering that these reflections may occasion the loss of my letter. I have therefore done with your copper.

You cannot imagine how greatly I am vexed and disappointed, that I have been so long obliged to keep back my conversation piece.³ I have in this respect, wholly complied with the reasoning, or rather with the humours, of some of my friends. They were willing to try their skill in accommodating my Irish affairs, in which, after all, I believe they will be disappointed as much as I have been, for the adversaries I have to deal with, proceed on a principle that will hear no reason, and do no good, not even to themselves, if others are at the same time to receive any benefit by the bargain. However, since you seem so earnestly to desire a second view of this work, I will send you a book by Mr. Swift,⁴ who intends to go from hence about ten days or a fortnight hence. You will be so kind as to keep it in your own hands until the publication.

As I think it proper to write a postscript in your letter

¹ Swift said that in this case he had no objection to the coin but quarrelled at the indignity of its not being coined in Ireland (*supra* vol. v, p. 432).

² *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 422.

³ *I.e.*, "The Toast."

⁴ *I.e.*, Deane Swift (*supra*, vol. v, p. 393, n. 2).

to a certain person, that must be nameless, and finding I have but room for my address to him, I will say no more to you now than that I am, and always must be, Madam,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM KING.

To the Gentleman of the Post-Office who intercepted my last letter addressed to Mrs. Whiteway at her house in Abbey Street, together with a letter enclosed and addressed to the Dean of St. Patrick's.

SIR,

WHEN you have sufficiently perused this letter, I beg the favour of you to send it to the lady to whom it is directed. I shall not take it ill though you should not give yourself the trouble to seal it again. If anything I have said about the copper halfpence and Excise should offend you, blot it out. I shall think myself much obliged to you, if, at the same time, you will be pleased to send Mrs. Whiteway those letters which are now in your hands, with such alterations and amendments as you think proper. I cannot believe that your orders will justify you in detaining letters of business; for as you are a civil officer, I conceive you have not a licence to rob on the highway. If I happen to be mistaken, of which I shall be convinced if this letter should be likewise intercepted, I will hereafter change my address, and enrol you and your superior in my catalogue of heroes.

MCLXXXVII. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM KING TO SWIFT

St. Mary Hall, Oxford, *June 24, 1737.*

SIR,

I DO not know for what reason the worthy gentlemen of the post-office intercepted a letter, which I did myself the honour to write to you about two months ago. I cannot remember I said anything that could give them the least offence. I did not mention the new halfpence; I did not praise the royal family; I did not blame the Prime Minister; I only returned you my thanks for a very kind

letter I had just then received from you. It is true I enclosed in that letter a printed paper called Common Sense,¹ in which the author² proposes a new scheme of government for the people of Corsica, advising to make their King of the same stuff of which the Indians make their gods. I thought to afford you some diversion, but, perhaps, it was this made the whole packet criminal.

I have this day received a letter from Mrs. Whiteway, in which she tells me that I am to expect the manuscript by Lord Orrery. I will have the pleasure to wait on him as soon as I can do it without crossing the Irish channel, and as soon as I receive the papers, you shall hear from me again. I shall have an opportunity of writing fully to you by Mr. Deane Swift, who proposes to set out for Ireland the next vacation. In making mention of this gentleman, I cannot help recommending him to your favour. I have very narrowly observed his conduct ever since I have been here, and I can, with great truth, give him the character of a modest, sober, ingenious young man. He is a hard student, and will do an honour to the society of which he is now a member.

Mrs. Whiteway says, that notwithstanding all your complaints, you are in good health and in good spirits. What think you of making a trip to England this fine season, and visiting our Alma Mater? I can offer you an airy cool room during the summer, and a warm bedchamber in the winter, and I will take care that your mutton commons shall be kept long enough to be tender. If you will accept of this invitation, I promise to meet you at Chester, and to conduct you to King Edward's lodgings, and then St. Mary Hall may boast of a triumvirate, that is not to be matched in any part of the learned world, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and the Drapier. Believe me to be with the greatest esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
WILLIAM KING.

¹ *Supra*, p. 25, n. 3.

² *I.e.*, King himself.

MCLXXXVIII. [*Deane Swift.*]

ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT

London, *June 30, 1737.*

OUR friend Pope tells me, you could wish to revive a correspondence with some of your old acquaintances, that you might not remain entirely ignorant of what passes in this country.¹ On this occasion I would offer myself with pleasure, if I thought the little trifles that come to my knowledge could in the least contribute to your amusement; but as you yourself judge very rightly, I am too much out of the world, and see things at too great a distance, and beside this, my age, and the use I have formerly made of my eyes in writing by candlelight, have now reduced me almost to blindness, and I see nothing less than the pips of the cards, from which I have some relief in a long winter evening.

However, to show my dear Dean how much I love him, I have taken my pen in my hand to scratch him out a letter, though it be little more than to tell him most of those he and I used to converse with are dead; but I am still alive, and lead a poor animal life. Lord Masham is much in the same way. He has married his son, and boards with him; the lady is the daughter of Salway Winnington,² and they all live lovingly together. The old gentleman walks afoot, which makes me fear that he has made settlements above his strength. I regret the loss of Dr. Arbuthnot every hour of the day. He was the best-conditioned creature that ever breathed, and the most cheerful, yet his poor son George³ is under the utmost dejection of spirits, almost to a degree of delirium. His two sisters give affectionate attendance, and I hope he will grow better. Sir William Wyndham makes the first figure in Parliament, and is one of the most amiable men in the world. He is very happy in his wife Lady Blandford;⁴ but I fear his eldest son will

¹ There is no indication that Erasmus Lewis had written to Swift for many years. See Appendix II.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 411.

³ Pope's executor.

⁴ Sir William Wyndham married as his second wife the widow of the only son of the second Duchess of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, who had predeceased his mother.

not come into his measures; this may create him some uneasiness. Lord Bathurst is in Gloucestershire, where he plants, transplants, and unplants: thus he erects an employment for himself independent of a Court.

I have the happiness to live near Lord Oxford, who continues that kindness and protection to me that I had from his father. God Almighty has given him both the power and the will to support the numerous family of his sister, which has been brought to ruin by that unworthy man Lord Kinnoul.¹ Now I name him, I mean Lord Oxford, let me ask you if it be true, that you are going to print a History of the Four Last Years of the Queen? If it is, will not you let me see it before you send it to the press? Is it not possible that I may suggest some things that you may have omitted, and give you reasons for leaving out others? The scene is changed since that period of time: the conditions of the peace of Utrecht have been applauded by most part of mankind, even in the two Houses of Parliament. Should not matters rest here, at least for some time? I presume your great end is to do justice to truth; the second point may perhaps be to make a compliment to the Oxford family. Permit me to say as to the first, that though you know perhaps more than any one man, I may possibly contribute a mite, and, with the alteration of one word, viz. by inserting *parva* instead of *magna*, apply to myself that passage of Virgil, *et quorum pars parva fui*; as to the second point, I do not conceive your compliment to Lord Oxford to be so perfect as it might be, unless you lay the manuscript before him, that it may be considered here.

Our little captain² blusters, reviews, and thinks he governs the world, when in reality he does nothing; for the first Minister³ stands possessed of all the regal power. The latter prates well in the House, and, by corruption, is absolute master of it; as to other matters, his foreign treaties are absurd, and his management of the funds betray a want of skill; he has a low way of thinking. My dear Dean, adieu; believe me to be, what I really am,

Most affectionately yours,

ERASMUS LEWIS.

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 196.

² *I.e.*, the King.

³ *I.e.*, Sir Robert Walpole.

MCLXXXIX. [*Elwin.*]

SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE

Dublin, [*June*] 1737.¹

I SENT a letter to you some weeks ago, which my Lord Orrery enclosed in one of his, to which I received as yet no answer; but it will be time enough when his Lordship goes over, which will be as he hopes in about ten days, and then he will take with him all the letters I preserved of yours, which are not above twenty-five.² I find there is a great chasm of some years,³ but the dates are more early than my two last journeys to England, which makes me imagine, that in one of those journeys I carried over another cargo. But I cannot trust my memory half an hour, and my disorder of deafness and giddiness increases daily; so that I am declining as fast as it is easily possible for me, if I were a dozen years older.

We have had your volume of Letters,⁴ which I am told are to be printed here. Some of those who highly esteem you, and a few who know you personally, are grieved to find you make no distinction between the English gentry of this kingdom, and the savage old Irish, who are only the vulgar, and some gentlemen who live in the Irish parts of the kingdom; but the English colonies, who are three parts in four, are much more civilized than many counties in England, and speak better English, and are much better bred, and they think it very hard, that an American, who is of the fifth generation from England, should be allowed to preserve that title, only because we have been told by some of them that their names are entered in some parish in London. I have three or four cousins here who were born in Portugal, whose parents took the same care, and they are all of them Londoners.⁵ Dr. Delany, who, as I take it, is of an Irish family, came to visit me three days

¹ This letter has been hitherto dated 23 July, but probably it was sent by Orrery and 23 July was the day on which Pope received it.

² It is probable that the substitution of twenty-five for sixty (*supra*, p. 17) was due to a lapse of memory.

³ *Supra*, p. 16, n. 2.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 19.

⁵ The daughters of his cousin Willoughby Swift were amongst the number (*supra*, vol. i, p. 11, n. 1).

ago, on purpose to complain of those passages in your Letters.¹ He will not allow such a difference between the two climates, but will assert that North Wales, Northumberland, Yorkshire, and the other northern shires, have a more cloudy ungenial air than any part of Ireland. In short, I am afraid your friends and admirers here will force you to make a palinode. As for the other parts of your volume of Letters, my opinion is, that there might be collected from them the best system that ever was wrote for the conduct of human life, at least to shame all reasonable men out of their follies and vices. It is some recommendation of this kingdom, and of the taste of the people, that you are at least as highly celebrated here as you are at home. If you will blame us for slavery, corruption, atheism, and such trifles, do it freely, but include England, only with an addition of every other vice.

I wish you would give orders against the corruption of English by those scribblers who send us over their trash in prose and verse, with abominable curtailings and quaint modernisms. I now am daily expecting an end of life; I have lost all spirit, and every scrap of health; I sometimes recover a little of my hearing, but my head is ever out of order. While I have any ability to hold a commerce with you, I will never be silent, and this chancing to be a day that I can hold a pen, I will drag it as long as I am able. Pray let my Lord Orrery see you often. Next to yourself I love no man so well, and tell him what I say, if he visits you. I have now done, for it is evening, and my head grows worse. May God always protect you, and preserve you long for a pattern of piety and virtue. Farewell, my dearest and almost only constant friend. I am ever, at least in my esteem, honour, and affection to you, what I hope you expect me to be,

Yours, etc.

¹ In the opinion of Elwin (*op. cit.*, vii, 361) this passage is "a curious specimen of Swift's failing memory" and refers to his own letter of 20 September, 1723 (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 174), which Pope had printed at the end of his volume.

MCXC. [*Craik*.¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

Deanery House, *July 2, 1737.*

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE corrected the enclosed² as well as my shattered head was able. I entreat your Lordship will please to alter whatever you have a mind, and please to deliver it, with your own hand, to Doctor King, at his chambers in the Temple. If you sail on Monday,³ I fear you will not have time to see me, so I must bid you farewell for ever; for although you should stay a day or two longer you will be in too great a hurry for me to expect you. May God protect you in happiness, and the continuance in the love and esteem of all good men. I can hear something better, but my head is very ill, but in all conditions I will live and die with the truest respect, esteem, love, and attachment,

Your most obedient and most obliged servant,

J. SWIFT.

MCXCI. [*Original*.⁴]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

Deanery House, *July 2, 1737.*

. . . I SEND you the enclosed receipt well witnessed; for my will being long settled, I could not otherwise than by a conditional sale of the picture secure it for you upon the condition expressed in the receipt;⁵ so I look upon myself to be paid and wish you may behold it without spectacles fifty and sixty years hence. . . .

¹ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 382, n. 1.

² The "Four Last Years of the Queen" (*supra*, p. 26).

³ July 4.

⁴ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 382, n. 1.

⁵ It would appear that the portrait of his wife which Orrery had sent to Swift four years before (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 424, n. 2) was an oil painting, and that Swift was taking measures to secure its return to Orrery in the event of his death.

MCXCII. [*Orrery Papers.*¹]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Dublin, *July 3, 1737.*

I SEE, dear Sir, that I must never look at Lady Orrery's picture but with sorrow. May it long keep out of my sight, unless you fill up the vacancy with some other piece of painting. I shall travel with the important packet that is to leave Dublin next Tuesday night.² My horses are already neighing on the Welsh mountains. My heart, since I have taken leave of you, is in England. My prayers are all addressed to the winds. *Spirate, spirate secundi.* Once more farewell, and in that word take all that the sincerest friendship and firmest affection can wish you.

ORRERY.

MCXCIII. [*Deane Swift.*³]

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO SWIFT

Dover Street, *July 4, 1737.*

GOOD MR. DEAN,

YOUR letter of June 14th,⁴ in answer to mine of the 7th of April, is come to my hands, and it is with no small concern that I have read it, and to find that you seem to have formed a resolution to put the History of the Four Last Years of the Queen to the press; a resolution taken without giving your friends, and those that are greatly concerned, some notice, or suffering them to have time and opportunity to read the papers over, and to consider them. I hope it is not too late yet, and that you will be so good as to let some friends see them, before they are put to the press; and, as you propose to have the work printed here, it will be easy to give directions to whom you will please to give the liberty of seeing them. I beg I may be one; this request I again repeat to you, and I hope you will

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 206, n. 1.

² July 5.

³ There is a draft amongst the manuscripts of the Duke of Portland (*supra*, vol. ii, p. 160, n. 2).

⁴ *Supra*, p. 20.

grant it. I do not doubt but there are many who will persuade you to publish it, but they are not proper judges: their reasons may be of different kinds, and their motives to press on this work may be quite different, and perhaps concealed from you.

I am extremely sensible of the firm love and regard you had for my father, and have for his memory; and upon that account it is, that I now renew my request, that you would at least defer this printing until you have had the advice of friends. You have forgot that you lent me the History to read when you were in England since my father died; I do remember it well. I would ask your pardon for giving you this trouble; but upon this affair I am so nearly concerned, that if I did not my utmost to prevent it, I should never forgive myself.

I am extremely obliged to you for your good and kind concern for me and my family. My wife desires your acceptance of her most humble service; my daughter desires the same; they both are sensible of your good wishes for them. I am, with true esteem and respect, dear Sir,

Your obliged and most affectionate humble servant,
OXFORD.

MCXCIV. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO SIR JAMES SOMERVILLE

Deanery House, *July 7, 1737.*

MY LORD,²

MY ill-health will not permit me to attend your Lordship and the Board at the Blue Coat Hospital to-morrow. I, therefore, desire your Lordship to recommend to the Board Edward Reilly. His father was of this city, and died in the service of the present Earl of Orrery, after having lived some years in it, although he be a peer of England and born there. I have not for several years recommended

¹ In the possession of the governors of the King's Hospital (*supra*, vol. v, p. 131).

² The recipient has been already mentioned as the successful candidate for the city of Dublin at the by-election in 1729 (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 103, n. 3). He was Lord Mayor of Dublin in the year this letter was written, and therefore chairman of the Board of the King's Hospital.

one boy to this Hospital, nor would have done this if I could have refused any command to so excellent a person as his Lordship. I am, with great respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
JONATH. SWIFT.

MCXCV. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ERASMUS LEWIS

July 23, 1737.

DEAR FRIEND,

WHILE any of those who used to write to me were alive, I always inquired after you. But since your secretaryship in the Queen's time, I believed you were so glutted with the office, that you had not patience to venture on a letter to an absent useless acquaintance, and I find I owe yours to my Lord Oxford.¹ The History you mention was written above a year before the Queen's death. I left it with the Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, when I first came over to take this deanery. I returned in less than a month,² but the Ministry could not agree about printing it. It was to conclude with the peace. I stayed in London above nine months, but not being able to reconcile the quarrels between those two, I went to a friend in Berkshire, and on the Queen's death came hither for good and all. I am confident you read that History, as this Lord Oxford did, as he owns in his two letters, the last of which reached me not above ten days ago. You know, on the Queen's death, how the peace and all proceedings were universally condemned. This I knew would be done, and the chief cause of my writing was, not to let such a Queen and Ministry lie under such a load of infamy, or posterity be so ill informed, etc.

Lord Oxford is in the wrong to be in pain about his father's character, or his proceedings in his Ministry, which is so drawn, that his greatest admirers will rather censure me for partiality. Neither can he tell me anything material out of his papers, which I was not then informed of, nor do I know anybody but yourself who could give me more light than what I then received; for I remember I often con-

¹ *Supra*, p. 31.

² *Recte* three months (*supra*, p. 20).

sulted with you, and took memorials of many important particulars which you told me, as I did of others, for four years together. I can find no way to have the original delivered to Lord Oxford, or to you; for the person who has it will not trust it out of his hands, but, I believe, would be contented to let it be read to either of you, if it could be done without letting it out of his hands, although perhaps that may be too late. If my health would have permitted me, for some years past, to have ventured as far as London, I would have satisfied both my Lord and you. I believe you know that Lord Bolingbroke is now busy in France, writing the history of his own time, and how much he grew to hate the Treasurer you know too well; and I know how much Lord Bolingbroke hates his very memory. This is what the present Lord Oxford should be in most pain at, not about me.

I have had my share of affliction sufficient, in the loss of Dr. Arbuthnot, and poor Gay and others; and I heartily pity poor Lord Masham. I would fain know whether his son be a valuable young man; because I much dislike his education.¹ When I was last among you, Sir William Wyndham was in a bad state of health: I always loved him, and I rejoice to hear from you the figure he makes. But I know so little of what passes, that I never heard of Lady Blandford his present wife. Lord Bathurst used to write to me, but has dropped it some years. Pray, is Charles Ford yet alive; for he has dropped me too, or perhaps my illness has hindered me from provoking his remembrance, for I have been long in a very bad condition. My deafness, which used to be occasional and for a short time, has stuck by me now several months without remission, so that I am unfit for any conversation, except one or two Stentors of either sex; and my old giddiness is likewise become chronic, although not in equal violence with my former short fits. I was never so much deceived in any Scot, as by that execrable Lord Kinnoul,² whom I loved extremely, and now detest beyond expression.

You say so little of yourself, that I know not whether you are in health or sickness, only that you lead a mere animal life, which, with nine parts in ten, is a sign of health. I find you have not, like me, lost your memory;

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 225, n. 3.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 196, n. 5.

nor, I hope, your sense of hearing, which is the greatest loss of any, and more comfortless than even being blind; I mean, in the article of company. Writing no longer amuses me, for I cannot think. I dine constantly at home, in my chamber, with a grave housekeeper, whom I call Sir Robert; and sometimes receive one or two friends, and a female cousin, with strong high tenor voices. I am, etc.

MCXCVI. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

July 23, 1737.

DEAR SIR,¹

IF I were to tell you who inquire for you, and what they say of you, it would take up more paper than I have in my lodgings, and more time than I stay in town. Yet London is empty; not dusty, for we have had rain; not dull, for Mr. Pope is in it; not noisy, for we have no cars;² not troublesome, for a man may walk quietly about the streets; in short, it is just as I would have it till Monday,³ and then I quit St. Paul's for my little church at Marston.

Your commands are obeyed long ago; Dr. King has his cargo,⁴ Mrs. Barber her conversation,⁵ and Mr. Pope his letters.⁶ To-morrow I pass with him at Twickenham: the *olim meminisse* will be our feast. Leave Dublin, and come to us. Methinks there are many stronger reasons for it than heretofore; at least I feel them, and I will say with Macbeth, would thou couldst!⁷

My health is greatly mended; so, I hope, is yours. Write to me when you can, in your best health, and utmost leisure; never break through that rule. Can friendship increase by absence? Sure it does; at least mine rises some

¹ As will be seen Orrery, who had embarked for England on the 5th, writes from London.

² The Irish jaunting-cars.

³ July 25.

⁴ The "Four Last Years of the Queen" (*supra*, p. 34).

⁵ Swift had conceded Mrs. Barber's request, and had sent her by Orrery his "Polite Conversation" (*supra*, vol. v, p. 390).

⁶ *Supra*, p. 32.

⁷ "Macbeth," II, ii, 74.

degrees, or seems to rise; try if it will fall by coming nearer; no, certainly it cannot be higher.

Yours most affectionately,
ORRERY.

MCXCVII. [*Copy.*¹]

MISS REBECCA DINGLEY TO SWIFT

July 25, 1737.

THEN received from Doctor Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, the sum of thirteen pounds sterling, in full for one quarter's rent of payments out of funds in England, by advance of what will be due to me at Michaelmas next in the year 1737; the said Dean always paying me one quarter by advance.² I say received by me,

RE. DINGLEY.

MCXCVIII. [*Scott.*]

ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT

London, August 4, 1737.

I ASSURE you, my dear Dean, it was matter of joy to me to receive a letter from you,³ and I hope it is an earnest of many more I may have hereafter, before you and I leave this world; though I must tell you, that if you and I revive our former correspondence, you must indulge me the liberty of making use of another hand; for whether it be owing to age, or writing formerly whole nights by candlelight, or to both those causes, my sight is so far impaired, that I am not able, without much pain, to scratch out a letter.

¹ In the Forster Collection, No. 579.

² This receipt is said to have been drawn up by Swift himself, and to have related to an allowance made by him from his own resources. According to Deane Swift ("Essay," p. 365) when Rebecca Dingley used sometimes to apply for payment in advance Swift carried on the deception by exclaiming: "Pox take that woman! she is eternally plaguing me for money; tell her I have none to send her; I have had no remittances from London this quarter of a year." It is evident that the allowance was the one which Swift had begun to give MD some thirty-five years before, and that Stella's death had caused no interruption in its payment. See Appendix III.

³ *Supra*, p. 37.

I do not remember ever to have read your History. I own my memory is much decayed, but still I think I could not have forgotten a matter of so much consequence, and which must have given me so great a pleasure. It is fresh in my mind, that Lord Oxford and the Auditor¹ desired you to confer with me upon the subject matter of it; that we accordingly did so, and that the conclusion was, you would bury everything in oblivion. We reported this to those two, I mean to his Lordship and his uncle, and they acquiesced in it. Now I find you have finished that piece. I ask nothing but what you grant in your letter of July 23rd, viz., that your friend shall read it to me, and forbear sending it to the press, till you have considered the objections, if any should be made.

In the mean time, I shall only observe to you in general, that three and twenty years, for so long it is since the death of Queen Anne, have made a great alteration in the world, and that what was sense and reason then is not so now; besides, I am told you have treated some people's characters with a severity which the present times will not bear, and may possibly bring the author into much trouble, which would be matter of great uneasiness to his friends. I know very well it is your intention to do honour to the then Treasurer. Lord Oxford knows it; all his family and friends know it; but it is to be done with great circumspection. It is now too late to publish a pamphlet, and too early to publish a history.

It was always my opinion, that the best way of doing honour to the Treasurer, was to write a history of the peace of Utrecht, beginning with a short preamble concerning the calamitous state of our debt, and ending with the breaking our army and restoring the civil power; that these great things were completed under the administration of the Earl of Oxford, and this should be his epitaph. Lord Bolingbroke is undoubtedly writing a history, but I believe will not live to finish it, because he takes it up too high, viz., from the Restoration. In all probability he will cut and slash Lord Oxford. This is only my guess. I do not know it.

As to our private friends, I must tell you, I believe Mr. Masham to be a good young man without any shining

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 195, n. 3.

qualities. Charles Ford's mistress is his bottle, to which he is so entirely given up, that he and I converse but little, though he is a man of honour, and as such to be respected. Pope is very kind to me and I am vain of it. We meet often, and always remember you. I did so yesterday with Mr. Hare, now Sir Thomas Hare.¹ Poor George Arbuthnot is miserable; he is splenetic to a degree of ——. ² He is going to France to try whether that merry nation will cure him. Lord and Lady Oxford and Lord Masham send you their compliments. As you make a friendly inquiry after my health, I must tell you I feel all the infirmities of age, but less of deafness than of any other. I find some relief in cards, which, I believe, you despise, but they keep me from thinking, and that is a great benefit. Adieu, dear Dean, and believe me,

Most affectionately yours,
E. L.

MCXCIX. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO THE CORPORATION OF CORK

Deanery House, Dublin, *August 15, 1737.*

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVED from you, some weeks ago, the honour of my freedom in a silver-box,³ by the hands of Mr. Stannard;⁴ but it was not delivered to me in as many weeks more; because, I suppose, he was too full of more important business. Since that time I have been wholly confined by sickness, so that I was not able to return you my acknowledgement, and, it is with much difficulty I do it now, my head continuing in great disorder. Mr. Faulkner will be the bearer of my letter, who sets out this morning for Cork.

I could have wished, as I am a private man, that, in the instrument of my freedom, you had pleased to assign your reasons for making choice of me. I know it is a usual

¹ He was Bolingbroke's under-secretary, and is mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*.

² *Supra*, p. 30.

³ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 433.

⁴ Stannard represented a Cork borough, that of Midleton, in the House of Commons.

compliment to bestow the freedom of the city on an Archbishop, or Lord Chancellor, and other persons of great titles, merely upon account of their stations or power; but a private man, and a perfect stranger, without power or grandeur, may justly expect to find the motives assigned in the instrument of his freedom, on what account he is thus distinguished, and yet I cannot discover in the whole parchment scrip any one reason offered. Next, as to the silver-box, there is not so much as my name upon it, nor any one syllable to show it was a present from your city. Therefore I have, by the advice of friends, agreeable with my opinion, sent back the box and instrument of freedom by Mr. Faulkner, to be returned to you, leaving to your choice, whether to insert the reasons for which you were pleased to give me my freedom, or bestow the box upon some more worthy person whom you may have an intention to honour, because it will equally fit every body. I am, with true esteem and gratitude, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and obliged servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Addressed—To the Right Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of Cork.

MCC. [*Deane Swift.*]

THOMAS FARREN TO SWIFT

Cork, *September 14, 1737.*

REVEREND SIR,

I AM favoured with yours by Mr. Faulkner, and am sorry the health of a man the whole kingdom has at heart, should be so much in danger.¹ When the box with your freedom was given the Recorder,² to be presented to you, I hoped he would, in the name of the city, have expressed their grateful acknowledgements for the many services the

¹ The following paragraph, to which the writer no doubt refers, had appeared in the "Dublin Gazette" of 3-6 September: "For some days past the Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, was in a most dangerous way and his life despaired of, but now in a fair way of recovery, to the universal joy of all his friends and acquaintance."

² *I.e.*, Stannard.

public have received from you, which are the motives that induced us to make you one of our citizens, and as they will ever remain monuments to your glory, we imagined it needless to make any inscription on the box, and especially as we have no precedents on our books for any such. But, as so great and deserving a patriot merits all distinction that can be made, I have, by the consent and approbation of the council, directed the box to you, and hope, what is inscribed upon it, although greatly inferior to what your merit is entitled to, will however demonstrate the great regard and respect we have for you, on account of the many singular services your pen and your counsel have done this poor country;¹ and am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS FARREN, Mayor.

MCCI. [*Original.*]²

LORD BATHURST TO SWIFT

Cirencester, *October 5, 1737.*

DEAR MR. DEAN,

THAT I often think of you is most certain, but if I should write to you as often, you would think me extremely troublesome. I was alarmed some time ago with hearing that you were much indisposed, but if later accounts are to be depended upon, you are now in perfect health. I should be heartily glad to have that news confirmed to me by two lines under your own hand: however, I write to you under that supposition, for which reason I have cut out a little business for you.

¹ Three weeks later "Pue's Occurrences" of 8-11 October tells us: "the Rev. Dean Swift was waited upon by a gentleman deputed by the Right Worshipful the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of Cork with his freedom, enclosed in a very handsome silver-box, with the following inscription, viz.: 'The box with the enclosed freedom of the city of Cork is presented to the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, D.S.P.D., for the many great and eminent services he hath done this kingdom.' At the same time a letter was presented to the Dean wherein was expressed their great regard for him and their sincere acknowledgements of the many great services and benefits which this kingdom hath received from his writings."

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

That very pretty epistle which you writ many years ago to Lord Oxford, is printed incorrectly.¹ I have a copy, of which I send you a transcript, which has some very good lines in it, that are not in the printed copy, and besides, if you will compare it with the original, you will find that you left off without going through with the epistle. The fable of the country and city mouse is as prettily told as anything of that kind ever was;² possibly, if you look over your papers, you may find that you finished the whole. If not, I enjoin you as a task, to go through with it, and I beg of you, do not suffer an imperfect copy to stand, while it is in your power to rectify it. Adieu! do me the justice to believe me

Most faithfully and unalterably yours,

BATHURST.

Addressed—To the Revd. the Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

Endorsed—Answered October 8, 1737, and [an] addition to the poem of, [as] I often wished, twenty lines added.³

¹ The "Imitation of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace,"

"I've often wished that I had clear,
For life, six hundred pounds a year;"

part of which is said to have been written by Pope (*supra*, vol. ii, p. 218, n. 1).

² This fable occurs in the concluding part of the poem, which is attributed to Pope.

³ The reference is evidently to twenty lines near the beginning of the poem, opening with:

"But here a grievance seems to lie—
All this is mine but till I die,"

which have been hitherto attributed, as well as the concluding part of the poem, to Pope. No one except Swift would, however, have written the following couplet which is amongst them:

"But only what my station fits,
And to be kept in my right wits."

MCCII. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO WILLIAM WALKER

Deanery House, *October 7, 1737.*

MY LORD,²

I ENTIRELY forgot, yesterday, a small affair, which I did intend to mention to your Lordship. About six months ago my Lord Orrery desired me to recommend the son of an old faithful servant who is still his domestic in England, one Catharine Reilly, to be admitted into the Blue Coat Hospital. I applied accordingly to the late Lord Mayor very frequently, but could never obtain that justice.³ I have been these many years a governor of that Hospital, and have recommended fewer boys than perhaps any other governors, and my Lord Orrery, as he is a most valuable person in all respects, as well as a great friend to this kingdom, hath a good title to recommend for so small a favour. The boy's name is Edward Reilly. I have sent him with his mother to attend and get one of the servants to deliver this letter to your Lordship, and I hope you will please to order his admittance this day. He hath been already measured, and is tall enough for the standard.

I wish your Lordship success in your administration,

¹ It is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy and was presented in the year 1852 by Mr. P. Brophy, who had discovered it amongst the papers of a member of the recipient's family.

² Walker had succeeded Sir James Somerville in the mayoral chair, and as will be seen is asked like him to befriend the son of Orrery's servant (*supra*, p. 36).

³ Swift had, however, honoured Somerville by attending his farewell banquet. "Thursday last being the Feast of St. Michael and the last day of the mayoralty of the Right Hon. Sir James Somerville," says "Pue's Occurrences" of October 1, "his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, the Revd. Dean Swift, and many of the principal nobility and gentry dined with his Lordship at the Mayoralty House." It was on that occasion that the altercation took place between Swift and Primate Boulter as described in "Ay and No" ("Poetical Works," ii, 275):

"At Dublin's high feast sat Primate and Dean,
Both dress'd like divines, with hand and face clean."

Some further particulars of the wrangle will be found in Appendix IV.

equal, if possible, to your deserts, and am with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
JONATH. SWIFT.

Addressed—To the Right Honble. William Walker, Lord Mayor.

MCCIII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO ROBERT COPE

Deanery House, *November 11, 1737.*

SIR,¹

I WAS just going to write to you, when your clerk brought me your note for thirty-six pounds, which was more by a third part than I desired, and for which I heartily thank you. I have been used since my illness² to hear so many thousand lies told of myself and others, and so circumstantially, that my head was almost turned, and if I gave them any credit, it was because one thing I knew perfectly, that we differed entirely in our opinions of public management. I did and do detest the lowering of the gold,³ because I saw a resolution seven years old of your House

¹ Cope had obtained once more a seat in the Irish House of Commons as member for his own county (*supra*, vol. ii, p. 392, n. 1), and by the change in his political opinions, which rendered such an event possible, he had incurred the loss of Swift's friendship. The present letter appears to have been occasioned by Cope's response to an application from Swift for the interest on a loan to Cope's father-in-law, Sir William Fownes, of £400 at six per cent. (Forster Collection, No. 512).

² *Supra*, p. 43.

³ As the following paragraph, which appeared in the London newspapers, shows, Swift had lost no opportunity of making his dislike public: "September 13, Dublin. We have received several anonymous letters concerning the display of a black flag on St. Patrick's steeple, the muffing of the bells, which rang mournfully all day, the sexton of St. Patrick's being sent for by a tipstaff, and the retiring of the merchants to a tavern, and their drinking long life to Dean Swift and confusion to the enemies of Ireland. All we can say is that the citizens were greatly alarmed when they saw the black flag, imagining that our patriot, who had been ill, was dead. Many of them ran in great consternation to the church, where they learned that their Dean lived, and to their great consolation was happily recovered from his late illness. The signs of mourning were on account of the lowering of the gold."

of Commons of a very different nature, and have since seen tracts against it, which to me were demonstrations, and am assured, as well as know by experience, that I have not received a penny except from you. However, although I know you to be somewhat of what we call a giber, yet I am convinced by your assertions that I was ill-informed; and yet we differ so much in the present politics, that I doubt it will much affect the goodwill you formerly seemed to bear me. I grant, that the Bishops, the people in employments of all kinds who receive salaries, and some others, will not lose a penny, by lowering the money, because they must still have their pay, and, if your estate be set much under value, you will be no sufferer; though I, and thousands of others, will soundly feel the smart, and particularly the lower clergy, who I find are out of everybody's good graces, but for what reasons I know not.

I hear your House is forming a Bill against all legacies to the church, or any public charity,¹ which puts me under a great difficulty; because, by my will, I have bequeathed my whole fortune to build and endow an hospital for lunatics and idiots. I wish I had any certainty in that matter. You mistook me in one expression; what I said was, that I wished all who were for lowering the gold, were lowered to the dust, and I might explain it, so that it would bear the sense of causing them to repent in dust and ashes. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

MCCIV. [*Deane Swift.*]

VISCOUNT MOUNTJOY TO SWIFT

November 17, 1737.

SIR,²

I SHALL, with great pleasure, bring in your petition³ tomorrow, the House of Lords not sitting until then, but I

¹ The British Parliament had passed that year a Mortmain Act, and a similar measure had been introduced in the Irish House of Commons.

² The writer was William Stewart, third Viscount Mountjoy, and afterwards Earl of Blessington. His father is frequently mentioned in the Journal to Stella.

³ Praying to be excepted from the Mortmain Bill.

find there is a small mistake in point of form, which will be proper to be set right before the petition shall be presented. You mention the Bill as if it would certainly pass, and be transmitted into England, instead of which, I must beg the favour of you to say, that "there are heads of a Bill depending now before your Lordships' Committee, in order to prevent," etc., etc., for until such time as it shall have gone through that, no one can declare the fate of it. I should not be so impertinent as to pretend to direct you in this, but that I apprehend you did not know the progress the Bill has taken. If you will get it writ over again, my servant shall wait to bring it to me, and I shall take care, as soon as the petition is received, to have a clause ready, in pursuance of it, to except your charity.¹ I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
MOUNTJOY.

MCCV. [*Original.*²]

ANDREW RAMSAY TO SWIFT

At Paris, *November 29* [O.S. 18], 1737.

REVEREND SIR,³

I RECEIVED only some weeks ago the Works you were pleased to send me, and have perused them with a new pleasure. I still find in them all the marks of that original genius and universal beneficence which compose your character. I cannot send you in return, any such valuable compositions of mine, but you will receive, by the first ships that go for Ireland, my History of the Mareschal de Turenne, the greatest French hero that ever was.⁴ I

¹ On the following day, as the Dublin newspapers record, "a petition was presented to the Right Honourable the House of Lords from the Rev. Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D., praying that he may be excepted in the Mortmain Bill, now depending in Parliament, having made his will many years since whereby he hath bequeathed all his fortune to charitable uses for the good of this kingdom, and if he be not indulged in his request he must be obliged to send his fortune abroad for the like uses."

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ Through Sican Swift had been reminded of the Chevalier Ramsay (*supra*, vol. v, p. 267) and had sent him a copy of Faulkner's edition of his Works.

⁴ It had been published both in France and England in 1735.

shall be glad to know your opinion of the performance. I am, with the greatest respect, veneration, and friendship, dear Sir,

Your most humble, and most obedient servant,
THE CHEVALIER RAMSAY.

Pray allow me to assure Mr. Sican of my most humble respects. If you have any commands for me in this country, or for any of your friends, pray direct for me, under a cover, *à son Altesse Monseigneur le Comte d'Evreux, Général de la Cavallerie, à Paris.*

Addressed—To the Reverend Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, at Dublin. By London.

MCCVI. [*Deane Swift.*]

CHARLES FORD TO SWIFT

November 22, 1737.

I CANNOT help putting you in mind of me sometimes, though I am sure of having no return.¹ I often read your name in the newspapers, but hardly have any other account of you, except when I happen to see Lord Orrery. He told me the last time, that you had been ill, but were perfectly recovered.

I hear they are going to publish two volumes more of your Works. I see no reason why all the pamphlets published at the end of the Queen's reign might not be inserted. Your objection of their being momentary things, will not hold. Killing no Murder,² and many other old tracts, are still read with pleasure, not to mention Tully's Letters, which have not died with the times. My comfort is, they will some time or other be found among my books with the author's name, and posterity obliged with them.

I have been driven out of a great house, where I had lodged between four and five years, by new lodgers, with

¹ Swift had no doubt left Ford's last letter unanswered (*supra*, vol. v, p. 362).

² "Killing noe Murder briefly discourst in three Questions" by William Allen, was published in 1657 and is said to have rendered the concluding part of Cromwell's life miserable. It has been attributed to Colonel Silius Titus.

an insupportable noise, and have taken a little one to myself in a little court, merely for the sake of sleeping in quiet. It is in St. James's Place, and called Little Cleveland Court. I believe you never observed it; for I never did, though I lodged very near it, till I was carried there to see the house I have taken. Though coaches come in, it consists of but six houses in all. Mine is but two stories high, contrived exactly as I would wish, as I seldom eat at home. The ground-floor is of small use to me; for the fore-parlour is flung into the entry, and makes a magnificent London hall. The back one, by their ridiculous custom of tacking a closet almost of the same bigness to it, is so dark, that I can hardly see to read there in the middle of the day. Up one pair of stairs I have a very good dining-room, which on the second floor is divided into two, and makes room for my whole family, a man and a maid, both at board-wages. Over my bedchamber is my study, the pleasantest part of the house, from whence you have a full view of Buckingham House, and all that part of the Park. My furniture is clean and new, but of the cheapest things I could find out. The most valuable goods I have are two different prints of you. I am still in great hopes I shall one day have the happiness of seeing you in it.

Everybody agrees the Queen's death was wholly owing to her own fault.¹ She had a rupture, which she would not discover; and the surgeon who opened her navel, declared if he had known it two days sooner, she should have been walking about the next day. By her concealing her distemper, they gave her strong cordials for the gout in her stomach, which did her great mischief. The King is said to have given her the first account of her condition. She bore it with great resolution, and immediately sent for the rest of her children, to take formal leave of them, but absolutely refused to see the Prince of Wales, nor could the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he gave her the sacrament, prevail on her, though she said she heartily forgave the Prince. It is thought her death will be a loss, at least in point of ease, to some of the Ministers.

Since Lewis has lost his old wife, he has had an old maiden niece to live with him, continues the same life,

¹ Queen Caroline had died two days before.

takes the air in his coach, dines moderately at home, and sees nobody. It was reported, and is still believed by many, that Sir Robert Walpole upon the loss of his, made Miss Skerrett an honest woman, but if it be so, the marriage is not yet owned.¹ That you may, in health and happiness, see many 30th of Novembers, is the most sincere and hearty wish of

Yours, etc.,
C. FORD.

If you will be so kind as to let me hear from you once again, you may either direct to me at the Cocoa-tree, or to Little Cleveland Court, in St. James's Place.

MCCVII. [*Original.*²]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD

Dublin, *November 26, 1737.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE not for several years troubled your Lordship with an Irish cause, but I could not refuse the bearer of this letter, my Lady Riverston, who will deliver you her case, which is allowed to be a very hard one.³ What she humbly desires of your Lordship is that you will please to attend when it comes before your House, because I remember very well how hard it used to be to get a number of peers to trouble themselves with anything referred to them from Ireland. My Lady Riverston is descended from a very ancient noble family, and very deserving in herself.

¹ Walpole's first wife had died in August. His marriage to Miss Skerrett did not take place until the following March.

² In the possession of the Duke of Portland. *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 160, n. 2.

³ The barony of Riverston was one of the peerages granted by James II during his residence in Ireland. Notwithstanding that at the time of its creation James had vacated the English throne the title continued to be recognized not only in the case of Thomas Nugent, who had been James's Chief Justice in Ireland, but also in that of his descendants. The lady to whom Swift refers was the wife of the Chief Justice's eldest son Hyacinth Richard, the second Lord Riverston, and Swift's interest in her was due to her being a step-sister of Lady Howth, a daughter of Sir Tristram Beresford, the third baronet of his line (*supra*, vol. v, p. 203).

Her ancestors were of the old English who reduced this kingdom to be subjects to England, and her Ladyship is a firm Protestant.

I am constantly inquiring after your Lordship's and my Lady Oxford's and the Duchess's health from my few remaining correspondents in London. Pray God continue to them all long life and health, and the love of all deserving persons. I am grown altogether weary of the world by my years and infirmities, and hourly fretted to the heart by the course of public proceedings in both kingdoms, which cannot be matched by the greatest corruptions in Rome or Greece. But it is some comfort that your Lordship still retains the virtue of your ancestors. I am, with the truest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and obliged servant,
J. SWIFT.

I desire to present my most humble respects to my Lady Oxford, with the acknowledgement of the highest gratitude for all her favours.

MCCVIII. [*Craik*.¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

November 26, 1737.

. . . THERE is a certain lady I am much in love with, her name is my Lady Howth. She hath a half sister, who is wife to my Lord Riverston whose name is Nugent. . . He hath a brother, one Nugent, who is a rank Papist, and hath been at law with his brother Riverston. The courts have determined the cause fully in favour of my Lady Riverston, but Nugent, the brother, hath appealed. . . All I desire of you is to attend at the hearing, although it is an Irish cause, which you English peers seldom think worth your notice.

I am grown an entire ghost of a ghost of what I was, although you left me ill enough. Pray God bless you in every circumstance of yourself, your family, and fortune. I could tell you a million things relating to this country:

¹ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 382, n. 1.

of the great plenty of money by the Primate's scheme of the lowering of the gold, which its younger brother silver hath followed, and neither have been seen since.¹ I could be more large upon both Houses and all their good actions. Please send me a silver sixpence by the first opportunity. Pray God preserve you and your family, my dear Lord, and may you live till Christian times. If you see my friend Pope say I will answer his last letter.

MCCIX. [*Original.*²]

LORD BATHURST TO SWIFT

Scarcliffe Farm, *December 6, 1737.*

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED a letter from you at Cirencester, full of life and spirit,³ which gave me singular satisfaction; but those complaints you make of the deplorable state of Ireland, made me reflect upon the condition of England, and I am inclined to think it is not much better; possibly the only difference is, that we shall be the last devoured. I have attended Parliament many years, and never found that I could do any good; I have therefore entered upon a new scheme of life, and am determined to look after my own affairs a little. I am now in a small farm-house in Derbyshire, and my chief business is to take care that my agents do not impose upon my tenants. I am for letting them all good bargains, that my rents may be paid as long as any rents can be paid; and when the time comes that there is no money, they are honest fellows, and will bring me in what corn and cattle I shall want. I want no foreign commodities; my neighbour the Duke of Kingston has imported one,⁴ but I do not think it worth the carriage.

I passed through London in my way here, and everybody wondered I could leave them, when they were so full of speculations upon the great event which lately happened;⁵

¹ *Supra*, p. 47.

² In the British Museum. See Preface.

³ *Supra*, p. 45.

⁴ Evelyn, second Duke of Kingston, is the peer to whom Bathurst refers. The importation is said to have been a French lady called Madame La Touche.

⁵ *I.e.*, the death of Queen Caroline (*supra*, p. 51).

but I am of opinion some time will be necessary to produce any consequences. Some consequences will certainly follow, but time must ripen matters for them. I could send you many speculations of my own and others upon this subject, but it is too nice a subject for me to handle in a post-letter. It is not everybody who ought to have the liberty of abusing their superiors; if a man has so much wit as to get the majority of mankind of his side, he is often safe, or if he is known to have talents that can make an abuse stick close, he is still safer. You may say, where is the occasion of abusing anybody? I never did in my life, but you have often told truth of persons, who would rather you had abused them in the grossest manner. I may say in Parliament, that we are impoverished at home, and rendered contemptible abroad, because nobody will care to call upon me to prove it, but I do not know whether I may venture to put that in a letter, at least in a letter to a disaffected person; such you will be reputed as long as you live; after your death, perhaps, you may stand *rectus in curia*.

I met our friend Pope in town; he is as sure to be there in a bustle, as a porpoise in a storm. He told me that he would retire to Twickenham for a fortnight, but I doubt it much. Since I found by your last, that your hand and your head are both in so good a condition, let me hear from you sometimes; and do not be discouraged that I send you nothing worth reading now, I have talked with nobody for some time together but farmers and ploughmen; when I come into good company again, I may possibly be less insipid, but in whatever condition I am, I shall always be most ambitious of your friendship, and most desirous of your esteem, being most faithfully and sincerely, dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

BATHURST.

MCCX. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER

Deanery House, *December 15, 1737.*

MR. FAULKNER,

THE short treatise that I here send you enclosed was put into my hands by a very worthy person, of much ancient

learning, as well as knowledge in the laws of both kingdoms.¹ He is likewise a most loyal subject to King George, and wholly attached to the Hanover family, and is a gentleman of as many virtues as I have anywhere met. However, it seems, he cannot be blind or unconcerned at the mistaken conduct of his country in a point of the highest importance to its welfare. He has learnedly shown, from the practice of all wise nations in past and later ages, that tillage was the great principle and foundation of their wealth, and recommends the practice of it to this kingdom with the most weighty reasons. He mentions the prodigious sums sent out yearly for importing all sorts of corn, in the miserable moneyless condition we are now in; to which I cannot but add, that in reading the resolutions of the last sessions, I have observed in several papers that the honourable House of Commons seem to be of the same sentiment, although the increase of tillage may be of advantage to the clergy, whom I conceive to be as loyal a body of men to the present King and family as any in the nation, and, by the great providence of God, it is so ordered, that if the clergy be fairly dealt with, whatever increases their maintenance will more largely increase the estates of the landed men, and the profits of their farmers. I desire you, Mr. Faulkner, to print the treatise in a fair letter and a good paper.² I am,

Your faithful friend and servant,

JON. SWIFT.

MCCXI. [*Clancy's Memoirs.*]

SWIFT TO MICHAEL CLANCY

Deanery House, *Christmas Day*, 1737.

SIR,³

SOME friend of mine lent me a comedy, which I am told was written by you. I read it carefully, with much pleasure,

¹ *I.e.*, Alexander Macaulay (*supra*, vol. v, p. 335). The treatise was printed with the title, "Some Thoughts on the Tillage of Ireland."

² A letter from Swift which was prefixed to the pamphlet will be found in Appendix V.

³ The only claim to fame of the recipient of this letter is being the author of a book entitled: "The Memoirs of Michael Clancy, M.D., containing his Observations on many Countries in Europe, particularly the Southern Parts of France, Part of Spain, Paris, London and Ire-

on account both of the characters and the moral. I have no interest with the people of the playhouse, else I should gladly recommend it to them. *I send you a small present, in such gold as will not give you trouble to change;¹ for I much pity your loss of sight, which if it pleased God to let you enjoy, your other talents might have been your honest support, and have eased you of your present confinement. I am, Sir,

Your well-wishing friend and humble servant,
 JON. SWIFT.

I know not who lent me the play; if it came from you, I will send it back to-morrow. This letter and the packet were sealed with the head of Socrates.

MCCXII. [*Deane Swift.*]

LADY HOWTH TO SWIFT

December 26, 1737.

DEAR SIR,²

KNOWING you to be very poor, I have sent you a couple of wild-ducks, a couple of partridges, a side of venison, and some plover, which will help to keep your house this Christmas. You may make a miser's feast, and drink your

land, where he resided at different times for the space of Twenty-five Years." The Memoirs break off abruptly in order to leave space for the insertion of a play by Clancy called "The Sharper," which has for its subject the life of the notorious Charteris as outlined in Arbuthnot's famous epitaph upon him. In a prefatory note to the play Clancy says that in the year in which this letter was written he lost his sight, and being unable to practise his profession, retired to the country, where he occupied himself in writing the play. On his return to Dublin he induced one of the Grattans to leave a copy of the play on Swift's table in the hope that Swift would recommend its production at the theatre, and subsequently received from Swift the following letter. The circumstances, as told by Clancy, who is said to have afterwards kept "a Latin school," shed some additional light on Swift's state of mind at that period and will be found in Appendix VI.

¹ "The packet contained five pounds, in small pieces of gold," says Clancy, "of different kinds, of which the largest did not exceed the value of five shillings."

² Lady Howth was probably residing then at Howth, where Bindon's great portrait served to keep Swift in his character of the Drapier constantly before her mind (*supra*, vol. v, p. 201).

blue-eyed nymph,¹ in a bumper, as we do the Drapier; and when these are out, let me know, and you shall have a fresh supply. I have sent them by a blackguard, knowing you to be of a very generous temper, though very poor. My Lord and husband joins with me in wishing you a merry Christmas, and many of them, and am sincerely

Your affectionate friend and sea-nymph.

If I signed my name, and the letter should be found, you and I might be suspected.

MCCXIII. [*Deane Swift.*]

MICHAEL CLANCY TO SWIFT

December 27, 1737.

REVEREND SIR,

WHEN I strive to express the thorough sense I have of your humanity and goodness, my attempt ceases in admiration of them. You have favoured my performance with some degree of approbation, and you have considered my unfortunate condition by a mark of your known benevolence; from my very soul I sincerely thank you. That approbation, which in some more happy periods of my life would have made me proud even to vanity, has now in my distress comforted and soothed my misery. If I did not fear being troublesome, I should do myself the honour of waiting upon you, if you will be pleased to permit me to do so. At any time I am ready to obey your command; and am, with the utmost respect and gratitude, Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

MIC. CLANCY.

MCCXIV. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER

Deanery House, Dublin, *January 6, 1737-8.*

SIR,

I HAVE often mentioned to you an earnest desire I had, and still have, to record the merit and services of the

¹ A term of endearment which the situation of the ancestral home of the St. Lawrences suggested.

Lord Mayor, Humphrey French, whom I often desired, after his mayoralty, to give me an account of many passages that happened in his mayoralty, and which he has often put off, on the pretence of his forgetfulness, but in reality of his modesty.¹ I take him to be a hero in his kind, and that he ought to be imitated by all his successors, as far as their genius can reach. I desire you therefore to inquire among all his friends whom you are acquainted with, to press them to give you the particulars of what they can remember, not only during the general conduct of his life, wherever he had any power or authority in the city, but particularly from Mr. Maple,² who was his intimate friend, who knew him best, and could give the most just character of himself and his actions. When I shall have got a sufficient information of all these particulars, I will, although I am oppressed with age and infirmities, stir up all the little spirit I can raise, to give the public an account of that great patriot, and propose him as an example to all future magistrates, in order to recommend his virtues to this miserable kingdom. I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

MCCXV. [*Original*.³]

MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO SWIFT

Summerseat, *January 10, 1737-8*.⁴

Endorsed by Swift—Miss Richardson: I accept her as my mistress, because she did her duty in making the first advances.

¹ French had died three years after his election as member for the city of Dublin (*supra*, vol. v, p. 45).

² William Maple was a chemist, and acted as registrar to the then newly formed Dublin Society. During the inquiries held by the Irish House of Commons as to Wood's coinage, he was summoned to give evidence as to the composition of the metal, and possibly by his testimony recommended himself to Swift. He is said to have attained to the age of a hundred and four years.

³ It was at one time in the possession of Bishop Percy.

⁴ The lady to whom this letter is addressed was a niece of William Richardson, with whom she resided. She was probably a daughter of Swift's old friend the Rev. John Richardson (*supra*, vol. v, p. 140, n. 2). She died two years later.

MCCXVI. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER

Dublin, *January 17, 1737-8.*

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

I HAVE for almost three years past been only the shadow of my former self, with years and sickness, and rage against all public proceedings, especially in this miserable oppressed country. I have entirely lost my memory, except when it is roused by perpetual subjects of vexation. Mr. Richardson, who is your manager in your Society of Londonderry, tells me he hears you are in tolerable health and good spirits. I lately saw him, and he said he intended soon to wait on you in London. He is a gentleman of very good abilities, and a member of Parliament here.¹ He comes often to town, and then I never fail of seeing him at the Deanery, where we constantly drink your health. I have not been out of doors, farther than my garden, for several months, and unless the summer will assist me, I believe there will be the end of my travels. Our friend Lewis has writ to me once or twice,² and makes the same complaint that I do, so that you are the heartiest person of the three.

I luckily call to mind an affair that many of my friends have pressed me to. There is a church living in your gift, and upon your Society lands,³ which is now possessed by one Doctor Squire, who is so decayed that he cannot possibly live a month.⁴ This living, I am told, is about a hundred and twenty pounds or something more, a year. I remember I got it for him by the assistance of Sir William Withers⁵ and you, and since it is now likely to be so soon vacant, I insist upon it, that if Doctor Squire dies, you will bestow it to Mr. William Dunkin, a clergyman, upon whose character I have lately taken him into my favour.⁶ He is a

¹ *Supra*, p. 14, n. 1.² *Supra*, p. 37.³ *I.e.*, Coleraine.⁴ The Rev. Thomas Squire, to whom Swift refers, had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. He retired in 1709 on obtaining preferment in the Church.⁵ *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 79.⁶ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 157, n. 1.

gentleman of much wit, and the best English, as well as Latin, poet in this kingdom; he has a hundred pounds a year from our University, to be continued till he is provided for.¹ He is a pious, regular man, highly esteemed, but our Bishops, like yours, have little regard for such accomplishments, while they have any dunces of nephews or cousins. I therefore charge you to use your influence and authority that Mr. Dunkin may have this Church living upon the decease of Doctor Squire; because you know that my talent was a little, or rather too much, turned to poetry, but he is wiser than I, because he writes no satires, whereby you know well enough how many great people I disobliged, and suffered by angering great people in favour. Farewell, my dear friend of near thirty years standing. How many friends have we lost since our acquaintance began? I desire you will present my most humble service and respect to my Lord and Lady Oxford. I am ever, with great affection and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

My kind love and service to Mr. Pope when you see him, and to my old true friend, and yours, Mr. Lewis. To show my memory gone, I wrote this letter a week ago, and thought it was sent, till I found it this morning, which is January 28, 1737-8.

MCCXVII. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON

January 28, 1737-8.

MADAM,²

I MUST begin my correspondence by letting you know that your uncle is the most unreasonable person I was ever acquainted with, and next to him, you are the second, although I think impartially that you are worse than he. I never had the honour and happiness of seeing you, nor

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 356.

² *Supra*, p. 59.

can ever expect it, unless you make the first advance by coming up to town, where I am confined by want of health, and my travelling days are over. I find you follow your uncle's steps, by maliciously bribing a useless man, who can never have it in his power to serve or divert you. I have indeed continued a very long friendship with Alderman Barber, who is governor of the London Society about your parts, whereupon Mr. Richardson came to the Deanery, although it was not in my power to do him the least good office, farther than writing to the alderman. However, your uncle came to me several times, and, I believe after several invitations, dined with me once or twice. This was all the provocation I ever gave him; but he had revenge in his breast, and you shall hear how he gratified it. First, he was told, that my ill stomach, and a giddiness I was subject to, forced me, in some of those fits, to take a spoonful of usquebaugh; he discovered where I bought it, and sent me a dozen bottles, which cost him three pounds. He next was told, that as I never drank malt liquors, so I was not able to drink Dublin claret without mixing it with a little sweet Spanish wine; he found out the merchant with whom I deal, by the treachery of my butler, and sent me twelve dozen pints of that wine, for which he paid six pounds. But what can I say of a man, who, some years before I ever saw him, was loading me every season with salmons, that surfeited myself and all my visitors; whereby it is plain that his malice reached to my friends as well as myself?

At last, to complete his ill designs, he must needs force his niece into the plot; because it can be proved that you are his Prime Minister, and so ready to encourage him in his bad proceedings, that you have been his partaker and second in mischief, by sending me half a dozen of shirts, although I never once gave you the least cause of displeasure. And what is worse, the few ladies that come to the Deanery assure me, they never saw so fine linen, or better worked up, or more exactly fitted. It is a happiness they were not stockings, for then you would have known the length of my foot. Upon the whole, Madam, I must deal so plainly as to repeat, that you are more cruel even than your uncle, to such a degree, that if my health and a good summer can put it in my power to travel to Summerseat, I must take that journey on purpose to expostulate with you for all the unprovoked injuries you have done me.

I have seen some persons who live in your neighbourhood, from whom I have inquired into your character, but I found you had bribed them all, by never sending them any such dangerous presents; for they swore to me, that you were a lady adorned with all perfections, such as virtue, prudence, wit, humour, excellent conversation, and even good housewifery, which last is seldom the talent of ladies in this kingdom. But I take so ill your manner of treating me, that I shall not believe one syllable of what they said, until I have it by letter under your own hand.

Our common run of ladies here dare not read before a man, and much less dare to write, for fear, as their expression is, of being exposed, so that when I see any of your sex, if they be worth mending, I beat them all, call them names, until they leave off their follies, and ask pardon; and therefore, because Princes are said to have long hands, I wish I were a Prince with hands long enough to beat you at this distance, for all your faults, particularly your ill treatment of me. However, I will conclude with charity. May you never give me cause to change, in any single article, the opinion and idea I have of your person and qualities, may you ever long continue the delight of your uncle and your neighbours round, who deserve your good will, and of all who have merit enough to distinguish you. I am, with great respect and the highest esteem, Madam,

Your most obedient and most obliged humble servant,
JON. SWIFT.

MCCXVIII. [*Craik*.¹]

SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

Dublin, *February 2, 1737-8.*

SWIFT

. . . IT is out of mere conscience that I treat you thus; for I have been many months the shadow of the shadow of the shadow of etc., etc. of Dr. Swift. Age, giddiness, deafness, loss of memory, rage and rancour against persons and proceed-

¹ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 382, n. 1.

ings.—I have not recounted the twentieth part—*i nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros*. . . .

I complain of your Lordship upon one article. Mrs. Whiteway assures me that a correct copy of the History of the Four Last Years, etc., was put into your hands to be given to Dr. King of St. Mary Hall in Oxford, to be published as he could agree with some bookseller or printer,¹ but I have never heard a word from the Doctor since. How will you answer this my dear Lord? This proceeding is directly against all the rules of justice, honour, friendship and conscience. My chief design in that History was with the utmost truth and zeal to defend the proceedings of that blessed Queen and her Ministry, as well as myself, who had a greater share than usually falls to men of my level. I did through the whole treatise impartially adhere to truth. I had some regard to increase my own reputation, and besides I should have been glad to have seen my small fortune increased by an honest means. I therefore wish that your Lordship would please, if your time and leisure permit, to see Doctor King, and desire he would explain himself concerning his long silence, and his very slow, or *no* proceedings in a point; which I have so much at heart for a hundred reasons.

I believe you sometimes see my friend Mr. Pope. Pray report to him the state of my health and the disposition of my mind, that I am become good for less than nothing. He is one of the oldest and dearest friends I have remaining. . . . We have not an ounce of silver nor any gold.

MRS. WHITEWAY

DO not mind what the Dean says; for gold is as plenty in Ireland as good sense, silver as wit, and humour of much the same standard as our brass.

SWIFT

MY Lord, I have stayed out for a minute, and found the four above lines written by Mrs. Whiteway, who agrees with me in no one opinion except her veneration for your Lordship. . . . I heartily wish you could prevail on the Duke of Chandos to bestow us his collection of old records

¹ *Supra*, p. 39.

and other papers relating to Ireland.¹ . . . Do you know my old friend Erasmus Lewis? If so, I desire your Lordship will present him with my true love and esteem, and if my Lord Bathurst be one of your acquaintance let him know how grateful I desire to be for the continued marks of his favour and friendship. Thus I treat you, my Lord, in the phrase of Plautus, as one of my *pueri salutigeruli*.²

MCCXIX. [*Original*.³]

ANDREW RAMSAY TO SWIFT

At Paris, *February 20* [O.S. 9], 1737-8.

REVEREND SIR,

I SEND you here enclosed the bill of loading for the small box of books I wrote of to you some months ago.⁴ I shall be glad to hear you received them, much more to know if the perusal pleased you, no man having a higher idea of your talents, genius, and capacity, than he, who is, with great respect, Reverend Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

A. RAMSAY.

MCCXX. [*Deane Swift*.]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Duke Street, Westminster, *February 14*, 1737-8.

MADAM,

I MUST answer a letter I never received. The Dean tells me you wrote to me,⁵ but the seas, or the postmasters, are in possession of the manuscript. Should it fall into Curll's hands, it may come into print, and then I must answer it in print, which will give me a happy opportunity of letting the world know how much I am your admirer and servant.

¹ In his renewing this application, which had been first made four years before that time (*supra*, vol. v, p. 87), Swift's pertinacity is curiously evinced.

² Possibly the mention of Bathurst had recalled this phrase, which Swift had once used when writing to him (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 170).

³ In the British Museum. See Preface.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 49.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 63.

I agree entirely with the person who writes three or four paragraphs in the Dean's letter. Humour and wit are, like gold and silver, in great plenty in Ireland, nor is there anybody that wants either but that abominable Dean, the bane of all learning, sense, and virtue. I wish we had him here to punish him for his various offences, particularly for his abhorrence of the dear dear fashions of this polite age. Pray, Madam, send him, and you will hear what a simple figure he will make among the great men of our island, who are every day improving themselves in all valuable qualities and noble principles. I rejoice to hear your fair daughter is in health. I am, to her and you, a most obedient humble servant,

ORRERY.

MCCXXI. [*Deane Swift.*]

MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO SWIFT

Summerseat, *February 23, 1737-8.*

SIR,

I WAS favoured some time ago with your most obliging letter,¹ wherein you are pleased to say so many civil things to me, that I have been altogether at a loss how to make proper acknowledgements for the honour you have done me. The commendations you are so good as to bestow upon me, would make my vanity insufferable to my neighbours, if I were not conscious that I do not deserve them; and although I shall always account it a great unhappiness to me that I never have been in your company, yet this advantage I have from it, that my faults are unknown to you. If I have anything commendable about me, I sincerely own myself indebted to you for it, having endeavoured as much as I could to model myself by the useful instructions that are to be gathered from your Works; for which my sex in general, although I believe some of them do not think so, is highly obliged to you.

The opinion you are pleased to entertain of me, I fancy is owing to my uncle's partiality, who has frequently been so kind as to take pains to make persons unacquainted with me think better of me than afterwards they found I deserved.

¹ *Supra*, p. 61.

I have great reason to complain of his treatment in this particular; but in all others I have met with so much kindness from him, that I must think it my duty to lay hold of every opportunity that falls in my way to oblige him. Sir, you have it in your power to give me one, by making him a visit at Summerseat, where all the skill I have in house-keeping should be employed to have everything in that manner that would be most pleasing to you, which I know is the most agreeable service I could do for him. You are pleased to wish in your letter that you had hands long enough to beat me. What an honour and happiness would I esteem it, to be thought worthy of your correction! But I fear you would find my faults so numerous, that you would think me one of those ladies that do not deserve to be mended.

Your letter would have given me the greatest pleasure of anything I have ever met with, had it not been for the complaints you make of your health, which give me a most sensible concern, as they ought to do everybody that has any regard for this kingdom. I hope the good weather will set you right, and that the summer will induce you to visit this northern part of the world. I fear I have by this time tired out your patience with female impertinence, and given you too great reason to change the favourable thoughts you did me the honour to entertain of me. I will forbear to be longer troublesome to you, only I beg leave to add my best wishes for your good health, that you may live many years to be a blessing to mankind in general, and this country in particular. I am, with the highest esteem, and greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

KATH. RICHARDSON.

MCCXXII. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER

March 8, 1737-8.

SIR,¹

SOME of my friends wonder very much at your delaying to publish that treatise of Polite Conversation, etc., when

¹ As appears from this letter, Swift did not intend that Mrs. Barber

you so often desired that I should hasten to correct the several copies you sent me, which, as ill as I have been, and am still, I dispatched as fast as I got them. I expect you will finish it immediately, and send it to me. I hope you have observed all the corrections. I hear you have not above four or five pages remaining. I find people think you are too negligent, and, if you delay longer, what you fear may come to pass, that the English edition may come over before you have your own ready. I am,

Your humble servant,
 JON. SWIFT.

MCCXXIII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER

Dublin, *March* 9, 1737-8.

MY DEAR AND CONSTANT FRIEND,

I RECEIVED yours of February 11th,¹ and find, with great pleasure, that we preserve the same mutual affection we ever professed, as well as the same principles in Church and State. As to what you hint, as if I were not cautious enough in making recommendations, you know I have conversed too long with Ministers to offend upon that article, which I never did but once, and that when I was a beginner. You may remember that, on Mr. Addison's desire, I applied to my Lord Treasurer Oxford in favour of Mr. Steele,² and his Lordship gave me a gentle rebuke, which cured me for ever, although I got many employments for my friends, where no objection could be made. Yet I confess, that Doctor Delany, the most eminent preacher we have, is a very unlucky recommender; for he forced me to counten-

should have the sole right of publishing his "Polite Conversation" (*supra*, p. 39), and had arranged with Faulkner that an Irish edition should appear simultaneously with the English one.

¹ It is probable that this answer to Swift's letter of 17 January (*supra*, p. 60) was destroyed by Swift himself, as it would appear from what follows that Barber was no longer inclined to accept Swift's recommendations without some reserve, and had ventured to remind him that Pilkington had not proved so immaculate as Swift had represented him to be.

² *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 27.

ance Pilkington, introduced him to me, and praised the wit, virtue, and humour of him and his wife; whereas he proved the falsest rogue, and she the most profligate whore in either kingdom.¹ She was taken in the fact by her own husband: he is now suing for a divorce, and will not compass it; she is suing for a maintenance, and he has none to give her.²

As to Mr. Richardson, his father was a gentleman, and his eldest brother is a Dean.³ Their father had but a small fortune; your manager was the younger son; he has an excellent understanding in business, with some share of learning; his prudence obliges him to keep fair with all parties, which, in this kingdom, is necessary for one who has to deal with numbers, as the business of your Society requires. It is his interest to deal justly with your corporation, because people who envy his employment, would be ready enough to complain, and yet although he has a good estate, I have not heard him taxed with any unjust means in procuring it. He is a bachelor like you and me, and lives with a maiden niece, who is a young woman of very good sense and discretion. He is a member of the House of Commons, and acts as smoothly there as he does in the country. I am so long upon this, because I believe it will give you a true notion of the man, and if you find, by his management, that he gives you, who are the governor, any

¹ As his letter to "the little woman" eighteen months before has shown (*supra*, vol. v, p. 381), Swift had befriended the Pilkingtons long after others had ceased to do so, but he had been obliged to withdraw his favour from them owing to the discordance of their domestic relations. This had become public property, and an announcement in the "Dublin Evening Post" a few weeks previously left Swift no other course than to disown them: "Last Tuesday [February 8] came on in the Spiritual Court the trial of Mrs. Letitia Pilkington, alias Van Lewen, for adultery with Mr. Adair, which being fully proved, sentence of divorce was pronounced by Dr. Trotter, Vicar General of the Diocese, and Judge of the Consistorial Court."

² This remark shows that Swift had not yet lost all his astuteness, and the Act of Parliament which was necessary to render the decree of the ecclesiastical court effective seems never to have been obtained. After the publication of the first volume of Mrs. Pilkington's "Memoirs," an extraordinary controversy was carried on as to the circumstances that had led to her separation from her husband, no less than ten broadsides on the subject, some apparently from their own pens, being preserved in the British Museum.

³ Swift's old friend, the Rev. John Richardson, had been promoted a few years before to the deanery of Kilmacduagh.

cause of complaint, let me know the particulars, which I will farther inquire into.

I must next say something of Mr. Dunkin. I told you he was a man of genius, and the best poet we have, and, you know, that is a trade wherein I have meddled too much for my quiet, as well as my fortune; but I find it generally agreed that he is a thorough churchman in all regards. His aunt, to whom he was legal heir, bequeathed her whole estate to his University, only leaving him an allowance of seventy pounds per annum, to support him till he was better provided for, but I prevailed on the Provost and Fellows to make it a hundred pounds a year. Yesterday I sent for Mr. Dunkin, and catechised him strictly on his principles, and was fully satisfied in them by himself, as I was before by many of his friends; therefore I insist that you shall think of nobody else, much less of Mr. Lloyd, who is not to be compared in any one view. Doctor Squire may linger out for some time, as consumptive people happen to do, but is past hopes of recovery.

My dear friend, I cannot struggle with disorders so well as you; for, as I am older, my deafness is very vexatious, and my memory almost entirely gone, except what I retain of former times and friends; beside frequent returns of that cruel giddiness which you have seen me under, although not as yet with so much violence. You, God be praised, keep your memory and hearing, and your health is much better than mine, beside the assistance of much abler physicians. If you know Dr. Mead pray present him with my most humble service and grateful acknowledgements of his favours.¹ Dear Mr. Alderman, why do you make excuses for writing long letters? I know nobody who writes better, or with more spirit, with your memory as entire as a young man of wit and humour. I repeat that you present my most humble service to my Lord and Lady Oxford, and my old friend Mr. Lewis. What is become of Mr. Ford? Is he alive? I never hear from him. We thank your good city for the present it sent us of a brace of monsters, called blasters, or blasphemers, or bacchanalians, as they are here called in print, whereof Worsdale the painter, and one Lints, a painter too, as I

¹ This message originated probably in Mead's kindness to Mrs. Barber (*supra*, vol. v, p. 389).

hear, are the leaders.¹ Pray God bless your dear friend, and let us have a correspondence as long as I live. I am ever, most dear Sir,

Your constant esteemer, and most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

I have five old small silver medals of Cæsar's, very plain, with the inscription; they were found in an old church-yard. Would my Lord Oxford think them worth taking?

MCCXXIV. [*Deane Swift.*]

JOHN BARBER TO SWIFT

London, *March 13, 1737-8.*

MOST DEAR AND HONOURED FRIEND,

It was with great pleasure I received yours of the 9th of March, with the state of your health, which was the more agreeable, as it contradicted the various reports we had of you; for you remember that our newspapers take the privilege of killing all persons they do not like as often as they please. I have had the honour to be decently interred about six times in their weekly memoirs, which I have always read with great satisfaction.

I am very well satisfied with your character of Mr. Dunkin, and desire that he would immediately draw up a petition in form, directed to the Governor, etc., which petition I desire that you only would underwrite, with your recommendation, and a character of him, which you will please to send to me, to be made use of at my discretion. He need not come over, but inform me, as soon as possible, of Dr. Squire's death.

¹ The Hell Fire Club, of which Pope's agent (*supra*, vol. v, p. 186, n. 1) was a founder, held its meetings in a tavern near Dublin Castle. Worsdale is said to have placed the chief secretary, Edward Walpole, under great obligations by disproving unsavoury allegations which were made against him, and possibly had come in the viceregal train to Dublin where he is known to have painted a number of portraits for the Duke of Devonshire (Gilbert's "Hist. of Dublin," ii, 14; iii, 256).

I have made your compliments to Lord and Lady Oxford, who are both well, and rejoiced to hear of your health. They give you their thanks for your remembrance, and are your faithful friends. His Lordship is very well pleased with your present of the medals, and desires you would send them by the first safe hand that comes over. Is it not shocking that the noble Lord, who has no vices, except buying manuscripts and curiosities may be called so, has not a guinea in his pocket, and is selling a great part of his estate to pay his debts, and that estate of his produces near twenty thousand pounds a year? I say is it not shocking? But indeed most of our nobility with great estates are in the same way. My Lord Burlington is now selling in one article, nine thousand pounds a year in Ireland, for two hundred thousand pounds, which will not pay his debts. Dr. Mead is proud of your compliments, and returns his thanks and service. Mr. Lewis I have not seen, but hear he is pretty well. Mr. Ford, I am told, is the most regular man living; for from his lodgings to the Mall, to the Cocoa, to the tavern, to bed, is his constant course.

These cold winds of late have affected me, but as the warm weather is coming on, I hope to be better than I am, though, I thank God, I am now in better health than I have been in for many years. Among the other blessings I enjoy, I am of a cheerful disposition, and I laugh, and am laughed at in my turn, which helps off the tedious hours. I hope the spring will have a good effect upon you, and will help your hearing and other infirmities, and that I shall have the pleasure to hear so from your own hand. You will please to observe that I am proud of every occasion of showing my gratitude to you, Sir, to whom I must ever own the greatest obligations. Pray God bless you and preserve you, and believe me always, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and most obedient humble servant,
JOHN BARBER.

MCCXXV. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO JOHN NICHOLS

Belcamp, *March* 14, 1737-8.SIR,²

RIDING this morning to dine here with Mr. Grattan, I saw, at his house, the poor lame boy that gives you this. He was a servant to a ploughman near Lusk,³ and while he was following the plough a dog bit him in the leg, about eleven weeks ago. One Mrs. Rice endeavoured, six weeks, to cure him, but could not, and his master would maintain him no longer. Mr. Grattan and I are of opinion that he may be a proper object to be received into Dr. Steevens's Hospital. The boy tells his story naturally, and Mr. Grattan and I took pity of him. If you find him curable, and it be not against the rules of the Hospital, I hope you will receive him. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

Addressed—To Mr. Nichols, Governor of Dr. Steevens's Hospital.

MCCXXVI. [*Deane Swift*.]

WILLIAM KING TO DEANE SWIFT

St. Mary Hall, Oxford, *March* 15, 1737-8.SIR,⁴

I DID not receive your letter of the 4th till yesterday. It was sent after me to London, and from thence returned to Oxford. I am much concerned that I cannot see you before you go to Ireland, because I intended to have sent by you a packet for the Dean.⁵ It has been no fault of

¹ Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS., 12,113, f. 17.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 355, n. 3.

³ *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 149, n. 4.

⁴ It is evident from this letter that King's failure to communicate with Swift was not his own fault (*supra*, p. 64), and that the delay in the publication of the "Four Last Years of the Queen" was due to the objections of Oxford and his friends.

⁵ Deane Swift says that he was then staying at Goodrich.

mine that he has not heard from me. I have written two letters for him, both enclosed to Mrs. Whiteway, since I received the manuscript from Lord Orrery. I wrote again to Mrs. Whiteway, when I was last week in London, to acquaint her that I would write to the Dean by a friend of mine, who is going for Ireland in a few days. I do not wonder my letters by the post have been intercepted, since they wholly related to the publication of [the History of the Four Last Years of the Queen] which, I am assured, is a matter by no means agreeable to some of our great men, nor indeed to some of the Dean's particular friends in London. In short, I have been obliged to defer this publication till I can have the Dean's answer to satisfy the objections which have been made by some of his friends. I had likewise a particular reason of my own for deferring this work a few months which I have acquainted the Dean with.

I must beg the favour of you to leave behind you the copy of the *Toast*,¹ at least to show it to nobody in Ireland, for as I am upon the point of accommodating my suit, the publication of the book would greatly prejudice my affairs at this juncture. But this is a caution I believe I needed not have given you. Your friends in the Hall are all well. We are now very full. Believe me to be, Sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

WILLIAM KING.

Notwithstanding your letter, I am still in some hopes of seeing you before you go for Ireland.

MCCXXVII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER

Dublin, *March* 31, 1738.

MY DEAR GOOD OLD FRIEND IN THE BEST AND
WORST TIMES,

MR. RICHARDSON is come to town, and stays only for a wind to take shipping for Chester,² from whence he will hasten to attend you as his governor in London. I have

¹ *Supra*, p. 27.

² *Supra*, p. 60.

told you that he is a very discreet, prudent gentleman, and I believe your Society can never have a better for the station he is in. I shall see him some time to-day or to-morrow morning, and shall desire, with all his modesty, that he press you to write me a long letter, if your health will permit; which I believe is better than mine, for I have a constant giddiness in my head, and what is more vexatious, as constant a deafness.

I forget everything but old friendship and old opinions. I did desire you, that you would at your leisure visit the few friends I have left, I mean those of them with whom you have any acquaintance, as my Lord and Lady Oxford, my Lord Bathurst, the Countess of Granville,¹ my Lord and Lady Carteret, my Lord Worsley,² my dear friend Mr. Pope, and Mr. Lewis, who always loved both you and me. My Lord Masham, and some others, have quite dropped and forgot me. Is Lord Masham's son good for anything? I did never like his disposition or education.³ Have you quite forgot your frequent promises of coming over hither, and pass a summer in attending your government in Derry and Coleraine, as well as your visitation at the Deanery? The last must be for half the months of your stay.

Let me know what is become of my Lord Bolingbroke; how and where he lives, and whether you ever expect he will come home. Here has run about a report, that the Duke of Ormond has an intention, and some countenance, to come from his banishment, which I would be extremely glad to find confirmed. That glorious exile has suffered more for his virtues, than ever the greatest villain did from the cruellest tyrant.⁴ I desire and insist that Mr. Dunkin

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 46, n. 4.

² In giving Sir Robert Worsley the style of a peer, there would appear to be proof of Swift's loss of memory.

³ Swift's repetition of this inquiry and comment is also indication of his failing powers.

⁴ Many years have elapsed since Ormond's name has occurred in the Correspondence. It is probable that Swift's correspondence with the Duchess, who had died in 1733, had ceased with her last letter (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 182), and that his acquaintance with her had not been renewed during either of his visits to England. A paragraph, which appeared in the "Dublin Intelligence" of 13 May, 1729, gives some ground for a conjecture that he may have suspected her fidelity to the political cause with which they had both been so closely identified:

may have the Church living upon Doctor Squire's decease, who I am still assured cannot long hold out, and I take it for granted that Mr. Richardson will have no objection against him. God preserve and bless you my dear friend. I am ever, with true esteem and friendship,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

MCCXXVIII. [*Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath.*¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD

Dublin, *April 3, 1738.*

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE a long time been under a difficulty of safely sending five medals to you, two of which were of the twelve Caesars, and the rest of those Emperors who succeeded near them, because I know your Lordship hath a curiosity in this polite part of knowledge. They were found in a very old churchyard of this city,² and as it belongs to me in some manner, the minister of the church being my chancellor, Doctor Delany, they were sent to me gratis, although I expect fifteen pence for them. However, on account of your poverty, I will take only a shilling. You will find that we in Dublin had Roman medals as well as you. This will be at least a motive, that your old acquaintance is still alive, as well as your lady, from whom I have received more marks of friendship and condescension

“We have accounts from town, supposed from letters of persons of distinction, that the Duchess of Ormond has been sent for to Court by their Majesties; that when she came to pay her respects she appeared in the dress of a yeoman's wife, without any mark of distinction as a Duchess, etc.; on which, we are informed, she was desired to be of good heart and not be too far cast down, for that her condition would be better shortly than she expected, which many people here think from the reports of her husband, the late Duke of Ormond's, inoffensive behaviour abroad, as well as of her good conduct at home, will be at least the recall of that once respected nobleman, if not the restoring of his honour and fortune, but this we must leave time to discover.” In this paragraph Ormond is styled the “late” Duke on account of his attainder in England.

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., vol. i, p. 253. There is also a copy in the Forster Collection.

² *I.e.*, that of St. Werburgh's Church, which formed the corps of the chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

than from any of you all. I hourly brag of her favours, and show them to all my visitors.

A worthy gentleman of this kingdom, Mr. Richardson, a member of our Parliament, will deliver you these,¹ and your Lordship, who condescended to see Faulkner, the printer, will know how to distinguish the bearer of this. You must send me an answer, and my Lady Oxford must subscribe three lines at least. I am now good for nothing, very deaf, very old, and very much out of favour with those in power. My dear Lord, I have a thousand things to say, but I can remember none of them. I will hold you no longer than while Mr. Richardson stands by you. My humble respects to the Duchess; I hope she hath not forgot me. I hope you see my friend Mr. Lewis often; he complains of age as well as myself; *tempora mutantur*. Does the Duke of Ormond come over, so it is here reported? What is become of Mr. Thomas Harley,² and of Mr. Edward,³ and his son or sons? Are you and my Lady Oxford in full health? Pray tell me everything relating to you and your family. I am ever, my dear Lord,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

MCCXXIX. [*Scott.*]

ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT

London, *April* 8, 1738.

I CAN now acquaint you, my dear Dean, that I have at last had the pleasure of reading your History, in the presence of Lord Oxford, and two or three more, who think, in all political matters, just as you do, and are as zealous for your fame and safety as any persons in the world.⁴

That part of it which relates to the negotiations of peace, whether at London or at Utrecht, they admire exceedingly,

¹ *Supra*, p. 74.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 196, n. 1.

³ The Auditor's son and Oxford's successor in the title (*supra*, vol. v, p. 195, n. 4).

⁴ It is evident that King had submitted the "Four Last Years of the Queen" to Oxford, but whether with or without Swift's approval is not apparent.

and declare they never yet saw that, or any other transaction, drawn up with so much perspicuity, or in a style so entertaining and instructive to the reader in every respect; but I should be wanting to the sincerity of a friend, if I did not tell you plainly, that it was the unanimous opinion of the company, a great deal of the first part should be retrenched, and many things altered. i. They conceive the first establishment of the South Sea Company is not rightly stated, for no part of the debt then unprovided for was paid; however, the advantages arising to the public were very considerable, for, instead of paying for all provisions, cent per cent dearer than the common market-price, as we did in Lord Godolphin's times, the credit of the public was immediately restored; and, by means of this scheme, put upon as good a footing as the best private security.¹ ii. They think the transactions with Mr. Buys might have been represented in a more advantageous light, and more to the honour of that administration, and, undoubtedly they would have been so by your pen, had you been master of all the facts.² iii. The Duke of Marlborough's courage not to be called in question.³ iv. The projected design of an assassination they believe true, but that a matter of so high a nature ought not to be asserted without exhibiting the proofs.⁴ v. The present Ministers, who are the rump of those whose characters you have painted, show too plainly, that they have not acted upon republican, or, indeed, any other principles than those of interest and ambition. vi. Now I have mentioned characters, I must tell you they were clearly of opinion, that if those you have drawn should be published as they now stand, nothing could save the author's printer and publishers from some grievous punishment. As we have no traces of liberty now left, but the freedom of the press, it is the most earnest desire of your friends, that you would strike out all that you have said on that subject.

¹ "Prose Works," x, 97.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130, *et passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ The allusion is to the allegation that Prince Eugene designed to secure the assassination of Oxford under the guise of a Mohock outrage (*ibid.*, p. 45). In the opinion of Mr. Temple Scott the criticism conveyed by Lewis led Swift to add a paragraph saying that the statement was confirmed beyond contradiction by intercepted letters and papers.

Thus, my dear Dean, I have laid before you, in a plain manner, the sentiments of those who were present when your History was read; if I have mistaken in anything, I ask pardon of you and them. I am not at liberty to name those who were present, excepting only the Earl of Oxford, who has charged me to return you his thanks for what you have said of his father. What I have to say from myself is, that there were persons in the company to whose judgement I should pay entire deference. I had no opportunity of paying any on this occasion, for I concurred in the same opinion with them, from the bottom of my heart, and therefore conjure you, as you value your own fame as an author, and the honour of those who were actors in the important affairs that make the subject of your History, and as you would preserve the liberty of your person, and enjoyment of your fortune, you will not suffer this work to go to the press, without making some, or all the amendments proposed.¹ I am, my dear Dean,

Most sincerely and affectionately yours,

E. L.

I thank you for your kind mention of me in your letter to Lord Oxford. I had almost forgot to tell you, you have mistaken the case of the Duke of Somerset, which, in truth, was this, that his Grace, appearing at Court, in the chamber next to the council chamber, it was apprehended he would come into the cabinet council, and therefore the intended meeting was put off; whereas one would judge, by your manner of stating it, that the council had met, and adjourned abruptly upon his taking his place there.² I must add, that if you would so far yield to the opinion of your friends, as to publish what you have writ concerning the peace, and leave out everything that savours of acrimony and resentment, it would, even now, be of great service to this nation in general, and to them in particular, nothing

¹ It appears from a letter from Bolingbroke to Orrery, which was sold amongst Lord Cork's manuscripts, and is dated 28 December, 1744, that Bolingbroke had advised the destruction of the entire History. He writes: "I left nothing unsaid to persuade him to destroy this manuscript, and if he resolved to write history, to do it with the impartiality, and the dignity that became an historian. He received what I said without seeming to be displeased or convinced."

² "Prose Works," x, 33; see also Swift's letter at the time to Archbishop King (*supra*, vol. i, p. 278).

having been yet published on the peace of Utrecht, in such a beautiful and strong manner as you have done it. Once more, my dear Dean, adieu. Let me hear from you.

Endorsed by Swift: On some mistakes in the History of Four Last Years. *Mon ami prudent.*

MCCXXX. [*Deane Swift.*]

ALEXANDER MACAULAY TO SWIFT

April 13, 1738.

REVEREND SIR,¹

I HAVE received your letter of this date, and will wait upon you to-morrow morning. I am extremely sorry to find you meet with anything that affects or perplexes you. I hope I shall never be guilty of such black ingratitude as to omit any opportunity of doing you every good office in my power. I am, with the greatest esteem and gratitude, Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MACAULAY.

MCCXXXI. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM KING TO DEANE SWIFT

St. Mary Hall, Oxford, *April 25, 1738.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your letter by Mr. Birt, for which I thank you.² It is now more than a month since I wrote to Mrs. Whiteway, to acquaint the Dean with the difficulties I met with in regard to the publication of his History, and to desire his advice and directions in what manner I should proceed. I have not yet had any answer, and till I receive one, I can do nothing more. I may probably hear from Ireland before you leave Monmouth,³ in which case I may

¹ On receipt of the preceding letter Swift had probably resolved to consult his new friend, Macaulay (*supra*, p. 56), as to the danger of publishing the "Four Last Years of the Queen," and had written to ask him to come to him.

² An answer no doubt to King's letter of March 15 (*supra*, p. 73).

³ Goodrich is not far from the town of Monmouth.

trouble you with a packet. I am pretty much of your opinion about the old poets, and perhaps may confirm you in your whimsies, as you call them, when I have the pleasure of seeing you here again. I heartily wish you a good journey and voyage, but methinks I can hardly excuse you for having been so long absent from us.

I wish you had returned to this place, though for one week, because I might have talked over with you all the affair of the History, about which I have been much condemned, and no wonder, since the Dean has continually expressed his dissatisfaction that I have so long delayed the publication of it. However, I have been in no fault; on the contrary, I have consulted the Dean's honour, and the safety of his person. In a word, the publication of this work, as excellent as it is, would involve the printer, publisher, author, and every one concerned, in the greatest difficulties, if not in a certain ruin, and therefore it will be absolutely necessary to omit some of the characters. I thank you for the promise you make me concerning the Toast. Your friends here are all well. Believe me, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM KING.

MCCXXXII. [*Deane Swift.*]

MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Belturbet, *May 6, 1738.*

DEAR MADAM,

I RECEIVED the favour of your letter last post.¹ I was deprived of having that pleasure sooner by removing from Summerseat to this place, the beginning of last month, where I was sent for by my father, to attend him in a fit of the gout, of which he has been very ill these three months past. My sister, who takes care of him and his family, being near the time of her lying-in, I trouble you with this account, that you may know how I am engaged at present, which I fear will prevent me having an opportunity of waiting upon you before my uncle returns. I

¹ Swift had no doubt been much pleased with Miss Richardson's letter (*supra*, p. 66), and had asked Mrs. Whiteway to invite her to visit Dublin.

most humbly thank you for your kind invitation, and do heartily wish it were any way in my power to let you know the grateful sense I have of my obligations to you. I hope the Dean of St. Patrick's is very well; it would have given me infinite pleasure to have had the honour of being in his company with you.

When I parted with my uncle, he proposed to make but a short stay in England at this time, and at his return, he intended to leave nothing undone that he could think of, to prevail with the Dean and you to spend some time at his house this summer. I hope you will be so good as to give him all the assistance you can, to persuade the Dean to take that jaunt. I really believe it would do him great service as to his health. I please myself greatly with the thoughts of having you there, and your daughter, whom I believe to be a very accomplished young lady, having had the happiness to be educated under your direction. I beg you will make my compliments to her, and be assured that I am, with great respect, Madam,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

KATH. RICHARDSON.

MCCXXXIII. [*Draft*.¹]

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO SWIFT

May 30, 1738.

GOOD MISTER DEAN,

I RETURN you many thanks for your kind remembrance of my family and your humble servant in your obliging letter which you was pleased to send me by Mr. Richardson.² I should have made my acknowledgements for your present of medals, which are curious, but the expressions in your letter are more valuable than cabinets of them.

As to my family the state is this, my daughter is just recovered of lying in childbed of a son, and a brave boy he is, his name William Henry Cavendish,³ baptized by my

¹ In the possession of the Duke of Portland. *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 160, n. 2.

² *Supra*, p. 76.

³ His son-in-law's successor in the Portland title and the eminent statesman of later times.

nephew Robert Hay;¹ my daughter has two girls, the eldest's name is Elizabeth, the other Henrietta; all healthy fine children. My daughter desires your acceptance of her humble [service]; she assures me she has not forgotten you, and as a proof of it she often talks of you with Mrs. Pendarves. Mr. Thomas Harley died the beginning of January last, left his estate to Mr. Edward Harley, and three thousand pounds to my sister Kinnoul's children, in trust that it may not be come at by Lord Kinnoul.² Mr. Edward Harley has five sons and one daughter, four of his sons are at Westminster School and do very well. Mr. Harley desires you will accept of his most humble service. My wife is pretty well; she is troubled with your distemper, deafness; I hope a journey to the Bath next autumn will do her great service.

I see our friend Mr. Lewis sometimes. I told him that you mentioned him in your letter; he desires his hearty respects to you; he wishes you and him were nearer together. The letter you received from Mr. Lewis lately³ was wrote with my privacy, and indeed desire, and is truly my sentiment. As to the Duke of Ormond I take it for granted there is nothing in it. Thus, dear Sir, I have given you an account of all the family. I thank God I enjoy my health very well. I am much concerned that you have so many complaints.

MCCXXXIV. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO MISS MARGARET HAMILTON

Deanery House, Dublin, *June 8, 1738.*

MADAM,⁴

SOME days ago, my Lord Orrery had the assurance to show me a letter of yours to him, where you did me the

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 196, n. 3.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 196, n. 5.

³ *Supra*, p. 77.

⁴ Lord Orrery returned to Ireland about that time and made a proposal of marriage to the recipient of this letter. She was the only child of John Hamilton of Caledon in the county of Tyrone by his wife Lucy Dopping, a daughter of Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, and a sister of Swift's old friend Sam Dopping. Her wealth was reputed to be great. Writing on the 24th of that month to the Earl of Oxford, Baron Wainwright says: "The best news I can

honour to say many things in my favour; I read the letter with great delight, but at the same time I reproached his Lordship for his presumption, in pretending to take a lady from me, who had made so many advances, and confessed herself to be nobody's goddess but mine. However, he had the boldness to assure me, that he had your consent to take him for a husband. I therefore command you never to accept him, without my leave, under my own hand and seal; and as I do not know any lady in this kingdom of so good sense, or so many accomplishments, I have at last, with a heavy heart, permitted him to make himself the happiest man in the world; for I know no fault in him, except his treacherous dealing with me. Pray God make you happy in yourselves, and each other; and believe me to be, with the truest esteem and respect, Madam,

Your most obedient and obliged servant,
JON. SWIFT.

I have neither mourning paper nor gilt at this time; and if I had, I could not tell which I ought to choose.

MCCXXXV. [*Original*.¹]

MISS MARGARET HAMILTON TO SWIFT

Lowtown, *June 13, 1738*.²

MCCXXXVI. [*Deane Swift*.]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

June 13, 1738.

DEAR SIR,

I AM engaged to-morrow at dinner, but I will try to put it off, and send you word in the morning whether I can

send you from Dublin is of Lord Orrery's match; a young lady who has an estate of £2,400 a year and £12,000 has made him her choice. Her name is Hamilton" ("Manuscripts of Duke of Portland," vi, 68).

¹ This letter was at one time in the possession of Bishop Percy.

² Lowtown is in the county of Westmeath, and was then the residence of Miss Hamilton's maternal uncle, the Rev. Anthony Dopping, afterwards Bishop of Ossory.

meet Mrs. Whiteway or not. To show you what a generous rival I am, now I am sure of the lady, I should be glad to carry down a letter from you to my mistress on Friday.¹ She never drinks any wine, but she told me the other day, to do you good, she would drink a bottle. I wish you would insist on it, that I might see whether wine would alter the sweetness of her temper, for I am sure nothing else can. I rejoice to find there is some little amendment in your health, and I pray God to increase it.

ORRERY.

MCCXXXVII. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

June 29, 1738.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE but this paper left, and how can I employ it better than in triumphing over my rival. *Mea est Lavinia conjux.* To-morrow Mrs. Hamilton gives me her heart and hand for ever.² Do I live to see the day when toupets, comical Lords, powdered squires, and awkward beaux, join with the Dean of St. Patrick's in loss of one and the same object? My happiness is too great, and in pity to you I will add no more than that I hope to see grief for this loss strongly wrote in your face even twenty years hence. Adieu.

Your generous rival,

ORRERY.

MCCXXXVIII. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER

Thursday, July 13, 1738.

SIR,

I DESIRE you will print the following paper, in what manner you think most proper. You see my design in it;

¹ Orrery was apparently unaware that Swift had already written.

² On 1 July the following announcement appeared in "Pue's Occurrences": "Yesterday the Right Hon. the Earl of Orrery was married to Miss Hamilton of Caledon in the county of Tyrone, a most agreeable lady and one of the greatest fortunes in Great Britain or Ireland."

I believe no man had ever more difficulty, or less encouragement, to bestow his whole fortune for a charitable use. I am,

Your humble servant,
 JON. SWIFT.

Enclosure:

AN ADVERTISEMENT

It is known enough, that the above-named Doctor has, by his last will and testament, bequeathed his whole fortune, excepting some legacies, to build and endow an hospital, in or near this city, for the support of lunatics, idiots, and those they call incurables; but the difficulty he lies under is, that his whole fortune consists in mortgages on lands, and other the like securities; for, as to purchasing a real estate in lands, for want of active friends, he finds it impossible; so that, much against his will, if he should call in all his money lent, he knows not where to find a convenient estate in a tolerable part of the kingdom, which can be bought; and in the mean time, his whole fortune must lie dead in the hands of bankers. The great misfortune is, that there seems not so much public virtue left among us, as to have any regard for a charitable design; because none but the aforesaid unfortunate objects of charity will be the better for it. However, the said Doctor, by calling in the several sums he hath lent, can be able, with some difficulty, to purchase three hundred pounds per annum in lands for the endowment of the said hospital, if those lands could be now purchased;¹ otherwise he must leave it, as he hath done in his will, to the care of his executors, who are very honest, wise, and considerable gentlemen, his friends, and yet he has known

¹ It appears from one of Swift's account-books (Forster Collection, No. 512) that before 11 April, 1736, the following sums had been lent by him and were then still outstanding:

Alexander Lynch at 5 %	£2000
Deane Swift, at 6 %	3000
John Putland, at 5½ %	1500
Mr. Throp, at 5 %	500
Sir W. Fownes, at 6 %	400
Mr. Carshore of Trim, at 6 %	100
	<hr/>
	£7500

some of very fair and deserved credit, prove very negligent trustees. The Doctor is now able to lend two thousand pounds, at five per cent upon good security, of which the principal, after his decease, is to be disposed of, by his executors, in buying lands for the farther endowment of the said hospital.

MCCXXXIX. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT

July 25, 1738.

THERE are but few things would give me a greater concern than the Dean of St. Patrick's becoming indifferent toward me, and yet I fear one of those few things is the cause I have not had a line from you since I came hither.¹ I beseech you ease me of my present pain, by telling me that you are well; that summer, which hath but lately reached us here, hath invited you, and tempted you to ride again. If anything occurs to you I can do, that is agreeable to you, if you have the least inclination to oblige me, let me know of it. My hurry here is almost over, but one affair or other will detain me till the latter end of October, if I get away then. I cannot say I pass my time disagreeably. I have had some opportunities of doing good offices, and, when I am not engaged by business, I live with a few friends that I love, and love me, and, for the most part, go every week with one of them to the country for two or three days.

Your friend Bolingbroke is well, and at present with Mr. Pope.² I am told he has sold Dawley. Alderman Barber, who has promised me to write to you by the next post, tells me his Lordship inquired much about you and your health. The alderman plays his cards so as that his credit in the city daily increases. There is nothing but the vacancy wanted to put Mr. Dunkin in possession of the parish of Coleraine. I hear you have seen Pope's First Dialogue, 1738. Have you seen his Universal Prayer?³

¹ *Supra*, p. 74.

² Bolingbroke had returned to England shortly before in order to sell Dawley.

³ The "Universal Prayer" was in that year added to the "Essay on

This Second Dialogue, together with the copy of the inscription intended by the old Duchess of Marlborough for a statue she is to erect of Queen Anne, and a few lines attributed to Lord Chesterfield, on another subject, wait on you enclosed. Believe that I love as much as I admire you; and that I am, with the most perfect respect, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most truly faithful servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

This packet goes franked by the Secretary of the Foreign Office, who can frank any weight. I expect the Prime Serjeant¹ here this night in his way to France.

MCCXL. [*Deane Swift.*]

JOHN BARBER TO SWIFT

London, July 27, 1738.

MOST HONOURED AND WORTHY SIR,

I HAVE deferred answering the favours of yours of the 9th and 31st of March,² in hopes to have something to entertain you with, and I have succeeded in my wishes; for I am sure I give you great pleasure when I tell you the enclosed I received from the hands of my Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pope, your dearest friends. My Lord has been here a few days, and is come to sell Dawley, to pay his debts, and he will return to France, where, I am told, he is writing the history of his own times, which I heartily rejoice at, though I am not likely to live to see it published, because so able a hand can do nothing but what must be instructive and entertaining to the next generation. His Lordship is fat and fair, in high spirits, but joins with you, and all good men, to lament our present unhappy situation. Mr. Pope has a cold, and complains, but he is very well; so well, that he throws out a twelvepenny touch in a week or

Man," and the First and Second Dialogues now known as the "Epilogue to the Satires," were at the same time published.

¹ *I.e.*, Henry Singleton (*supra*, vol. v, p. 140).

² Barber was apparently like Swift losing his memory, and forgot that he had already replied to Swift's letter of 9 March (*supra*, p. 71).

ten days, with as much ease as a friend of ours formerly used to toast the enemies to their country.

The report of the Duke of Ormond's return is without foundation. His Grace is very well in health and lives in a very handsome manner, and has Mr. Kelly with him as his chaplain, the gentleman who escaped out of the Tower.¹ A worthy friend of yours and mine passed through Avignon about a month since, and dined with his Grace, from whom I have what I tell you. I hear nothing of Dr. Squire's departure: I believe I may say that matter is secured for Mr. Dunkin. I have seen Lord and Lady Oxford, who make you their compliments. He thanks you for your medals. I believe I told you he is selling Wimpole, to pay off a debt of a hundred thousand pounds. That a man without any vice, should run out such a sum, is monstrous. It must be owing to the roguery of his stewards, and his indolency, which is vice enough. Lord Bathurst is heartily yours; so is Mr. Lewis, who wears apace, and the more—would you believe it?—since the loss of his wife.² I do not see Lord [Masham] in an age; his son is married, and proves bad enough; ill-natured and proud, and very little in him. Our friend Ford lives in the same way, as constant as the sun, from the Cocoa-tree to the Park, to the tavern, to bed, etc.

So far in the historical way, to obey your several commands. You will now give me leave to hope this will find you free from all your complaints, and that I shall have the great pleasure of seeing it very quickly under your own hand. I thank God, I am better than I have been many years, but yet have many complaints; for my asthma sticks close by me, but less gout than formerly, so that though I cannot walk far I ride daily, and eat and drink heartily at noon, and I impute my being so much better to my drinking constantly the asses' milk, which is the best specific we have. I wish to God you would try it, I am sure it would do you much good. I take it betimes in the morning, which certainly gives me a little sleep, and often a small breathing or sweat.

If Mr. Richardson has not made you his acknowledge-

¹ The Rev. George Kelly had escaped two years before from the Tower, where he had been confined since his trial for participation in Layer's plot (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 140, n. 5).

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 411.

ments for your great favour and friendship to him, he is much to blame; for to you he owes the continuance of his employment. An alderman of Derry came from thence on purpose to attach him, and he had many articles of impeachment, and I believe he had twenty out of twenty-four of our Society against him; and the cry has been against him for two or three years past, and I had no way to save him many times, but only by saying, that while I had the honour to preside in that chair, I would preserve the great privilege every Englishman had, of being heard before he was condemned, and I never put any question against him while he was in Ireland. Well, he came, and after a long and tedious hearing of both sides, the Society were of opinion, that he had acted justly and honourably in his office.

I do not deal in politics; I have left them off a long while, only we talk much of war, which I do not believe a word on. A fair lady in Germany¹ has put the King in a good humour they say. I shall trouble you no more at present, but to assure you I never think of you but with the utmost pleasure, and drink your health daily, and heartily pray for your long, long life, as you are an honour to your country, and will be the glory of the present and succeeding ages. I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

J. BARBER.

MCCXLI. [*Berkeley's Literary Relics.*]

SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

August 5, 1738.

SWIFT

SIR,

It was not my want of friendship and esteem that hindered me from answering your several letters,² but merely my disorders in point of health; for I am constantly giddy, and so deaf, that your friend Mrs. Whiteway has almost

¹ The future Countess of Yarmouth, who was brought to England soon afterwards by George II.

² *Supra*, p. 87.

got into a consumption by bawling in my ears.¹ I heartily congratulate with you on your triumph over your Irish enemies by a *nemine contradicente*. I leave the rest of this paper to be filled by Mrs. Whiteway, and am, with true esteem and gratitude,

Your most obedient and obliged servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Pray tell my dear friend the alderman, that I love him most sincerely, but my ill health and worse memory will not suffer me to write a long letter.

MRS. WHITEWAY

SIR,

I THIS afternoon received the honour of yours, and a letter enclosed to the Dean, which I sent him immediately. My daughter hath been very much indisposed these three days, and I am not without fears of her taking a fever, which, to my very great unhappiness, she is too much inclined to. I had a letter last post from Miss Richardson, who hath promised to meet you in this town, when you fix the time. The Dean is extremely deaf, but is in good health. I most sincerely wish you all happiness, and am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

M. WHITEWAY.

Addressed—To William Richardson, Esq., at Messrs. Knox and Cragheads, Merchants in London.

MCCXLII. [*Sheridan.*]

SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER

August 8, 1738.

MY DEAR AND HONOURED FRIEND,

I HAVE received yours of July 27th,² and two days ago had a letter from Mr. Pope, with a dozen lines from my Lord Bolingbroke, who tells me he is just going to France,

¹ In such a condition it is not surprising that his friends failed to interest him in Dr. Johnson, supposing that the attempt, which some friend suggested at that time, was ever made. See Appendix VII.

² *Supra*, p. 88.

and I suppose, designs to continue there as long as he lives. I am very sorry he is under the necessity of selling Dawley. Pray, let me know whether he be tolerably easy in his fortunes; for he has these several years lived very expensively. Is his lady still alive, and has he still a country house and an estate of hers to live on? I should be glad to live so long, as to see his history of his own times, which would be a work very worthy of his Lordship, and will be a defence of that Ministry, and a justification of our late glorious Queen, against the malice, ignorance, falsehood, and stupidity of our present times and managers. I very much like Mr. Pope's last poem, entitled MDCCXXXVIII, called Dialogue Second;¹ but I live so obscurely, and know so little of what passes in London, that I cannot know the names of persons and things by initial letters.

I am very glad to hear that the Duke of Ormond lives so well at ease and in so good health, as well as with so valuable a companion. His Grace has an excellent constitution at so near to fourscore. Mr. Dunkin is not in town, but I will send to him when I hear he is come. I extremely love my Lord and Lady Oxford, but his way of managing his fortune is not to be endured. I remember a rascally butcher, one Morley, a great land-jobber and knave, who was his Lordship's manager, and has been the principal cause of my Lord's wrong conduct, in which you agree with me in blaming his weakness and credulity.² I desire you will please, upon occasion, to present my humble service to my Lord and Lady Oxford, and to my Lord Bathurst. I just expected the character you give of young [Masham]. I hated him from a boy. I wonder Mr. Ford is alive; perhaps walking preserves him.

I very much lament your asthma. I believe temperance and exercise have preserved me from it. I seldom walk less than four miles, sometimes six, eight, ten, or more, never beyond my own limits; or, if it rains, I walk as

¹ *Supra*, p. 87, n. 3.

² This extraordinary character, who is celebrated by Prior in the "Ballad of Down Hall," was not ashamed of his original trade, and adopted as his crest the figure of a butcher holding a pole-axe. The arms of the Butchers' Company were also blazoned over his tomb. He had died some years before the date of this letter ("D. N. B.," xxxix, 80).

much through the house, up and down stairs; and if it were not for the cruel deafness, I would ride through the kingdom, and half through England. Pox on the modern phrase Great Britain, which is only to distinguish it from Little Britain, where old clothes and books are to be bought and sold. However, I will put Dr. Sheridan, the best scholar in both kingdoms, upon taking your receipt for a terrible asthma. I wish you were rich enough to buy and keep a horse, and ride every tolerable day twenty miles.

Mr. Richardson is, I think, still in London. I assure you, he is very grateful to me, and is too wise and discreet to give any just occasion of complaint, by which he must be a great loser in reputation, and a greater in his fortune. I have not written as much this many a day. I have tired myself much; but, in revenge, I will tire you. I am, dear Mr. Alderman, with very great esteem,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

◀ MCCXLIII. [*Elwin.*]

SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE AND VISCOUNT
BOLINGBROKE

Dublin, *August 8, 1738.*

TO POPE

MY DEAR FRIEND,¹

I HAVE yours of July 25, and first I desire you will look upon me as a man worn with years, and sunk by public

¹ It appears from this letter, which is a reply to one that has been suppressed, that Pope had reopened the question of the safe keeping of his letters as if they were in Swift's possession. Since the summer of the preceding year, when Swift had told Pope that he was sending them to him (*supra*, p. 32), and Orrery had written that he had delivered them (*supra*, p. 39), no reference to the letters is to be found in any existing correspondence, and if the present letter was to be read only with the previous allusions the most obvious conclusion would be that all Pope's letters had duly reached him, and had been returned soon afterwards to Swift, together with possibly Swift's own letters to him. But in writing to Pope two months later Orrery speaks of the letters as if they had never been sent to Pope ("Pope's Works," vii, 366), and in referring two years later to the subject Pope indicates that he accepted

as well as personal vexations. I have entirely lost my memory, incapable of conversation by a cruel deafness, which has lasted almost a year, and I despair of any cure. I say not this to increase your compassion, of which you have already too great a part, but as an excuse for my not being regular in my letters to you, and some few other friends. I have an ill name in the post-office of both kingdoms, which makes the letters addressed to me not seldom miscarry, or be opened and read, and then sealed in a bungling manner before they come to my hands. Our friend Mrs. Blount is very often in my thoughts, and high in my esteem; I desire you will be the messenger of my humble thanks and service to her. That superior universal genius you describe,¹ whose handwriting I know toward the end of your letter, has made me both proud and happy; but by what he writes I fear he will be too soon gone to his forest abroad. He began in the Queen's time to be my patron, and then descended to be my friend.

It is a great favour of Heaven, that your health grows better by the addition of years. I have absolutely done with poetry for several years past, and even at my best times I could produce nothing but trifles. I therefore reject your compliments on that score, and it is no compliment in me; for I take your Second Dialogue that you lately sent me,² to equal almost anything you ever writ; although I live so much out of the world, that I am ignorant of the facts and persons, which I presume are very well known from Temple Bar to St. James's; I mean the Court exclusive.

I can faithfully assure you, that every letter you have honoured me with, these twenty years and more, are sealed up in bundles, and delivered to Mrs. Whiteway, a very worthy, rational, and judicious cousin of mine, and the only

whatever letters Swift had forwarded to him only as a negligible part of the whole collection, "a few just sent to save appearances" (*ibid.*, p. 385). According to Elwin's theory (*ibid.*, i, lxxxiii), however, Pope had been sent all the letters, had received them, and still retained them, and in representing Swift as their custodian, he was taking advantage of Swift's loss of memory, and carrying out part of a deep laid plot to control the publication of the letters, while throwing the responsibility of their appearance upon Swift.

¹ *I.e.*, Bolingbroke (*supra*, p. 87, n. 2).

² Possibly Swift refers to the copy sent him by Richardson (*supra*, p. 88).

relation whose visits I can suffer. All these letters she is directed to send safely to you upon my decease. My Lord Orrery is gone with his lady to a part of her estate in the north; she is a person of very good understanding as any I know of her sex.¹ Give me leave to write here a short answer to my Lord Bolingbroke's letter in the last page of yours.

TO BOLINGBROKE

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the honour of your letter, and kind remembrance of me. I do here confess, that I have more obligations to your Lordship than to all the world beside. You never deceived me, even when you were a great Minister of State, and yet I love you still more, for your condescending to write to me, when you had the honour to be an exile. *I can hardly hope to live till you publish your history, and am vain enough to wish that my name should be squeezed in among the few subalterns, *quorum pars parva fui*. †If not, I will be revenged, and contrive some way to be known to futurity, that I had the honour to have your Lordship for my best patron, and I will live and die, with the highest veneration and gratitude,

Your most obedient, etc.

TO POPE

I will here in a postscript correct, if it be possible, the blunders I have made in my letter. I have showed my cousin the above letter, and she assures me, that a great collection of ^{your}_{my} letters to ^{me}_{you} are put up and sealed, and in some very safe hand.² I am, my most dear and honoured friend,

Entirely yours,

JON. SWIFT.

It is now August 24, 1738.

¹ *Supra*, p. 83.

² This ambiguous sentence was subsequently used as evidence that Swift had then in his possession not only Pope's letters to him, but also his own letters to Pope, and is open to suspicion of not appearing here in its original form. In a letter from Pope to Orrery on the 25th of the following month (Pope's "Works," viii, 402), to which the letter

MCCXLIV. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER

August 31, 1738.

SIR,

I BELIEVE you know that I had a treatise, called Advice to Servants, in two volumes.¹ The first was lost, but this moment Mrs. Ridgeway brought it to me, having found it in some papers in her room, and truly, when I went to look for the second I could not tell where to find it. If you happen to have it, I shall be glad; if not, the messenger shall go to Mrs. Whiteway. I am,

Your humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

MCCXLV. [*Nichols.*]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

September 16, 1738.

SIR,

I HAVE much pleasure in thinking I have executed your commands and Alderman Barber's, to both your satis-

from Orrery cited in the first note (*supra*, p. 93, n. 1) was a reply, Pope gives a version of the postscript that can hardly have been drawn from Swift's words as printed, namely, that "Mrs. Whiteway had just told him [Swift] he was under a mistake, that the letters were not delivered to her, but in some other safe hand *in Ireland*." This version tallies with Orrery's letter, in which it is stated that Mrs. Whiteway was under great uneasiness lest Pope should imagine the letters were left with her, that she said that she had stopped a letter from Swift conveying such an inference, but believed that he would write another similar one, and that she was desirous that Pope should be assured that she was totally ignorant where the letters were. It seems almost certain that both Orrery and Mrs. Whiteway must have been then under the impression that Swift had only sent Pope a few of his letters. If the words "in Ireland" in the version of the postscript sent to Orrery were added by Pope, as seems possible, it goes far to confirm the whole of Elwin's theory.

¹ In writing to Pope six years before, Swift mentions that the "Directions to Servants," as the treatise was ultimately called, had been begun in the early years of his tenure of the vicarage of Laracor (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 309). It is probable from an unfinished preface printed by Sir Walter Scott ("Life," p. 432), that Swift made about this time some attempt to complete it.

factions, and was greatly pleased yesterday to find the Dean in spirits enough to be able to write you a few lines, because I know it was what you wished for.¹ I declare it has not been by any omission of mine that it was not done long ago. Beside his usual attendants, giddiness and deafness, I can with great truth say, the miseries of this poor kingdom have shortened his days, and sunk him even below the wishes of his enemies; and as he has lived the patriot of Ireland, like the second Cato, he will resign life when it can be no longer serviceable to his country.²

As Sir Robert Walpole has your best wishes, I am so far glad of his recovery. My daughter is now very well, and most highly obliged to you for what you say about her. I was so little myself when I wrote to you last, with her illness, that I forgot to entreat the favour of your commands to Miss Richardson, to take the opportunity of the summer season to come to this town; but the week after I wrote to her, and insisted on her company immediately, but by directing my letter to Summerseat instead of Coleraine, I had not an answer till yesterday, and then one that did not satisfy me; for it is written with such deference and fear of doing anything without your positive orders, that I have very little to hope for from her. I shall for ever tax you with want of truth, sincerity, and breach of faith, if you do not command her to come immediately to town. I showed Mr. Dunkin the paragraph in your letter that concerned him; for which, and many other obligations he is under to you, he owns himself most gratefully your obedient, etc., etc. Mr. Faulkner will send the books by the first that goes to England.

How could you be so unpolite as to tell a woman you supposed her not to be entertained with scandal? You will not allow us to be learned, books turn our brain, housewifery is below a genteel education, and work spoils our eyes; and will you not permit us to be proficients in gaming, visiting, and scandal? To convince you I am so in the last article,

¹ This letter would appear to be a reply to one from Richardson that is no longer forthcoming.

² It is announced in "Pue's Occurrences" that on the preceding day Swift "distributed a handsome sum of money to upwards of forty decayed housekeepers to buy coals and other necessaries for the ensuing winter." The editor adds the comment: "a glorious example and worthy of imitation."

the poem pleased me mightily, and I had a secret pleasure to see the gentleman I showed it to liked it as well as I did; so I find your sex are not without a tincture of that female quality.

You have pressed me so much in every letter to find you employment that, to be rid of you, I will now do it; for, without mentioning the words, entreat favours, vast obligations, trouble, and a long etc., will you buy for me twenty yards of a pink-coloured English damask? The colour we admire here is called a blue pink. The women will tell you what I mean. If you will be pleased, by the return of the post, to tell what will be the expense, I will pay the money immediately into Henry's bank.

I own I am surprised at what you tell me of Mr. Phillips,¹ but envy, you know, is the tax on virtue, for no other reason could make him your enemy, and I most heartily wish, whoever is so may meet with the fate they deserve. I have just read so far of this letter, and am so much ashamed of the liberty I have taken to give you so much trouble, that if I have truth in me, were it not for the Dean's letter it should never go to you. If you can pardon me this, I promise for the future never to give you the like occasion of exerting your good nature, to her who is, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,
M. WHITEWAY.

You forgot to date your letter.

MCCXLVI. [*Deane Swift.*]

BISHOP SYNGE TO SWIFT

September 18, 1738.

SIR,²

A MESSAGE which I just now received from you by Mr. Hughes, gives me some hopes of being restored to my old

¹ The reference is probably to the Rev. Marmaduke Phillips, who as Bishop Rundle's chaplain (*supra*, vol. v, p. 211) had a connection with the scene of Richardson's labours.

² Bishop Syngé, who held then the see of Ferns, has been already mentioned by Swift as writer of "a silly starched affected" letter

place.¹ Formerly I was your minister *in musicis*, but when I grew a great man, and by the by you helped to make me so, you turned me off. If you are pleased again to employ me, I shall be as faithful and observant as ever.

I have heard Mr. Hughes sing often at Percival's, and have a good opinion of his judgement: so has Percival, who, in these affairs, is infallible.² His voice is not excellent, but will do, and, if I mistake not, he has one good quality, not very common with the musical gentlemen, *i.e.*, he is desirous to improve himself. If Mason and Lamb were of his temper, they would be as fine fellows as they think themselves.³ I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
EDWARD FERNS.

MCCXLVII. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

[*October 3, 1738.*]

MR. SWIFT'S gimcracks of cups and balls,⁴ in order to my convenient shaving with ease and dispatch, together with

(*supra*, vol. ii, p. 365). He is claimed by Mrs. Pilkington as one of her kinsmen, and told her that he owed to Swift his promotion from the chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral to the episcopal bench, but that after his elevation he had never been owned by Swift as a friend. On her mentioning what the Bishop had said to Swift he dismissed, however, the subject with the following reply: "Oh! I remember something of it; Lord Carteret applied to me for a person to make a Bishop whom I knew was not an honest man, and as I wanted the living of Werburgh's for Delany, I recommended Syngé to the bishopric with an assurance that he would answer his Excellency's purpose, and pox take me if I ever thought him worth my contempt, till I had made a Bishop of him" (Mrs. Pilkington's "Memoirs," iii, 36).

¹ Cornelius Hughes was appointed on 26 October to the position of a half vicar-choral in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

² Miss Donnellan's step-father, the Hon. Philip Percival (*supra*, vol. v, p. 127, n. 1), had been chosen in the preceding year President of a Musical Academy that then existed in Dublin ("Pue's Occurrences," 1-4 October, 1737).

³ John Mason had been a vicar-choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral for eight years, and William Lamb a half vicar-choral for three years. They both became subsequently also vicar-chorals of Christ Church Cathedral, and Mason held in addition a similar post at Armagh.

⁴ The allusion is to Deane Swift, who appends a note to explain that the gimcracks were "a box of soap and a brush."

the prescription on half a sheet of paper, was exactly followed, but some inconveniences attended; for I cut my face once or twice, was just twice as long in the performance, and left twice as much hair behind as I have done this twelvemonth past. I return him therefore all his compliments, and my own compliments, with abundance of thanks, because he hath fixed me during life in my old humdrum way. Give me a full and true account of all your healths, and so adieu. I am ever, etc.

J. SWIFT.

October 3rd or 4th, or rather, as the butler says,
the 2nd, on Tuesday, 1738.¹

My service to all your litter, I mean Mrs. Harrison, etc.; but you will call this high treason. I am still very lame of *that* left foot. I expect to see as many of you as you please.

MCCXLVIII. [*Elwin.*]

ALEXANDER POPE TO SWIFT

Twickenham, *October 12, 1738.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I COULD gladly tell you every week the many things that pass in my heart, and revive the memory of all your friendship to me, but I am not so willing to put you to the trouble of showing it, though I know you have it as warm as ever, upon little or trivial occasions. Yet, this once, I am unable to refuse the request of a very particular and very deserving friend: one of those whom his own merit has forced me to contract an intimacy with, after I had sworn never to love a man more, since the sorrow it cost me to have loved so many, now dead, banished, or unfortunate. I mean Mr. Lyttelton, one of the worthiest of the rising generation.² His nurse has a son, whom I would beg

¹ Tuesday fell upon the 3rd.

² George Lyttelton had begun even then to attract attention by the qualities that gained for him in the next generation the name of the good Lord Lyttelton. He was then one of the Boy Patriots, and had been attached for some years to the Court of the Prince of Wales, to whom he acted as secretary.

you to promote to the next vacancy in your choir. I loved my own nurse, and so does Lyttelton. He loves and is loved, through the whole chain of relations, dependents, and acquaintance. He is one who would apply to any person to please me, or to serve mine; I owe it to him to apply to you for this man, whose name is William Lamb,¹ and he is the bearer of this letter. I presume he is qualified for that which he desires; and I doubt not, if it be consistent with justice, you will gratify me in him.

Let this, however, be an opportunity of telling you—what? What I cannot tell—the kindness I bear you, the affection I feel for you, the hearty wishes I form for you, my prayers for your health of body and mind, or, the best softenings of the want of either, quiet and resignation. You lose little by not hearing such things as this idle and base generation has to tell you. You lose not much by forgetting most of what now passes in it. Perhaps, to have a memory that retains the past scenes of our country, and forgets the present, is the means to be happier and better contented. But, if the evil of the day be not intolerable, though sufficient, God knows, at any period of life, we may, at least we should, nay we must, whether patiently or impatiently, bear it, and make the best of what we cannot make better, but may make worse. To hear that this is your situation and your temper, and that peace attends you at home, and one or two true friends who are tender about you, would be a great ease to me to know, and know from yourself. Tell me who those are whom you now love or esteem, that I may love and esteem them too, and if ever they come into England, let them be my friends. If, by anything I can here do, I can serve you, or please you, be certain it will mend my happiness; and that no satisfaction anything gives me here will be superior, if equal to it.

My dear Dean, whom I never will forget or think of with coolness, many are yet living here who frequently mention you with affection and respect. Lord Orrery, Lord Bathurst, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Oxford, Lord Masham, Lewis, Mrs. P. Blount—allow one woman to the list, for she is as constant to old friendships as any man; and many young men there are, nay all that are any credit to this age, who love you unknown, who kindle at your fire, and learn by

¹ As has been mentioned Lamb was then only a half vicar-choral.

your genius. Nothing of you can die, nothing of you can decay, nothing of you can suffer, nothing of you can be obscured, or locked up from esteem and admiration, except what is at the Deanery; just as much of you only as God made mortal. May the rest of you, which is all, be as happy hereafter as honest men may expect, and need not doubt; while, knowing nothing more, they know that their Maker is merciful. Adieu,

Yours ever,
A. POPE.

MCCXLIX. [*Original.*¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

Dublin, *November 21, 1738.*

I INTENDED to write a long letter to your Lordship, but this will prove a short one.² The enclosed is to my friend, and your true admirer, Mr. Pope, and you are to be the sender or deliverer. If I make twenty blunders in ten lines, your Lordship will be well off. I continue my deafness with some increase, and shall soon tear the lungs of poor Mrs. Whiteway. . . .

MCCL. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

November 27, 1738.

I NEVER liked a letter from you on your usual days of coming here, for it always brings me bad news. I am heartily sorry for your son's continuing his illness, and that you have now two patients in your house. In the mean time pray take care of your health, chiefly your wicked colic and Mrs. Harrison's disposition to a fever. I hope at least things will be better on Thursday,³ else I shall be full of

¹ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 382, n. 1.

² Lord and Lady Orrery had gone to England in September.

³ His birthday.

the spleen, because it is a day you seem to regard, although I detest it, and I read the third chapter of Job that morning.¹ I am deafer than when you saw me last, and indeed am quite cast down. My hearty love and service to Mrs. Harrison. I thoroughly pity you in your present circumstances. I am ever yours entirely. God support you.

J. SWIFT.

MCCLI. [*Deane Swift.*]

MISS KATHARINE RICHARDSON TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Belturbet, *November 29, 1738.*

DEAR MADAM,²

It was a very unequal match that the Dean and you should join in a plot against my uncle and me: you could not fail of carrying your point. Anything the Dean hath a hand in, is done in the most genteel and surprising manner. I fairly own I am caught: I would be glad to know what my uncle will think of himself when he hears the part he acted in it. I have been so well accustomed to receive presents of value from him, that I thought it had been a piece of edging, or some light thing, which he had committed to your care to be forwarded to me. Never was I so surprised as I was when I read your letter, to think that I had received a present from so great a person as the Dean, but when I looked upon it, and knew the expense it must be to him, I was quite confounded. It was too great an honour for me, who can never deserve the least favour from him; it is a most beautiful diamond. I own I am proud of finery now, which I never was in my life before. I am highly obliged to you for your improvement of the ring; the Dean's hair and name have made it a treasure to me, and I really believe it will be thought so a thousand years hence, if it can be kept so long. I am sure it shall by me, as long as I live, with as much care as I keep my eyes, while I have them to look upon it.

¹ The following note is appended by Deane Swift, "this chapter he always read upon his birthday."

² As appears from this letter Mrs. Whiteway had written to tell Miss Richardson (*supra*, p. 59, n. 4) that she had a parcel for her which Miss Richardson concluded was from her uncle, but which on its reaching her proved to be a present of a diamond ring from Swift.

My sister, who had the honour of waiting upon you in town, and brought me the ring very safe, is full of acknowledgements for your civilities to her, and returns you her most sincere thanks, with her humble service. Pray give mine most affectionately to Miss Harrison. I am, dear Madam,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,
KATH. RICHARDSON.

MCCLII. [*Original*.¹]

THE COUNTESS OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Marston, *December 4, 1738.*

REVEREND SIR,²

AN Irish woman and a true lover of her country, though never so soberly inclined, could not let the 30th of last month pass without a large bumper most decently drank; not in honour to the patron of Scotland, but to wish long life and health to the patron and best friend of poor Ireland; we all joined in that health, and I think that I made a very good appearance dressed from head to foot in our Hibernian manufacture. In troubling you with this letter I do not mean to give you the fatigue of an answer, but must beg that you will order Mr. Faulkner to give us some account of your state of health, which will ever be a chief concern to my Lord, who is as much yours as friendship and obligations can make a man, and me, who though my acquaintance is of a later date, yet was ever your admirer, and hope these many years to subscribe myself Mr. Dean's

Most obedient humble servant,
MARGARET ORRERY.

MCCLIII. [*Deane Swift*.]

WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT

London, *January 2, 1738-9.*

SIR,

I AM called upon, by many provocations, to prefer a bill of indictment against you, and a female accomplice of

¹ British Museum, Egerton MSS., 201, f. 4.

² *Supra*, p. 102, n. 2.

yours; for that by the use of means very uncommon, which were in your power only, you have turned the head of a well-meaning country girl of plain sense, who had been very useful to me, and esteemed by her acquaintance.¹ I have seen of late many symptoms of her disorder; it is true, that the fascination of your Works had before operated strongly upon her, for scarce any opportunity occurred but she poured forth her admiration of the author, and can repeat without book all your poems better than her catechism; however, she could attend to domestic affairs, and give proper directions about matters in the kitchen and larder, etc., and when she did not pore upon your writings, or some other books, I cannot say of the like kind, she was at work, or seeing that things in her province were as they should be; but now truly it appears she apprehends that heretofore she had not discovered her own value and importance. To be taken notice of by a person she has long thought to be the greatest genius any age has produced, and whom she worships with an adoration that to any mortal rises almost to idolatry, has, it is much to be feared, transported her with conceit and vanity, and where it will end, I know not. What you have done proceeded, no doubt, from a malicious intention towards me as well as the poor girl; and I resent it accordingly, as I hope she will do when she returns to her senses.

I was greatly rejoiced, dear Sir, to learn from the Prime-Serjeant Singleton,² that he found you extremely well in every respect, except your hearing; and in that he said you were much better than he expected. That man, who has as true a heart as ever I met with, most entirely loves as well as admires you. This place affords no news at present. I am detained by affairs of importance that relate to my friends, and cannot yet say when they will allow me to return. I pass my time, now and then, with some of Mr. Pope's most intimate friends; and although I would have a great pleasure in being known to him, that of the present age comes next to you in fame, I shall not be introduced to him, unless I shall have the honour not to be thought wholly unworthy to deliver him a letter from the Dean of St. Patrick's. Alderman Barber got a fall in his parlour on his hip, by his foot getting into a hole of the

¹ *I.e.*, his niece (*supra*, p. 103).

² *Supra*, p. 88.

carpet; it brought a fit of the gout upon him, and he is still somewhat lame in his hip, but otherwise in very good health and spirits. Doctor Squire holds out surprisingly. As soon as the vacancy shall happen, I will have notice, and there is no doubt but Mr. Dunkin will succeed him. I am ever, dear Sir, with the highest esteem and respect,

Your most obliged and most affectionate humble servant,
WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

MCCLIV. [*Orrery Papers*.¹]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Marston, *January 2, 1738-9.*

DEAR SIR,

THE new year begins as the old year ended, in storms, in rain, and all the various inclemencies of the sky. The new year finds me in the same situation the old year left me, a domestic animal fond of my own house, and loath to quit my chimney corner. Year may turn round after year, still I must be your faithful servant. The rage of storms, the whistling of winds, the roar of thunder, can make no impression upon my breast, whatever effect they may have upon the politics and proceedings of the mighty and the great.

In an excursion I lately made to London, I heard of matchless preparations for a convention,² which poor Sheridan would have called a contention, that is to be received with open arms by the Parliament.³ I cannot guess what sort of an animal it is; various are the speculations upon it. Some say it is a monster upon which we are to feed during five months to come, and that it is of bulk sufficient to satisfy the appetites of the whole English nation: others affirm that it is not to be eaten but to be worshipped, and others again are of opinion that it is only a thing of straw dressed up in a Spanish habit. Every man

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 206, n. 1.

² With Spain; it was signed that month and attacked fiercely by the Opposition when Parliament met.

³ Sheridan had died three months before. It is said that he and Swift had previously parted in anger. The question is discussed in a note upon his relations with Swift. See Appendix VIII.

forms a different idea of it, and for my own part, I am apt to think it is eatable, and that it will be crammed down our throats be it never so hard of digestion.

I had a glimpse of Mr. Pope whilst I was in London, and I had a letter from him two posts ago. He is lost in the convention: the very dunces forget him, and think of nothing but politics. Lord Bolingbroke is still in England, but lives as privately as his enemies could wish, and is as silent to the public as if he was in his grave. Lord Bathurst has lately entertained the Prince at Cirencester. We may perhaps see him the first Minister in the next reign, but in this he protests he will not be one. Lewis is, as usual, a Spaniard in outward appearance, but very far from one in his heart. Dr. Freind is to resign his living to his son, and to live and die Prebend of Westminster and Canon of Christ Church.¹ Who would have thought this some years ago? In short, all the old Trojans are divided and dispersed, some one way, some another; some are fled into the country, some have taken refuge at St. James's, some bow at Norfolk House, but others scorn to bend the knee to any idol whatever, and of this last tribe is

ORRERY.

MCCLV. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM KING TO SWIFT

St. Mary Hall, Oxford, *January 5, 1738-9.*

SIR,²

AT length I have put Rochefoucauld to the press, and about ten or twelve days hence it will be published. But I am in great fear lest you should dislike the liberties I have taken, although I have done nothing without the advice and approbation of those among your friends in this country, who love and esteem you most, and zealously interest themselves in everything that concerns your character. As they

¹ The ex-head master of Westminster School (*supra*, vol. v, p. 462, n. 3) had been rector of Witney in Oxfordshire since the time of Oxford's administration. He arranged a transfer not only of that living, but also of his prebend to his son.

² As appears from this letter Swift had decided to publish his poem "On his own Death," and had entrusted the arrangements to Dr. King, who left out a number of lines.

are much better judges of mankind than I am, I very readily submit to their opinion; however, if after having received the printed copies, which I will send you next week, you shall still resolve to have the poem published as entire as you put it into my hands, I will certainly obey your commands, if I can find a proper person to undertake the work. I shall go to London the latter end of the next week, when I will write to you by a private hand more fully than I can venture to do by the post.

I was at Twickenham in the Christmas week. Mr. Pope had just then received a letter from you, and I had the pleasure of hearing you were well and in good spirits. May those good spirits continue with you to the last hour! Believe me to be, with the greatest truth, Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithful servant,
W. K.

Pray do me the honour to present my most humble service to Mrs. Whiteway.

MCCLVI. [*Deane Swift.*]

DEANE SWIFT TO SWIFT

January 12, 1738-9.

SIR,¹

I HAD so great an honour conferred upon me yesterday, that I know not how to express the obligations I lie under for it, unless, by endeavouring to make myself worthy of your present, I can demonstrate to the world that I daily improve in wisdom and knowledge, by studying in those books, which since the beginning of my life I have ever esteemed to be a complete library of taste, wit, poetry, and politics; yes, and in spite of dulness and prejudice, I will venture to say, of religion also. This I am sure of, that so great a present from so great a person, and in a manner so handsome and so extraordinary, it is absolutely impossible I should ever be honoured with again. I always thought I added to my own reputation whenever I pointed out some

¹ As appears from this letter Swift had sent Deane Swift a copy of Faulkner's edition of his "Works."

of those excellences which shine through every page of them. But to be thought worthy of receiving them from your hands, was infinitely beyond even what my vanity could hope for.

I have flattered myself for many years, that to the best of my power I have continually fought under the banners of liberty, and that I have been ready, at a moment's call, either to lay down my life in the defence of it, or, whenever there should appear any probability of success, to vindicate and assert that claim, which every man in every country has by nature a right to insist upon; but, whatever principles have guided my actions hitherto, I shall from this moment enlist myself under the conduct of Liberty's general; and whenever I desert her ensigns, to fight under those of Tyranny and Oppression, then, and not till then, will I part with those books which you have so highly honoured me with, and cast them into the flames, that I may never afterwards be reproached either by the sight of them, or the remembrance of the donor. I am, Sir, with the highest esteem,

Your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,
DEANE SWIFT.

MCCLVII. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM KING TO SWIFT

London, *January 23, 1738-9.*

SIR,

I HOPE you received a letter I wrote to you from Oxford, about the 30th of last month, in which I acquainted you with the publication of Rochefoucauld;¹ and as I interest myself most heartily in everything that concerns your character as an author, so I take great pleasure in telling you, that none of your works have been better received by the public than this poem. I observe this with more than ordinary satisfaction, because I may urge the approbation of the public as some kind of apology for myself, if I shall find you are dissatisfied with the form in which this poem now appears. But if that should happen, all the rest of

¹ *Supra*, p. 107.

your friends on this side of the water must share the blame with me; for I have absolutely conformed myself to their advice and opinion as to the manner of the publication.

There are some lines, indeed, which I omitted with a very ill will, and for no other reason but because I durst not insert them, I mean the story of the medals: however, that incident is pretty well known, and care has been taken that almost every reader may be able to supply the blanks. That part of the poem which mentions the death of Queen Anne, and so well describes the designs of the Ministry, which succeeded upon the accession of the late King, I would likewise willingly have published, if I could have done it with safety; but I do not know whether the present worthy set of Ministers would not have construed this passage into high treason, by aid of the new doctrine of innuendos; at least a lawyer, whom I consulted on this occasion, gave me some reason to imagine this might be the case.

I am in truth more cautious than I used to be, well knowing that my superiors look on me at present with a very evil eye, as I am the reputed author of the Latin poem I have sent you by the same gentleman,¹ who does me the favour to deliver you this letter; for although that piece has escaped the state inquisition, by being written in a language that is not at present very well understood at Court, and might perhaps puzzle the Attorney General to explain, yet the scope of the poem and principal characters being well understood, the author must hereafter expect no mercy, if he gives his enemies any grounds or colour to attack him. But notwithstanding all my caution, if I perceive you dislike this manner and form of the poem, I will, some way or other, contrive that it may be published as you shall direct. I say nothing about your manuscript of the History because I have been assured by Lord Orrery and Mr. Pope that you are satisfied with Mr. Lewis's, and have suspended the publication of that work in consequence of his representation.² I send you my best wishes, and I hope you will yet live many years in a perfect state for the

¹ The hope of a compromise of his suit had evidently vanished, and no longer rendered it expedient that "The Toast" should not be seen (*supra*, p. 74).

² This sentence was communicated to Sir Walter Scott by Deane Swift's son ("Life," p. 428).

sake of your friends, for the benefit of your country, and for the honour of mankind; and I beg you to believe that I am, with the greatest truth, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

W. K.

MCCLVIII. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM KING TO MRS. WHITEWAY

January 30, 1738-9.

MADAM,

A VERY kind letter, which I have just received from you, has put me into great confusion. I beg of you to be assured, that I think myself under the highest obligations to you, and that I set a true value on the friendship with which you have honoured me, and shall endeavour to preserve it as long as I live. If our correspondence has been interrupted, it has been wholly owing to the ill treatment I received from the post-office; for some time I did not receive a letter that had not been opened, and very often my letters were delivered to me with the seals torn off. Whether these post-officers really thought me, what I never thought myself, a man of importance, or whether they imagined my letters were a cover for some great name, I do not know; but for my part, I grew peevish, to find my friendships, and all my little chit-chat, must constantly be exposed to the view of every dirty fellow that had leisure or curiosity enough to examine my letters. However, for some little time past, I have not had the same cause of complaint. Your letter was delivered to me in good condition; I begin to think my superiors no longer suspect me of holding any unwarrantable correspondence, especially since I find I may now venture to write to the Dean, even by the Oxford post.

Notwithstanding what you say, I am in some pain about Rochefoucauld, and doubt much whether he will be satisfied with the manner in which he finds it published; to which I consented in deference to Mr. Pope's judgement, and the opinion of others of the Dean's friends in this country, who, I am sure, love and honour him, and kindly concern themselves in everything that may affect him. The town has received this piece so well, that in all parts,

and in all companies, I hear it extremely commended; and not only the Dean's friends, but his greatest enemies, acknowledge that he has not lost any part of his fire, and of that inimitable turn of wit and humour so peculiar to himself. For my part, I never read any of his works either in prose or verse, that I do not call to mind that short character which Cardinal Polignac gave him in speaking to me, *il a l'esprit créateur*, which I mentioned to you in a former letter, if I remember rightly.¹ It may not be amiss to tell you, that one Gally, or Gaillie, since this poem was printed, offered it to sale to a bookseller at Temple Bar; and I am now told that there are two or three copies more in London. Gaillie pretends that he is just come from Ireland, and that he had directions to publish the poem here; so that perhaps the whole may at last appear, whether he will or not.

I am glad to hear that my friend Mr. Swift is well. When are we to see him again in Oxford? Since you appeal to him for a voucher, although you need none with me, let him likewise do me the justice to tell you, that he never heard me mention your name but with the greatest esteem and respect; with which I shall ever be, Madam,

Your most obedient and most faithful servant,
W. K.

I sent the Dean a packet by the gentleman under whose cover I send you this.

MCCLIX. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER

Dublin, *February* 16, 1738-9.

MY DEAR GOOD OLD FRIEND,

The young gentleman who delivers you this² lies under one great disadvantage, that he is one of my relations, and

¹ Cardinal Melchior de Polignac's high estimate of Swift was reciprocated by the latter, who speaks of the Cardinal in connection with the treaty of Utrecht as "a most accomplished person, of great generosity and understanding" (*Prose Works*, x, 182).

² The bearer is identified by Deane Swift as "William Swift, Esq., then a student at the Middle Temple." He was a younger son of

those are of all mortals what I despise and hate, except one Mrs. Whiteway and her daughter. You must understand that the mother has the insolence to say, that you have heard of her and know her character. She is a perfect Irish Teague born in Cheshire, and lived, as I remember, at Warrington.¹ The young gentleman who waits upon you, has a very good countenance, has been entered three years at the Temple, as it is the usual custom, but I think was never yet in England, nor does he know any one person there. However, as it is easy to find you, who are so well known and so much esteemed, he will attend you with this letter, and you will please to instruct him in the usual methods of entering himself in the Temple. He is a younger brother, but has an estate of a hundred pounds a year, which will make shift to support him, in a frugal way. He is also a very good person of a man, and Mrs. Whiteway says he has a virtuous disposition.

My disorders of deafness, forgetfulness, and other ailments, added to a dead weight of seventy years, make me weary of life. But my comfort is, that in you I find your vigour and health increase. Pray God continue both to you. I am, my dear friend, with very great esteem and affection,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

Do you ever see any of our old friends? If you visit Mr. Lewis, I must charge you to present him with my kind and hearty service; and how or where is my Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pope? I am very much obliged to you for the favour you have shown to Mr. Richardson. He is a very prudent good gentleman. If you see him, pray make him my compliments. So, my dear friend, once more adieu.

Godwin Swift, the eldest surviving son of Swift's uncle Godwin, and was also related to Swift, through his mother, who was his father's first cousin, a daughter of Swift's uncle William. He had seven years before graduated in arts in Dublin University. See Appendix IX.

¹ Mrs. Whiteway was born at the time of the Revolution, when her father was no doubt one of the fugitives from Ireland who sought shelter in the neighbourhood of Chester.

MCCLX. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM KING TO MRS. WHITEWAY

London, *March 6, 1738-9.*

MADAM,

I DO not remember anything published in my time, that hath been so universally well received as the Dean's last poem.¹ Two editions have been already sold off, though two thousand were printed at first. In short, all people read it, all agree to commend it, and I have been well assured, the greatest enemies the Dean has in this country, allow it to be a just and beautiful satire. As I am very sincerely and sensibly affected by everything that may raise the Dean's character as a writer, if anything can raise it higher, so you may believe I have had the greatest pleasure in observing the success and general approbation which this poem has met with; wherefore I was not a little mortified yesterday, when the bookseller brought me the Dublin edition, and at the same time put into my hands a letter he had received from Faulkner, by which I perceive the Dean is much dissatisfied with our manner of publication, and that so many lines have been omitted, if Faulkner speaks truth, and knows as much of the Dean's mind as he pretends to know. Faulkner has sent over several other copies to other booksellers, so that I take it for granted this poem will soon be reprinted here from the Dublin edition, and then it may be perceived how much the Dean's friends have been mistaken in their judgement, however good their intentions have been. In the mean time I will write to you on this occasion without any reserve; for I know you love the Dean, and kindly and zealously interest yourself in everything that concerns his character, and if you will believe the same of me, you will do me great justice.

The Doctor's friends, whom I consulted on this occasion, were of opinion, that the latter part of the poem might be thought by the public a little vain, if so much were said by himself of himself. They were unwilling that any imputation of this kind should lie against this poem, considering

¹ *Supra*, p. III.

there is not the least tincture of vanity appearing in any of his former writings, and that it is well known, there is no man living more free from that fault than he is. They were of opinion that these lines,

He lash'd the vice, but spared the name,
No individual could resent
Where thousands equally were meant,¹

might be liable to some objection, and were not, strictly speaking, a just part of his character; because several persons have been lashed by name, a Bettesworth, and in this poem, Charteris and Whitshed, and for my part, I do not think, or ever shall think, that it is an imputation on a satirist to lash an infamous fellow by name.

The lines which begin,

Here's Woolston's Tracts, the twelfth edition.²

are plainly a mistake, and were omitted for that reason only; for Woolston never had a pension, on the contrary, he was prosecuted for his blasphemous writings, his books were burnt by the hands of the common hangman, he himself was imprisoned, and died in prison. Wollaston, the author of a book called the Religion of Nature Delineated, was indeed much admired at Court, his book universally read, his busto set up by the late Queen in her grotto at Richmond with Clarke's and Locke's, but this Wollaston was not a clergyman.³

The two last lines,

That kingdom he hath left his debtor,
I wish it soon may have a better,

I omitted, because I did not well understand them; a *better* what? There seems to be what the grammarians call an antecedent wanting for that word; for neither *kingdom* or *debtor* will do, so as to make it sense, and there is no other antecedent. The Dean is, I think, without exception, X the best and most correct writer of English that has ever yet appeared as an author; I was therefore unwilling any-

¹ "Poetical Works," i, p. 263.

² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

³ King is mistaken. William Wollaston, the moral philosopher, as well as the deist Thomas Woolston, entered holy orders. So far as is known, neither of them was granted a pension ("D. N. B.," lxii, 310, 437).

thing should be cavilled at as ungrammatical. He is besides the most patient of criticism of all I ever knew, which perhaps is not the least sign of a great genius; I have therefore ventured to make these objections to you, in which, however, for the most part, I submitted my own opinion to the judgement of others. I had something to add concerning the notes, but I have not room in this paper, but I will give you the trouble of reading another letter. Believe me, Madam,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
W. K.

MCCLXI. [*Nichols.*]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

March 28, 1739.

SIR,

TWO days ago I had the very great pleasure to hear from Mr. Swift¹ you were well. The acknowledgements he professes in his letters to the Dean and me of your extraordinary civilities to him, make me perfectly ashamed to think how ill I shall acquit myself by only being able to say I most sincerely thank you. What an opportunity have you laid in my way of saying a thousand fine things on this subject, and yet I can only tell you, what you already know to be a great truth, that you have acted in this as you do in everything, friendly, politely, and genteelly.

All the return I can make, is to give you farther room to exercise a virtue which great minds only feel, that of doing good to an ingenuous worthy honest gentleman. The person I mean is Counsellor Macaulay;² one of those who stand candidates for member of Parliament to represent the University of Dublin, in the place of Dr. Coghill, deceased.³ The Dean of St. Patrick's appears openly for him,

¹ *I.e.*, William Swift (*supra*, p. 112, n. 2), who had evidently been recommended to Richardson as well as to Barber.

² As Swift's letter to him a year before shows (*supra*, p. 80), Macaulay had become a first favourite at the Deanery.

³ Marmaduke Coghill, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Judge of the Prerogative Court at the time of his death, had died on the 9th.

and I have his leave and command to tell you, if you can do Mr. Macaulay a piece of friendship on this occasion with any person of distinction in England, he will receive the favour as done to himself. After I have mentioned the Dean, how trifling will it be to speak of myself, and yet I most earnestly entreat your interest in this affair, and for this reason, because it will never lie in my way to make you any return, so that only true generosity can inspire you to do anything at my request. After all, I am not so very unreasonable as to desire a favour of this nature if it be irksome to you. Tell me, Sir, can you do anything in this matter, and will you undertake it, for your word I know can be depended upon? There is one hint that perhaps I am impertinent in offering, that all great bodies of men, or who at least think themselves so, let their inclinations be ever so much in prejudice of one person, as I take it to be the case of Mr. Macaulay, yet wait for the interfering of the higher powers; so that if, by your good offices, the Lord Lieutenant can be prevailed on to recommend him to the Provost and Fellows of the University, his interest would be certainly fixed; but this, and the manner of doing it, I submit to your superior judgement.

The Dean of St. Patrick's presents you his most affectionate love and service; these were his own words. He is better both in health and hearing than I have known him these twelve months, but so indolent in writing, that he will scarce put his name to a receipt for money. This he has likewise ordered me to tell you as an apology for not writing to you himself, and not want of the highest esteem for you. Do you, Sir, ever intend to see this kingdom again? What time may we expect it? When may I hope you will perform your promise to let Miss Richardson spend some months with me, and do you ever intend to write again to your friends in Dublin? I am, Sir, with the highest esteem and respect,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MAR. WHITEWAY.

MCCLXII. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO MRS. WHITEWAY

London, *April 5, 1739.*

DEAR MADAM,

I AM indeed much ashamed that I have so many favours from you to acknowledge at one time. You may believe me when I assure you that my silence has not proceeded from want of respect and esteem for you. I would not put on the affectation of much business as an excuse to anybody, much less to you; although the truth is, that I am hurried almost out of my life with the attendance and writing about things I have undertaken for some friends.

The Dean's recommendation and yours, without any other consideration whatever, would induce me to do my utmost to serve Mr. Macaulay, as I have told him by this post, when I thought I should not trouble you with a few lines. He will acquaint you with what I have done, by which you will see that I have lost no time, and I have hopes to obtain the Lord Lieutenant's countenance for him.

I will endeavour to introduce Mr. Swift to the acquaintance of some persons before I leave this, whose countenance and friendship will at least give a young gentleman a good air. His own merit entitles him to the esteem and regard of such as shall have the happiness to be acquainted with him. I am much obliged to you for introducing me to him. I have only time to add my most hearty thanks for the same, and to assure you that any opportunity of expressing the esteem I have for the Dean, which is the highest, and for you, will ever give me the greatest pleasure. I am, Madam,

Your most obliged and most truly faithful servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

MCCLXIII. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT

London, *April* 10, 1739.

DEAR SIR,¹

IT is an age since I had the honour of a line from you. Your friend Mr. Alderman Barber, whose veneration for you prompts him to do anything he can think of that can show his respect and affection, made a present to the University of Oxford of the original picture done for you by Jervas, to do honour to the University by your being placed in the gallery among the most renowned and distinguished personages this island has produced, but first had a copy taken, and then had the original set in a fine rich frame, and sent it to Oxford, after concerting with Lord Bolingbroke, the Vice Chancellor, and Mr. Pope, as I remember, the inscription to be under the picture, a copy whereof is inclosed.² The alderman had a very handsome compliment from the Vice Chancellor, in the name of all the heads of houses there, and by their direction, wherein there is most honourable mention of the Dean of St. Patrick's on that occasion. Seeing an article in the London Evening Post upon your picture, which was drawn at the

¹ About that time two of the best known portraits of Swift, the one by Charles Jervas in the Bodleian, and the one by Francis Bindon in St. Patrick's Deanery, found their permanent habitations. The former, which is supposed to have been the portrait mentioned in the *Journal to Stella* ("Prose Works," xii, 5), was presented to Oxford University by Barber, who obtained possession of it under circumstances which are not known. The latter, for which £53 9s. was paid, nearly a third of that sum being the cost of the frame, was executed by the order and at the expense of the Chapter of St. Patrick's (*ibid.*, p. 27). The portraits have been reproduced as frontispieces respectively to the seventh and ninth volumes of the "Prose Works." In the case of the St. Patrick's portrait it may be noticed that the signature and date which appear in the frontispiece are not found in the original portrait, and were attached by Edward Berwick to a mezzotint now preserved in the National Library of Ireland, from which the frontispiece was taken. In a letter to John Forster (Forster Collection) Berwick mentions his purchase of a copy of Temple's Works with Swift's autograph and the date May 2, 1692, and tells of his cutting them out and pasting them "on the case of a mezzotint portrait of the Dean."

² "Prose Works," xii, 9.

request and expense of the Chapter of your Cathedral, being put up in the Deanery, Alderman Barber took the hint, and caused what you see in the London Evening Post of this day to be printed therein.¹ He knows nothing of my writing to you at this time, but I thought it right that you should be acquainted how intent he is, all manner of ways, to show the effects of the highest friendship, kindled to a flame by the warmest sense of gratitude, and the most exalted esteem and veneration.

Mrs. Whiteway and Mr. Macaulay can inform you how absolute your commands are with me. Since you recommended him, he is sure of the utmost I can do for him. Sir, if I have not a few words from you, I shall conclude that you think me troublesome, and are resolved to get rid of my impertinence. It will be two or three months before I can get from hence, although I am impatient to be at home, but wherever I am, or however engaged, I am always, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most truly faithful servant,
WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

My best respects wait upon Mrs. Whiteway.

MCCLXIV. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

April 17, 1739.

SWIFT

MY VERY GOOD FRIEND,

I FIND that Mrs. Whiteway pretends to have been long acquainted with you; but upon a strict examination I discovered that all the acquaintance was only at the Deanery House, where she had the good fortune to see you once or twice at most. I am extremely obliged to you for your favours to Mr. Macaulay, whose good sense and virtues

¹ The article comments on the remarkable coincidence of different kingdoms, showing at the same time a desire to perpetuate Swift's memory "without knowing each other's intentions" ("Prose Works," xii, 8).

of every kind I have highly esteemed ever since I had the happiness of knowing him. If he succeeds in his election, it will be chiefly by your good offices, and you have my hearty thanks for what you have already done. I know you often see my honest hearty friend Alderman Barber, and pray let him know that I command him to continue his friendship to you, although he is your absolute governor. I am very much obliged to the alderman and you for your civilities to young Swift. Mrs. Whiteway says he is my cousin, which will not be to his advantage, for I hate all relations; and I——

MRS. WHITEWAY

SIR,

I HAVE snatched the pen out of the Dean's hand, who seems, by his countenance, to incline to finish his letter with my faults as he began it. Where there is so large a scope, and such a writer, you may believe I should not like to have my character drawn by him. However, I think for once he is mistaken, I mean in the article of what he calls vanity, and which I term a laudable ambition, the honour of being known to you, and bragging of it as some merit to myself, to be distinguished by you. Have I not reason to boast, when you tell me my recommendation will have weight with you, and how great must be the obligation that words cannot express? Gratitude, like grief, dwells only in the mind, and can best be guessed at when it was too great to be told, and most certainly lessens when we are capable of declaring it. I never doubted Mr. Macaulay's success if you undertook his cause, nor your indefatigable friendship for those who have the good fortune to gain your esteem. Mr. Swift I wish may be in the number. This I am sure of, that his virtue and honour will never give me reason to repent that I introduced him to you, which is the only favour I hoped for him; but you, Sir, never do things by halves.

I know you are hurried on many occasions; therefore I do not expect a letter unless you are perfectly disengaged. Sometimes we are in such a state of indolence, that half an hour is trifled away in doing nothing. When you find yourself in this situation, tell me in two or three lines you are well, and command Miss Richardson to come to me. My daughter most earnestly joins with me in this request, and

entreats you to believe that she is, with as great respect as I am, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
M. WHITEWAY.

MCCLXV. [*Deane Swift.*]

WILLIAM RICHARDSON TO SWIFT

London, *April* 17, 1739.

DEAR SIR,¹

I WROTE this morning to Mrs. Whiteway a few lines in much hurry, and I write this to you in Guildhall, by Alderman Barber's direction. Beside a letter from you to the Society, whose address is in Mrs. Whiteway's letter, he thinks a memorial or petition from Mr. Dunkin to the Society will be of use; and if you write to Mr. Pope, the alderman thinks he will get one vote, which he can fix no way of obtaining but through Pope. I am ever, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most affectionate humble servant,
WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

I should think it would be right in Mr. Dunkin to come over the moment he hears of Squire's death. I wrote by this post to a nephew, to let you know the moment he dies, if the life should be in him when my letter goes to him.

MCCLXVI. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO JOHN BARBER

Dublin, *April* 19, 1739.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

AT last Dr. Squire is actually dead; he died upon the 14th day of this month, and now you have the opportunity of obliging me in giving Squire's living in Coleraine to Mr. William Dunkin, who is an excellent scholar, and keeps a school in my neighbourhood;² besides, he is a very fine

¹ As appears from this letter Richardson had heard that Squire, who had died on the 14th, was *in extremis* (*supra*, p. 60).

² Dunkin had become master of the school formerly held by Jones of Tripos fame (*supra*, vol. i, p. 45, n. 2).

poet. My friend Mr. Richardson can give you a better account of him. It is true, Mr. Dunkin is a married man; however that is of no great moment; and in the northern country of Ireland, although it be the best inhabited part of the kingdom, a wife will be convenient. Yet we two old bachelors, I own I am your senior, could never consent to take so good example, by endeavouring to multiply the world.

I heartily thank you for your civilities to young Swift.¹ It seems he is a relation of mine, and there is one Mrs. Whiteway, a widow, the only cousin of my family for whom I have any sort of friendship, it was she prevailed with me to introduce the young man to you. He is a younger brother, and his portion is only a hundred pounds a year English. You will oblige me if you can bear seeing him once a quarter at his lodging near the Temple, where he designs to study the law, and so I have done with ever troubling you, my dear friend.

Where is Mr. Lewis? Some months ago he writ to me with many complaints of his ill health, and the effect of old age, in both which I can overmatch you and him, beside my giddy head, deafness, and forgetfulness into the bargain. I hear our friend Lord Bolingbroke has sold Dawley; I wish you could tell me in what condition he is, both as to health and fortune, and where his lady lives, and how they agree. If you visit my Lord and Lady Oxford and their daughter, who is now as I hear a Duchess, or any other friend of ours, let them have the offers of my humble service. May you, my most dear friend, preserve your health, and live as long as you desire! I am ever, with the greatest truth and esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant, and entire friend,
|JON. SWIFT.

I desire you will give my most hearty service to Mr. Pope, and let him know that I have provided for Mr. Lamb, whom he recommended to me, with a full vicar-choralship in my choir;² and pray let me know the state of Mr. Pope's health.

¹ *Supra*, p. 112.

² *Supra*, p. 101.

MCCLXVII. [*Nichols.*]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

April 19, 1739.

SIR,

I NOW give you an opportunity of adding a new petition in your prayers: from female impertinence, good Lord deliver me. Yet this trouble you brought on yourself, and therefore I will make no apology for it. Mr. Dunkin's case comes now under your care. You were the first promoter of it, and to you only are his obligations due. Mr. Squire died the 14th of this month, and by this post the Dean has writ to Alderman Barber in Mr. Dunkin's favour. He has commanded me to entreat your friendship for him with the alderman and the Society, and says, he knows you will pardon him that he does not write to you himself on the occasion; for his head is very much out of order to-day. There is one article in the Dean's letter he has left out, and another inserted, much against my inclination. The first is, that he omitted mentioning Mr. Dunkin as a worthy good man, which in my opinion is more material than being a poet or a scholar, although, when joined with these, make a most amiable character. The other is, troubling the alderman to know there is such an insignificant person in the world as Mrs. Whiteway, but the tyrant Dean will say and do just as he pleases. The enclosed was sent me by Mr. Dunkin, not knowing how to direct to you. I now promise you, Sir, to tease you no more with my letters, unless you command me to pay you my most humble respects, and then you shall be obeyed with pleasure, by, Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedient servant,

MAR. WHITEWAY.

MCCLXVIII. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO THE IRISH SOCIETY

April 19, 1739.

WORTHY GENTLEMEN,

I HEARTILY recommend to your very worshipful Society, the Reverend Mr. William Dunkin, for the living of Col-raine, vacant by the death of Dr. Squire. Mr. Dunkin is a gentleman of great learning and wit, true religion, and excellent morals. It is only for these qualifications that I recommend him to your patronage; and I am confident that you will never repent the choice of such a man, who will be ready at any time to obey your commands. You have my best wishes, and all my endeavours for your prosperity; and I shall, during my life, continue to be, with the truest respect and highest esteem, worthy Sirs,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

Addressed—To the Honourable the Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, for the New Plantation in Ulster, within the realm of Ireland, at the chamber in Guildhall, London.

MCCLXIX. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE REV. WILLIAM DUNKIN TO MRS. WHITEWAY

April 25, 1739.

MADAM,

AS it was through your countenance I had the honour of being first introduced to the most worthy Dean of St. Patrick, I must have thought myself under the highest obligation to you; but the continuance of your friendship, through so many repeated acts of generosity, and the course of his gracious endeavours to raise my reputation and fortune, are such things as I must ever remember and express with a very deep sense of gratitude. The fatigue of writing so many letters lately in my favour, was indeed

what I could not in reason expect even from his humanity, were I worthy of them; and I can only say, the Dean of St. Patrick is unwearied in doing good, and that he who could rise to preserve a nation, will descend to relieve an individual.

The sense of my own demerit, and the just awe in which I stand before so great and good a man, will not allow me either that freedom of speech, or writing, which is requisite to let him understand with what love, veneration, and respect of his person I reflect upon the many instances of his tender concern and uncommon zeal for my welfare. This is a duty I most earnestly wish, but am altogether unable to perform, and such as I entreat you, dear Madam, to undertake for me; your compliance in which will be yet another, among the many and weighty obligations laid upon

Your most dutiful, obedient, devoted servant,
WILLIAM DUNKIN.

MCCLXX. [*Elwin.*]

SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE

Dublin, *April 28, 1739.*

DEAR SIR,

THE gentleman who will have the honour to deliver you this, although he be one related to me, which is by no means any sort of recommendation; for I am utterly void of what the world calls natural affection, and with good reason, because they are a numerous race degenerating from their ancestors, who were of good esteem for their loyalty and sufferings in the rebellion against King Charles the First.

This cousin of mine, who is so desirous to wait on you, is named Deane Swift, because his great-grandfather by the grandmother's side was Admiral Deane, who having been one of the regicides, had the good fortune to save his neck by dying a year or two before the Restoration.¹ I have a great esteem for Mr. Deane Swift, who is much the most valuable of any of his family. He was first a student

¹ "Prose Works," xi, 374.

in this University, and finished his studies in Oxford, where Dr. King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, assured me, that Mr. Swift behaved himself with good reputation and credit.¹ He hath a very good taste for wit, writes agreeable and entertaining verses, and is a perfect master equally skilled in the best Greek and Roman authors. He has a true spirit for liberty, and with all these advantages is extremely decent and modest.

Mr. Swift is heir to the little paternal estate of our family at Goodrich in Herefordshire. My grandfather was so persecuted and plundered two and fifty times by the barbarity of Cromwell's hellish crew, of which I find an account in a book called *Mercurius Rusticus*, that the poor old gentleman was forced to sell the better half of his estate to support his family.² However, three of his sons had better fortune; for, coming over to this kingdom, and taking to the law,³ they all purchased good estates, of which Mr. Deane Swift has a good share, but with some incumbrance.

I had a mind that this young gentleman should have the honour of being known to you, which is all the favour I ask for him, and that if he stays any time longer in London than he now intends, you will permit him to wait on you sometimes. I am, my dearest friend,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

MCCLXXI. [*Elwin.*]

SWIFT TO ALEXANDER POPE

May 10, 1739.

YOU are to suppose, for the little time I shall live, that my memory is entirely gone, and especially of anything that was told me last night, or this morning. I have one favour to entreat from you. I know the high esteem and friendship you bear to your friend Mr. Lyttelton, whom you call "the rising genius of this age."⁴ His fame, his virtue, honour, and courage, have been early spread, even among us. I find

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 238.

² "Prose Works," xi, p. 371.

³ The sons to whom Swift refers are Godwin, William and Adam (*supra*, vol. i, p. 8, n. 4, and p. 24, n. 2).

⁴ *Supra*, p. 100.

he is secretary to the Prince of Wales, and his Royal Highness has been for several years Chancellor of the University in Dublin.¹ All this is a prelude to a request I am going to make to you. There is in this city one Alexander Macaulay, a lawyer of great distinction for skill and honesty, zealous for the liberty of the subject, and loyal to the house of Hanover, and particularly to the Prince of Wales, for his Highness's love to both kingdoms. Mr. Macaulay is now soliciting for a seat in Parliament here, vacant by the death of Dr. Coghill, a civilian, who was one of the persons chosen for this University,² and, as his Royal Highness continues still Chancellor of it, there is no person so proper to nominate the representative as himself. If this favour can be procured, by your good-will and Mr. Lyttelton's interest, it will be a particular obligation to me, and grateful to the people of Ireland, in giving them one of their own nation to represent this University.

There is a man in my choir, one Mr. Lamb; he has at present but half a vicarship; the value of it is not quite fifty pounds per annum. You writ to me in his favour some months ago, and, if I outlive any one vicar-choral, Mr. Lamb shall certainly have a full place, because he very well deserves it;³ and I am obliged to you very much for recommending him.

MCCLXXII. [*Deane Swift.*]

GEORGE LYTTELTON TO SWIFT

London, *May* 16, 1739.

SIR,

I CANNOT let Mr. Swift⁴ return to Ireland without my acknowledgements to you for the favour you have done Mr. Lamb.⁵ I know that I ought to ascribe it wholly to Mr. Pope's recommendation, as I have not the happiness

¹ It is probable that Swift had forgotten his part in the Prince's appointment (*supra*, vol. iii, pp. 401, 403).

² *Supra*, p. 116.

³ Swift's memory was here again apparently at fault; a few weeks before he had said that Lamb was "provided" with a full vicar-choralship (*supra*, p. 123).

⁴ *I.e.*, Deane Swift (*supra*, p. 126).

⁵ *Supra*, p. 123.

to be known to you myself, but give me leave to take this occasion of assuring you how much I wish to be in the number of your friends. I think I can be so even at this distance, and though we should never come to a nearer acquaintance; for the reputation of some men is amiable, and one can love their characters without knowing their persons. If it could ever be in my power to do you any service in this country, the employing me in it would be a new favour to, Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,
G. LYTTETON.

MCCLXXIII. [*Original.*¹]

ALEXANDER POPE TO SWIFT

May 17, 1739.

DEAREST SIR,

EVERY time I see your hand, it is the greatest satisfaction that any writing can give me; and I am in proportion grieved to find, that several of my letters to testify it to you miscarry, and you ask me the same questions again which I proluxly have answered before. Your last, which was delivered me by Mr. Swift, inquires, where and how is Lord Bolingbroke,² who, in a paragraph in my last, under his own hand, gave you an account of himself, and I employed almost a whole letter on his affairs afterward.³ He has sold Dawley for twenty-six thousand pounds, much to his own satisfaction. His plan of life is now a very agreeable one in the finest country in France, divided between study and exercise; for he still reads or writes five or six hours a day, and hunts generally twice a week. He has the whole forest of Fontainebleau at his command, with the King's stables, dogs, etc., his lady's son-in-law being governor of that place. She resides most part of the year with my Lord, at a large house they have hired; and the rest with her daughter, who is abbess of a royal convent in the neighbourhood.

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² The passage to which Swift refers does not appear in the printed version of the letter (*supra*, p. 126).

³ As Orrery's letter shows (*supra*, p. 107), Bolingbroke had remained in England until January.

I never saw him in stronger health or in better humour with his friends, or more indifferent and dispassionate to his enemies. He is seriously set upon writing some parts of the history of his times, which he has begun by a noble introduction, presenting a view of the whole state of Europe, from the Pyrenean treaty. He has hence deduced a summary sketch of the natural and incidental interests of each kingdom, and how they have varied from, or approached to, the true politics of each, in the several administrations to this time. The history itself will be particular only on such facts and anecdotes as he personally knew, or produces vouchers for, both from home and abroad. This puts into my mind to tell you a fear he expressed lately to me, that some facts in your History of the Queen's Last Years, which he read here with me in 1727, are not exactly stated, and that he may be obliged to vary from them, in relation, I believe, to the conduct of the Earl of Oxford, of which great care surely should be taken; and he told me, that, when he saw you in 1727, he made you observe them, and that you promised to take that care.¹

We very often commemorated you during the five months we lived together at Twickenham, at which place could I see you again, as I may hope to see him, I would envy no country in the world, and think, not Dublin only, but France and Italy, not worth the visiting once in my life. The mention of travelling introduces your old acquaintance Mr. Jervas, who went to Rome and Naples purely in search of health. An asthma has reduced his body, but his spirit retains all its vigour, and he is returned, declaring life itself not worth a day's journey at the expense of parting from one's friends.² Mr. Lewis every day remembers you. I lie at his house in town. Dr. Arbuthnot's daughter does not degenerate from the humour and goodness of her father. I love her much. She is like Gay, very idle, very ingenious, and inflexibly honest. Mrs. Patty Blount is one of the most considerate and mindful women in the world towards others, the least so in regard to herself; she speaks of you constantly. I scarce know two more women worth naming to you. The rest are ladies, run after music, and play at cards. I always make your compliments to Lord

¹ *Supra*, p. 79, n. 1.

² He died on 2 November following.

Oxford and Lord Masham, when I see them. I see John Barber seldom, but always find him proud of some letter from you. I did my best with him, in behalf of one of your friends,¹ and spoke to Mr. Lyttelton for the other,² who was more prompt to catch than I to give fire, and flew to the Prince that instant, who was as pleased to please you.

You ask me, how I am at Court. I keep my old walk, and deviate from it to no court. The Prince shows me a distinction beyond any merit or pretence on my part, and I have received a present from him of some marble heads of poets for my library, and some urns for my garden.³ The ministerial writers rail at me; yet I have no quarrel with their masters, nor think it of weight enough to complain of them. I am very well with all the courtiers I ever was or would be acquainted with; at least, they are civil to me, which is all I ask from courtiers, and all a wise man will expect from them. The Duchess of Marlborough makes great court to me; but I am too old for her mind and body.⁴ Yet I cultivate some young people's friendship, because they may be honest men, whereas the old ones' experience too often proves not to be so. I have dropped ten where I have taken up one, and hope to play the better with fewer in my hand. There is a Lord Cornbury, a Lord Polwarth, a Mr. Murray,⁵ and one or two more with whom I would never fear to hold out against all the corruption of the world.

You compliment me in vain upon retaining my poetical spirit. I am sinking fast into prose, and, if I ever write more, it ought, at these years and in these times, to be something, the matter of which will give value to the work, not merely the manner. Since my protest, for so I call the Dialogue of 1738,⁶ I have written but ten lines, which I will send you. They are an insertion for the next new

¹ *I.e.*, Dunkin (*supra*, p. 122).

² *I.e.*, Macaulay (*supra*, p. 128).

³ Pope's grotto was then the favourite meeting-place of the leaders of the Opposition, who were sometimes joined there by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

⁴ She was then closely allied with the Opposition.

⁵ To Lord Cornbury there has been more than one allusion, Lord Polwarth was the future Lord Marchmont, and Mr. Murray the future Lord Mansfield.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 87, n. 3.

edition of the *Dunciad*, which generally is reprinted once in two years. In the second canto, among the authors who live in Fleet Ditch, immediately after Arnal, verse three hundred, add these:

Next plung'd a feeble but a desp'rate pack,
 With each a sickly brother at his back;
 Sons of a Day! just buoyant on the flood,
 Then number'd with the puppies in the mud.
 Ask ye their names? I could as soon disclose
 The names of these blind puppies as of those.
 Fast by, like Niobe, her children gone,
 Sits Mother Osborne, stupefied to stone;
 And rueful Paxton tells the world with tears,
 These are—ah! no; these were my Gazetteers.¹

Having nothing to tell you of my poetry, I come to what is now my chief care, my health and amusement. The first is better, as to headaches; worse, as to weakness and nerves. The changes of weather affect me much; otherwise I want not spirits, except when indigestions prevail. The mornings are my life; in the evenings I am not dead indeed, but sleep and am stupid enough. I love reading still, better than conversation, but my eyes fail, and, at the hours when most people indulge in company, I am tired, and find the labour of the past day sufficient to weigh me down. So I hide myself in bed, as a bird in his nest, much about the same time, and rise and chirp the earlier the next morning. I often vary the scene, indeed at every friend's call, from London to Twickenham, or the contrary, to receive them, or to be received by them.

Lord Bathurst is still my constant friend, and yours, but his country-seat is now always in Gloucestershire, not in this neighbourhood. Mr. Pulteney has no country-seat, and in town I see him seldom, but he always asks of you. In the summer I generally ramble for a month to Lord Cobham's, the Bath, or elsewhere. In all those rambles my mind is full of the images of you and poor Gay, with whom I travelled so delightfully two summers. Why cannot I cross the sea? The unhappiest malady I have to complain of, the unhappiest accident of my whole life, is that weakness of the breast, which makes the physicians of opinion that a

¹ The last two lines now read:

“And monumental brass this record bears,
 These are—ah! no; these were the Gazetteers.”

strong vomit would kill me. I have never taken one, nor had a natural motion that way in fifteen years. I went, some years ago, with Lord Peterborough, about ten leagues at sea, purely to try if I could sail without seasickness, and with no other view than to make yourself and Lord Bolingbroke a visit before I died. But the experiment, though almost all the way near the coast, had almost ended all my views at once. Well then, I must submit to live at the distance which fortune has set us at, but my memory, my affections, my esteem, are inseparable from you, and will, my dear friend, be for ever yours.

London, *May* 19.

This I end at Lord Orrery's, in company with Dr. King. Wherever I can find two or three that are yours, I adhere to them naturally, and by that title they become mine. I thank you for sending Mr. Swift to me: he can tell you more of me.

One of my new friends, Mr. Lyttelton, was to the last degree glad to have any request from you to make to his master. The moment I showed him yours concerning Mr. Macaulay, he went to him, and it was granted. He is extremely obliged for the promotion of Lamb. I will make you no particular speeches from him, but you and he have a mutual right to each other. *Sint tales animae concordēs.* He loves you, though he sees you not, as all posterity will love you, who will not see you, but reverence and admire you.

MCCLXXIV. [*Hawkesworth.*]

SWIFT TO GEORGE LYTTELTON

June 5, 1739.

SIR,

YOU treat me very hard, by beginning your letter¹ with owing an obligation to me on account of Mr. Lamb, which deserves mine and my Chapter's thanks, for recommending so useful a person to my choir. It is true I gave Mr. Deane

¹ *Supra*, p. 128.

Swift a letter to my dear friend Mr. Pope, that he might have the happiness to see and know so great a genius in poetry, and so agreeable in all other good qualities; but the young man, several years older than you, was much surprised to see his junior in so high a station as secretary to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to find himself treated by you in so kind a manner. In one article, you are greatly mistaken; for, however ignorant we may be in the affairs of England, your character is as well known among us, in every particular, as it is in the Prince your master's Court, and indeed all over this poor kingdom.

You will find that I have not altogether forgotten my old Court politics; for, in a letter I writ to Mr. Pope, I desired him to recommend Mr. Macaulay to your favour and protection, as a most worthy, honest, and deserving gentleman,¹ and I perceive you have effectually interceded with the Prince, to prevail with the University to choose him for a member to represent that learned body in Parliament, in the room of Dr. Coghill, deceased. I have been just now informed that some of the Fellows have sent over an apology, or rather a remonstrance, to the Prince of Wales, pretending they were under a prior engagement to one Mr. Tisdall,² and therefore have desired his Royal Highness to withdraw his recommendation. A modest request indeed, to demand from their Chancellor, what they think is dishonourable in themselves, to give up an engagement. Their whole proceeding, on this occasion, against their Chancellor, heir of the crown, is universally condemned here, and seems to be the last effort of such men, who, without duly considering, make rash promises, not consistent with the prudence expected from them. I can hardly venture

¹ *Supra*, p. 127.

² Philip Tisdall, who is now known as one of the most prominent Irish politicians of the eighteenth century, was like Macaulay a barrister, and afterwards held for many years the office of Attorney General in Ireland. He was defeated at the poll by Macaulay, but on petition he gained the seat. In writing of him ("D. N. B.," lvi, 415) Mr. Litton Falkiner attributes Macaulay's temporary success to the aid of Swift, "perhaps the last public exertion of his influence," and suggests that as Philip Tisdall was a near relation of Stella's lover, Swift's interest in the election may have been stimulated by the memory of his old animosity. The fact that Tisdall was married to a niece of the Prime Serjeant, Swift's friend Henry Singleton, probably accounted for the result of the petition.

the boldness to desire, that his Royal Highness may know from you the profound respect, honour, esteem, and veneration, I bear toward his princely virtues. All my friends on your side the water represent him to me in the most amiable light, and the people infallibly reckon upon a golden age in both kingdoms, when it shall please God to make him the restorer of the liberties of his people.

I ought to accuse you highly for your ill-treatment of me, by wishing yourself in the number of my friends, but you shall be pardoned, if you please to be one of my protectors, and your protection cannot be long. You shall therefore make it up, in thinking favourably of me. Years have made me lose my memory in everything but friendship and gratitude, and you, whom I have never seen, will never be forgotten by me until I am dead. I am, honourable Sir, with the highest respect,

Your most obedient and obliged humble servant.

MCCLXXV. [*Nichols.*]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

July 20, 1739.

SIR,¹

A FORTNIGHT ago I went out of town with the new married couple, my son and daughter, and the day before I had the honour to receive your letter. With great truth I do assure you, I am much more concerned at the trouble and disappointment you met with in Mr. Dunkin's affair than for him, having but a short acquaintance and knowledge, otherwise than knowing him to be a man of sense, virtue, and religion, who would be an ornament to the Church, and a credit to those who appeared for him. These were my reasons to wish him well.

One part of your letter, Sir, I can only take notice of with amazement, and do entreat you will indulge me so far as to believe this will be all the answer I can, or ever will, make to it; and yet I am not insensible you have been

¹ As appears from this letter Dunkin had failed to obtain the living of Coleraine (*supra*, p. 125), and the marriage between Deane Swift and Molly Whiteway (*supra*, p. 5, n. 4) had taken place.

pleased in some measure to honour me with your esteem. I will not therefore fear the loss of your friendship, because it shall be my study to merit your good opinion, and, unprovoked, I know you to have too much good nature to withdraw it. I never saw a more beautiful silk than was bought for my daughter. If you did not choose it, at least you showed your judgement in the person that was employed. She desires me to say this, that you have forced her to do what she never did in her life, wear anything that was not paid for, and if hereafter she should run her husband in debt, she will lay all the fault at your door. Mr. Swift presents you his most obedient respects, and will oblige you to know him by his assiduity in courting the honour of your acquaintance.

I have asked you so many favours, that no one but myself would presume perpetually to dun you thus, and yet I will never leave off until you grant this my request, to command Miss Richardson to town immediately.¹ I now attack you on the foot of charity: an argument you can never resist. Consider my daughter has quitted me, that I am all alone, and her agreeable company will make Molly and her husband spend all their time with me. In short, Sir, if you hesitate one moment longer, I will lay you open to the world, and let them see how much they were mistaken in Mr. Richardson, who once in his life broke his word. I have now before me, under your hand, that all my commands should be obeyed. I insist on your promise, and Miss Richardson is my demand, and that immediately. You see how careful and sparing you gentlemen ought to be in compliments to women, who always keep you to your promise while it makes to their interest, and as well know how to evade their own when it is contrary to their inclination.

I had the favour of a letter from Alderman Barber in answer to one I wrote him. He does not perhaps know the inconveniency he has brought on himself, which is another from me, and yet you may tell him when I have once more paid my respects to him, I am not so unreasonable as to impose or expect any further notice of Irish impertinence. I left this paragraph to finish at the Deanery, that from his own mouth I might assure you of his love

¹ *Supra*, p. 121.

and esteem. He sends his most affectionate service to his dear old friend Alderman Barber. Mr. Dunkin likewise presents you his most obedient respects, and hopes you received his letter that he sent some days ago. There is no person a more obedient humble servant to you than my daughter, excepting, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most obliged faithful humble servant,

MARTHA WHITEWAY.

The chief circumstance that you would choose to know I had like to have forgot, which is, that the Dean is in good health, and ever will remember the pains you and the alderman have been at, on his account, for Mr. Dunkin.

MCCLXXVI. [*Original*.¹]

GEORGE LYTTTELTON TO SWIFT

Worcestershire, *August 4, 1739.*

SIR,

I HAVE just heard from town that Mr. Faulkner, your bookseller at Dublin, has by your order sent me over your Works. When I desired Mr. Swift² to procure them for me, I did not expect the additional pleasure of owing them to your own kindness in so obliging a way. I will place them in my study next to Mr. Pope's, which he too gave me himself, and can truly assure you that, excepting that present, I never received one which I value so much.

I am sorry his Royal Highness's recommendation has been of so little use to your friend, and think, indeed, that the University owed more respect to their Chancellor, though he had not been Prince of Wales, than they have thought proper to show. I made his Royal Highness your compliments, which he accepted with much satisfaction. I hope and believe he will make good the expectations he has raised among those who are equally friends to him and their country. He is pleased to reckon you in that number,

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² *I.e.*, Deane Swift (*supra*, p. 133).

and desires to preserve and increase your good opinion. I thank you for the promise you give me, not to forget me, and beg you to remember me as one sincerely desirous to merit the continuance of your friendship by all the services in the power of, Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedient servant,
G. LYTTTELTON.

I beg my compliments to your relation Mr. Swift.

MCCLXXVII. [*Deane Swift.*]

JOHN SCOTT TO SWIFT

London, *September 7, 1739.*

REVEREND SIR,¹

ALTHOUGH I do not imagine that you have any remembrance of a person so little known to you as I am, yet I have taken the liberty to draw a kind of bill of friendship upon you, which I am inclined to believe you will answer, because it is in favour of that kingdom to which you have always stood a sincere and firm friend. We have had here, for some time past, a number of anatomical figures, prepared in wax, which perfectly exhibit all the parts of a human body. They are the work of a French surgeon, who spent above forty years in preparing them, and who, to bring them to perfection, was at the trouble and expense of dissecting some hundreds of bodies.² The present pro-

¹ This letter concerns anatomical models which are now preserved in the Medical school of Trinity College, Dublin. According to tradition they were presented to the school by Swift's friend, the Earl of Shelburne, and the gift was made at Swift's instigation (Kirkpatrick's "Medical School of Trinity College, Dublin," p. 130). Although mentioning that the school was indebted for them to the Earl of Shelburne, Deane Swift does not, however, suggest that Swift had any part in the presentation, and the date on which it was made is uncertain. The writer of this letter is styled doctor by Deane Swift, but of him nothing is known.

² The models represent the body in various stages of dissection and were made on human skeletons under the direction of M. Denoué, Professor of Anatomy in the Academy of Sciences in France. They are said by Deane Swift to have been brought to England by a sculptor called Rackstraw.

prietor of them is my friend, and it was by my persuasion that he was prevailed on to send them into Ireland for the instruction of the curious. I presume you have seen them in London, and therefore I am inclined to think you will be of opinion, that a person may gain more perfect knowledge in anatomy, by viewing these preparations only a few times, than he would by attending many dissections. Your encouraging such of your acquaintance as are curious to see these figures, would greatly excite the curiosity of others. This is the favour I have taken the liberty to desire of you, and which I believe you will be the more readily inclined to grant, when I have assured you, that the person who has the care of the figures, has it in his instructions to return the money that may be got by exposing them to view, in Irish linen, so that the kingdom will be no way impoverished by the small expense which gentlemen may be at in procuring useful instruction, or gratifying their curiosity. If the request I have made be such as you cannot favour, my next is, that you will grant me your pardon for having made it.

I intend, God willing, to go into Ireland next spring, after the publication of a work which I have been engaged in for some years past, for the silencing of all infidels, heretics, schismatics of all kinds, and enthusiasts. I thought it necessary, because in the way that the controversy has been hitherto managed against such people, the truth has been rather puzzled and perplexed than cleared, Christianity has been betrayed, and all true religion lost in the world. I have advanced no one new opinion of my own: what I have set forth is what was clearly set forth in the Scriptures from the beginning, I mean in the original Scriptures of the Old Testament, so interpreted as to make them everywhere consistent with themselves, and to show that the interpretations I have given are not only the true interpretations, but that the Scriptures so interpreted are the revealed word of God. I have demonstrated the truth of them by natural evidence, or by the works of God, and that the works bear evidence to nothing but the truth; that these revealed truths so demonstrated are unquestionable and undeniable, and that they are the only powerful motives by which men are not only moved but enlightened, and enabled to mortify all their lusts, which blind and deceive them here, and will be their everlasting tormentors

hereafter, but to work the works of charity, and of that perfect righteousness which is of faith: so that the whole of all true religion, which has been one and the same in all ages, will appear to consist in the mortifications of our bodily and spiritual lusts, which withhold men from the works of righteousness, and in the belief of those demonstrative truths, by which alone we are enlightened, enabled, and moved to subdue them, and in observing those natural memorials, which God hath set before us, and in partaking of those reverential ordinances which he has instituted to put us in mind of what we ought to do, in order to eternal life and the motives for so doing. I ask pardon for this digression, and if you have any commands that I am capable of executing here, if you will let me have the honour of executing them, I shall take great pleasure in obeying you; for I am, with the greatest respect and truth, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
JOHN SCOTT.

MCCLXXVIII. [*Original*.¹]

JAMES CORBRIDGE TO SWIFT

September, 1739.

REVEREND SIR,²

THE approaching time of the Lord Lieutenant drawing nigh for his going over to his government of Ireland,³ I beg leave to communicate the within scheme or method for preventing that pernicious practice of running the wool and yarn out of the said kingdom of Ireland to France, our common enemy, or to other parts beyond the seas, to your

¹ In the Forster Collection, No. 568.

² This letter has relation to an unsuccessful attempt at that time to restrain the clandestine exportation of wool from Ireland to France by which the restrictive legislation was in a great degree defeated. In order to propitiate the Irish Parliament an English Act had been passed taking off the duty on wool and yarn exported to that country, but the Irish assembly refused to listen to the proposals of the government, and to give them the power which they sought to enforce stricter regulations.

³ The Duke of Devonshire arrived for the second time in Ireland on 27 September, and the Irish Parliament met on 9 October.

serious consideration. As you, Sir, are a patriot of your country and lately saved the kingdom of Ireland from the intended ruin that was attempted by Wood and his wicked disciples, I am in great hopes that, Sir, you will not be wanting in forwarding these poor endeavours of mine to put them in the clearest light for the benefit of the working and trading people of these three kingdoms, and more especially for the good of the Protestants in general, for whom I have calculated this scheme.

No doubt, Sir, but your ears have been open to those many outcries and murmuring of the working people in the woollen manufacture, both of Great Britain and Ireland, by the decay of that trade in general for near this twenty years past, and yet no cure has been provided by the legislation occasioned by France clandestinely getting of such vast quantities of the wool of Ireland through the secret villainy of the Papist, and other ill-disposed people within the said kingdom, as the French do likewise by the same subtlety here in England to the enriching of France by computation of near a million and a half yearly and impoverish ourselves of the like sum. The Parliament of England in the last sessions have made a conditional Act that is to take place the 1st of May next, that the duty of the Irish wool and yarn exported from Ireland into Great Britain shall cease and be no longer paid, so that the Parliament of England will expect in lieu of such encouragement that the markets of England being now free and open for the Irish wool and yarn to come to duty free, that the Parliament of Ireland will come into such measures for the future that the growth of the wool of Ireland may be laid under such proper restrictions as the same may be secured at home by its being prevented from being run to France or elsewhere abroad; for by this Act the Irish will have full liberty to manufacture up what they please into yarn, which together with the linen manufacture will go near to employ the most part of the poor of [their country] at the manufacture centres at home as it ought to do; it [will also make them cease to hate] and envy ourselves.

There is, Sir, a scheme intended for Ireland for the wool drawn up by those in the manufacture in London and will be proposed this next sessions to the Parliament of Ireland, but it carries with it such a sting in the tail of it that I

hope, and I make no manner of doubt, but that you will oppose it because it designs no good to the nation in general, but communicate this hint to your good friends, of which you do not want neither friends nor admirers. The sting, Sir, is this intended by the scheme that all the wool at next shear time belonging to the proprietors of the kingdom shall be bonded after it is shorn yearly by such proprietor, and that the buyer only of such wool shall be obliged to pay a duty of threepence per pound for all such wool as shall be bought within the said kingdom, and [for] all such wool and yarn as shall hereafter be exported from Ireland to England the exporters of the same to England shall be entitled to a draw-back out of the said duty of threepence a pound so that the wool exported and yarn to England is to come threepence a pound cheaper to them than to a foreigner or other person whatsoever, but as for that which is for the consumption of Ireland the duty that shall arise from thence is to be given towards the helping of the linen manufacture. So you will see, Sir, what good is intended for the Irish nation, and [for] whatever part of wool or yarn that may be run to France or elsewhere abroad such foreign buyer will be obliged to advance and pay threepence a pound for what wool or yarn they get more than the English, which they say in time will destroy the foreigners' trade and make them sick of buying up either wool or yarn, and further add that it will have the same effect as to what the Irish shall export abroad through any clandestine way, or manufacture up for themselves at home. This is the bait that is laid by their scheme, and they flatter themselves the more upon it because they say it will occasion a division in both Houses; the wool-grower who sits in the House he will be for it, by reason it will rise the price of wool, and those gentlemen in the interest of the linen manufacture, they will be for it because the remaining part of the duty left that is not drawn back will be for the improvement of the linen manufacture. If, Sir, you please to observe the hardship will lie upon the poor, etc.

Now, Sir, the method that I lay down by my scheme you will plainly see I have no manner of end in it, but to preserve so valuable a blessing as the Great Creator has been pleased to give us within these three kingdoms. That our material may be kept at home and our poor employed

is all I aim at and desire, and that nobody may be oppressed, and the same is to be done by my method and scheme effectually with or without a duty, and if it should be thought proper that a small duty of a farthing in the pound be laid upon all sheep's wool, lamb's wool, and fellmonger's wool within the said kingdom, such a duty will I dare say amount to near twenty thousand pounds a year. I propose that the management of the wool, etc., should be done only by the officers of the excise within the said kingdom, they being the properest persons and have leisure time enough to do it, not having above one fifth part of the duty the officers of excise in England have, and if a duty it may not [be irksome] to the officers of excise at forty pounds per annum to their [salaries. If it be] necessary that the Parliament oblige the officers to do the duty, the most of the trouble that will be very extraordinary will be at their time, which will not last with any officer within his walk above three weeks or a month, and should any person think too much of it when it concerns so nearly the happiness of the three kingdoms in general? Sir, this duty I propose I would have it if it was in my power to be put only to the public good of the kingdom, as the duty on the chair and coaches, etc., in the kingdom was given, and to no other use, namely the overplus of the duty to be applied towards the forwarding of the Protestant schools within the said kingdom rather than to any other thing. If these my poor thoughts should meet with, Reverend Sir, your favourable approbation it would be an acceptable pleasure to me to be honoured with an answer who am, Reverend Sir,

Your most humble servant to command,

JAMES CORBRIDGE.

Be pleased to direct to me at Mrs. Taylor's in the Broad Sanctuary, the north-side Westminster Abbey.

Addressed—To the Revd. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, at his house in Dublin, Ireland.

MCCLXXIX. [*Orrery Papers*.¹]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Caledon, *September* 29, 1739.

DEAR SIR,²

BEHOLD an Englishman growing fat and flourishing in the county of Tyrone. Fortune has been extremely kind in her favours, and I have no other way of showing my gratitude, but by living on the spot from whence those favours flow. Where our treasure is, there will our heart be also.

The time is now drawing near when the eyes of Europe will be fixed on the counsels and determinations of College Green.³ I cannot ask you to be absent from a scene of such importance, but if peace be the result of those counsels, as I doubt not from their wisdom it will, I must hope to see you here next summer. The inducements to make you quit Patrick's Street, a place I confess very alluring, for the less well-bred butchers of the North, are quiet, ease and a Pyrrha and Deucalion who know how to value you; but if war ensues, if his Grace of Devonshire opens the Temple of Janus, and the shrill trumpet sounds to arms, even then your retreat here will be secure. Encompassed with hills and Presbyterians, we bid defiance to Don Geraldino and the *conjux violenta Philippi*.⁴ Our plough-shares will be plough-shares still: nay, so great is our aversion to swords, that we do not suffer prize-fighters to come amongst us,

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 206, n. 1.

² Orrery had returned from England in August, and while passing through Dublin had seen Swift. In writing to Dr. King he observes: "I found the Dean in excellent health and spirits; God send us all a fit of the gout at seventy" (*Orrery Papers*, i, 264). It is difficult to reconcile this remark with what we know of Swift from other sources. See Appendix X.

³ *Supra*, p. 140, n. 3.

⁴ The relations between England and Spain had become acute, and the country was crying out against any further negotiations with Don Geraldino, otherwise Thomas Fitzgerald, the faithless Spanish envoy, and the Queen of Philip V, by whom Philip and his country were then ruled. In spite of Walpole's utmost efforts to avert it, war was formally declared a few weeks later.

and, what is more wonderful, one of our Lords, the Baron of Blayney, has quitted the broad-belt and hanger for the *toga Christiana* of the Church:¹ so that all the tumults we apprehend are *in nubibus*. The clouds are the chief ministers to Boreas, and they execute his orders without the least colour of justice or show of pity. The winds blow down our trees and the rains rot them, nor can their wrath against groves and plantations be exceeded by any set of people beneath them, except by the natives of the place.

You see I scorn to disguise the situation of our State, and since you have long known my imperfections, why should you not know the imperfections of my land? A land whose worst produce is cheese,² and whose greatest want is the honour of your company. I leave Lady Orrery to speak for herself. She is at present in the dairy tasting buttermilk and trying a new churn. By and by we must go together to the pigeon-house, and when night comes on, we shall shut our windows and retire to the Muses and the Loves. I am, dear Sir,

Your ever obliged, affectionate, and obedient humble servant,

ORRERY.

MCCLXXX. [*Faulkner.*]

SWIFT TO GEORGE FAULKNER

December 4, 1739.

SIR,

I CANNOT find a manuscript I wrote, called Directions for Servants, which I thought was very useful, as well as humorous.³ I believe you have both seen and read it. I wish

¹ Charles, eighth Lord Blayney, after completing his education at Cambridge, entered holy orders and obtained preferment in the Irish Church. His father was the peer who interfered with Swift's comfort while driving his high-mettled horses on the strand at Dublin ("Prose Works," xi, 388), and his mother was Miss Touchet, Swift's "ugly awkward slut" (*supra*, vol. i, p. 340), who was a granddaughter of the Earl of Castlehaven and a niece of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose train she came to Ireland. Lord Blayney had been appointed governor of the county of Monaghan on coming of age, and possibly by the broad-belt and hanger the insignia of that office are indicated.

² *Supra*, p. 2, n. 5.

³ In view of the former letter on the same subject (*supra*, p. 96) Swift's account of his loss of memory is seen to be not exaggerated.

you could give me some intelligence of it, because my memory is quite gone; therefore let me know all you can conjecture about it. I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,
 JON. SWIFT.

MCCLXXXI. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE REV. ROBERT THROP TO SWIFT

December 10, 1739.

REVEREND SIR,¹

THE many professions of kindness you have made, and friendship you have shown, to my mother and her family, particularly in declaring your abhorrence and detestation of the cruel and inhuman behaviour of that monster [Colonel Waller] to my unfortunate and innocent brother, induced my mother to trouble you with a few of the Narratives of that Case, to disperse among such members of the House of Commons as were of your acquaintance. The reason of our troubling you to do this, is because we intend presenting a petition to the members of the House of Commons this session, to oblige [Colonel Waller] to waive his privilege, every other attempt we have tried since my brother's death proving fruitless. Your appearing, Sir, in this affair, will not only make [the Parliament] the more ready to do justice, but prevent others from supporting him in his villainies, which will be of infinite service to my mother and

¹ The Rev. Roger Throp had survived his victory over Colonel Waller only a few months (*supra*, vol. v, p. 266). His death is thus announced in "Pue's Occurrences": "On Friday last [23 January, 1735-6] died of a consumption at Glasnevin near this city the Rev. Mr. Roger Throp, rector of Kilcorman in the county of Limerick," and as appears from the lines in the "Legion Club" it was attributed by his friends to the hardships which he had undergone:

"See the scowling visage drop,
 Just as when he murder'd Throp."

On the strength of the public sympathy his fate had excited, his family pursued the attempt to recover compensation from Colonel Waller, and published at this time the pamphlet to which there has been already reference. It is with regard to this pamphlet that the writer of the present letter, a brother of Colonel Waller's victim, approaches Swift.

her family.¹ The bearer carries you a dozen of Cases, and if you should have occasion for any more, they shall be sent you by, Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient humble servant,

ROBERT THROP.

I have written the names of several persons mentioned in the narrative at length upon the back of the title-page.

MCCLXXXII. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

December 31, 1739.

MADAM,²

IT is impossible to have health in such desperate weather, but you are worse used than others. Every creature of either sex are uneasy; for our kingdom is turned to be a Muscovy, or worse. Even I cannot do any good by walking. Is not warmth good against rheumatic pains? I hope Deane Swift will be able to assist you both. I wish for a happy turn in the weather. I am doubly desolate, and wish I could sleep until the sun would comfort us. Would neither your son or daughter save you the pains of writing on your back? You are much more friendly to me than a thousand of them. Adieu. I am,

Ever yours,
J. SWIFT.

¹ It would appear from the list of his mortgages that Swift had lent money to the Throp family (*supra*, p. 86, n. 1).

² This letter contains the first allusion to the memorable frost of that winter. It had set in with intensity four days before, accompanied by an intolerably piercing east wind, and lasted with no appreciable intermission for a period of seven weeks. The letter would appear to be a reply to one from Mrs. Whiteway telling Swift that she was unable to visit him owing to an attack of rheumatism, and that her daughter, Deane Swift's wife, could also not venture to go to him.

MCCLXXXIII. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

[*January 1, 1739-40.*]

DEAR MADAM,

I AM truly and heartily glad that you are a little mended, and can lie on your belly, or side, not altogether on your back. You are much in the right not to stir, and so was Croker,¹ not to suffer you. I am not yet worse for the cold weather, but am angry at it. I am heartily sorry for yourself and daughter, but Mr. Swift dares not be sick, for his chief business is to look after you and your daughter. I walk only in my bedchamber and closet, which hath also a fire. I am,

Ever yours,
JON. SWIFT.

New Year's Day.

I wish you may have many, and all healthy ones.

MCCLXXXIV. [*Original.*²]

SWIFT TO —

[*January 2, 1739-40.*]

I FEAR there is no fund for a chaplain in Dr. Steevens's Hospital.³ Mr. Cooke's⁴ case it is true is very hard, and that he should find bread and wine for the Sacrament is altogether unreasonable. In such a case it is better for Mr. Cooke to give up the chaplainship, and try to get a tolerable curacy.

JONATH. SWIFT.

¹ Edward Croker was a Dublin apothecary, and according to Deane Swift an eminent one "of great humanity and skill."

² In the possession of Captain Loftus Bryan of Bormount Manor, co. Wexford. It is said to have been found amongst the papers of a clergyman to whom it relates.

³ As her mother was still alive, Stella's bequest for that purpose (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 462) had not become available.

⁴ Probably the Rev. George Cooke, a scholar and graduate of Dublin University, who became a Prebendary of Leighlin.

MCCLXXXV. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT TO —

Deanery House, *January 9, 1739-40.*

WHEREAS¹ the bearer served me the space of one year, during which time he was an idler and a drunkard, I then discharged him as such; but how far his having been five years at sea may have mended his manners, I leave to the penetration of those who may hereafter choose to employ him.

JON. SWIFT.

MCCLXXXVI. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

*January 13 [1739-40].*²

DEAR MADAM,

YOUR son,³ who was with me yesterday, and stayed the whole afternoon till near ten o'clock, gave me a very melancholy account of your ill-health, extremely to my grief. I send a servant with this letter, and you will please to employ Mr. Swift to answer it, because I am in very great pain about you; for the weather is so extremely sharp, that it must needs add to your disorders. Pray let your son or daughter write a few lines to give me some sort of comfort. My cold is now attended with a cough this bitter cold weather; but I am impatient until your son or daughter gives me some hopes. I am ever

Your assured friend and most humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

¹ According to Mrs. Pilkington ("Memoirs," vol. iii, p. 46) the recipient had served Swift in the capacity of a footman, and had been dismissed by him five years before the above date for treating a poor woman who came to the Deanery in a harsh manner, and refusing to bring a petition from her to Swift. Swift told him that he had forgiven drunkenness and idling on his part, but that he could not pardon inhumanity. As Swift would not then give him a character the recipient was forced to go to sea, but on his return he received the following one, which is said to have secured him a place with Pope.

² This letter has been hitherto dated 1740-1, but evidently was written at the same time as the preceding and succeeding letters.

³ *I.e.*, Deane Swift as he himself tells us.

MCCLXXXVII. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

January 18, 1739-40.

DEAR MADAM,

I HAVE been many days heartily concerned for your ill-health; it is now twenty-five days since we have found nothing but frost and misery, and they may continue for as many more. This day is yet the coldest of them all. Dr. Wilson and I are both very uneasy to find no better message from you.¹ I received, as I was going to dinner, the enclosed letter from your beloved of —, which I shall make you happy with. It will show you the goodness, the wisdom, the gratitude, the truth, the civility, of that excellent divine, adorned with an orthography (spelling) fit for himself. Pray read it a hundred times, but return it after you have read it a hundred times. My love and service to your son and daughter; let them both read the enclosed. I would not lose your lover's letter for a hundred pounds. It must be sent back by the bearer. Let me know the exact number of lies that are in it, but I fear that that will take up your time too much. I am,

Ever yours,

J. SWIFT.

¹ The Rev. Francis Wilson, who occupies an unenviable position in the history of Swift's closing years, would appear to have become before this time resident in the Deanery. Wilson, who was then a man of about forty-five years of age, was a scholar and doctor of divinity of Dublin University, and had been since 1727 Prebendary of Kilmactalway in Swift's Cathedral, and rector of the parish of Clondalkin, in which the greater part of the deanery property lay. A note in an account-book relating to the Cathedral (Forster Collection, No. 513) shows that Wilson had been closely connected with Swift for at least a year before that time, and that Swift was not blind to his failings. It occurs in connection with the provision for the poor of the Liberty and is as follows: "1739 May 3 Increased to Mr. Lyon, by the pernicious vice and advice of my daily sponge and ingrate Will's son, to twelve scoundrels at 6½*d.* per week, 6*s.* 6*d.*"

MCCLXXXVIII. [*Original.*¹]

LORD CASTLE-DURROW TO SWIFT

Dublin, *February 2, 1739-40.*

SIR,²

SINCE I am forbidden your presence, I think I should be more explicit in my reason of thanks to you for Dr. Delany's obliging present,³ than I can be in a verbal, crude, ill-delivered message by a servant. As I am not acquainted with the Doctor, I at first imagined his boundless generosity distributed his book amongst the Lords, and that it was sent me, as a member, though an unworthy one, of that august body. I soon found myself mistaken; and as all presents are enhanced in value proportionable to their manner of distribution, I thought it incumbent on me to thank him by letter, for having so obligingly distinguished me. He has honoured me with an answer to it, which highly elates me, for weak minds are easily made vain; but whose would not be so, on the compliment he makes me, on having read some of my letters to you.⁴ They were writ, as most of mine are, in the wantonness of fancy, without aiming at pomp of expression, or dress of words, lucky methods of gilding nonsense; yet, that he should approve, I will not wonder when I consider the benignity of your

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² From this letter it would appear that Lord Castle-Durrow had returned from England (*supra*, vol. v, p. 417), and had lately called at the Deanery but had failed to see Swift.

³ Probably a copy of his "Historical Account of David."

⁴ The letter is in the possession of Viscount Ashbrook, and through the kind assistance of his Lordship's friend, Mr. Charles Gamble, of Killiney Lodge, co. Dublin, I am enabled to give a copy of it:

MY LORD,—The letter with which you honoured me found me from home, and in no good condition to return the thanks I owe for it, which I now beg leave to do. I had conceived a good opinion of your understanding from some letters of yours to the Dean of St. Patrick's, and I have since had reason to think well of your religion, and I sha l always wish everything I write in the hands of persons of that character, and think myself as much obliged for their censures as I shall be proud of their approbation. I am, my Lord, with great respect, Your most obedient humble servant, PATRICK DELANY. January 29, 1739-40.

friendship. Oh! is it not sometimes too strong bias even for your judgement, that prompted you to think them worth his perusal?

What am I now to do? I ought not to be silent; yet must I risk depreciating a favourable opinion he has conceived of me, by making myself farther known to him. Why, in prudence, no; in civility, yes. Under this dilemma give me your advice, as you are the origin of this favour. Or will you yield to what I suggest may not be improper? Take me under your protection, as soon as the weather will permit, in a warm hackney-coach, which I shall take care to provide.¹ Let us jumble together to his little paradise, which I long much to see, as well as to pay my debt due to his benevolence. I am already alarmed with your excuse of deafness and dizziness. Yielding to such a complaint, always strengthens it; exerting against it, generally lessens it. Do not immerse in the sole enjoyment of yourself. Is not a friend the medicine of life? I am sure it is the comfort of it. And I hope you still admit such companions as are capable of administering it. In that number I know I am unworthy of rank: however, my best wishes shall attend you.

I have enclosed some verses; the Latin I believe will please you; one of the translations may have the same fortune, the other cannot. The verses written in the lady's book is, a Lamentable Hymn to Death, from a lover, ascribed to his mistress. I have made the author of it vain, who I am sure had then never read Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*, in telling him his six last lines seem a parody on six of Pope's. They are on the other side, that you may not be at loss:

Then too, when fate shall thy fair frame destroy,
That cause of all my guilt, and all my joy,
In trance ecstatic may thy pangs be drown'd,
Bright clouds descend, and angels watch thee round;
From opening skies may streaming glories shine,
And saints embrace thee with a love like mine.

I think the whole letter the most passionate I ever read, except *Eloisa's* own, on the subject of love. I am equally struck with *Cadenus to Vanessa*. I have often soothed my

¹ As will be seen subsequently, Swift set up afterwards a coach of his own. He appears for many years before his death to have never left the Deanery for more than a few hours. See Appendix XI.

love with both, when I have been in a fit. I will conclude with the above wish, and assuring you I am, with great sincerity, as well as esteem, Sir,

Your most faithful affectionate humble servant,
CASTLE-DURROW.

My boy sends you his respects, and would fain pay them in person to you.

Addressed—To the Reverend Mr. Dean Swift.

MCCLXXXIX. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

February 3, 1739-40.

THE bad account I had of your health for many days or rather weeks, has made me continually uneasy to the last degree, and Mr. Swift,¹ who was with me so long yesterday, could not in conscience give me any comfort; but your kind letter has raised my spirits in some measure. I hope we have almost done with this cursed weather, yet still my garden is all in white.² I read your letter to Dr. Wilson, who is somewhat better, and he resolves to apply your medicine, I mean your improvements of what you prescribe to add to his surgeon's method. I am ever, dear Madam,

Entirely yours,
J. SWIFT.

MCCXC. [*Copy.*³]

SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES STOPFORD

Deanery House, *March 17, 1739-40.*

SIR,⁴

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for your kind offer of advancing some money, but if Mrs. Stopford's agent be too perverse to pay me any, I will by no means press you to

¹ *I.e.*, Deane Swift (*supra*, p. 149).

² There was then some tendency towards a thaw, but it did not last, and frost again set in and continued until the 14th of that month.

³ In the Forster Collection.

⁴ It would appear from this letter that Swift had lent Stopford's mother (*supra*, p. 18) money, the interest on which was in arrear;

any inconvenience, and will rather borrow fifty pounds upon interest; besides, I can make a shift for a fortnight. I hope this disorder you complain of will not long affect you. As to myself, I am never well; yet my deafness is the most vexatious. I am glad Mr. Pulteney hath not quite forgot me. I suppose you will answer his letter, and let him know that I intended to thank him for his great favour. I forget what part in London, where I may address a letter to him. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient obliged servant,

J. SWIFT.

A Patrick's Day: our annual feast when I shall be overloaded with my Chapter, but without any expense. I desire to present my humble service to your lady and relations about you.

MCCXCI. [*Nichols.*]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

March 25, 1740.

DEAR SIR,¹

ONCE I thought I could never receive a letter from, or answer one to you, without pleasure, and yet both has happened to me very lately. This is the third day I sat down to write to you, and as often tore my paper. I endeavoured so say something to alleviate your grief—that would not do. Then I resolved to be silent on the occasion; but, alas! that was impossible for a friend. I will, therefore, for a moment, rather renew your grief by joining with you in it. Your trials have been most severe: the loss of two such valuable persons as Miss Richardson and Sir Joseph Eyles are irreparable;² for, in a middle state of life, Stopford had written offering to make an advance from his own resources, and telling Swift at the same time of a letter which he had received from Pulteney.

¹ As appears from this letter Richardson was still in London (*supra*, p. 135), and had written to tell Mrs. Whiteway of the death of his niece and one of his friends.

² Sir Joseph Eyles, who had died on 8 February, was a knight, an alderman of London, and member of the British Parliament. His father had been created a baronet by George I, and his elder brother, who had succeeded to the baronetcy, was appointed that year Postmaster-General.

we have not time enough before us to make new friendships, were it possible to meet their equals. This is an unusual way of comforting a friend in trouble. Ought I not rather to persuade you to forget them, and call in Christianity to your aid? But I believe those expounders of it are mistaken in their notions, who would have us imagine this to be religion; for I am sure a just God will expect no more from us than to submit without repining. I am too much a fellow-sufferer in misfortunes of this nature not to feel for you. In a short time I lost a beloved husband and friend, an ingenious, a worthy son, and, what the world value as their chief happiness, some trifling conveniences. All these I have outlived, and am an instance that time will erase the blackest melancholy. I most sincerely wish, dear Sir, this may be your case, and that it may be the last struggle of mind or tedious illness you will ever have to battle against.

You have conjured me by such a tie as the last request of dear Miss Richardson, that, as well as I am able, I will tell you what I guess the Dean may like. I know his candlesticks are the most indifferent of any of his plate, and therefore mention a pair of those: his snuffers are good.¹ Surely I was not such a beast as to forget mentioning the receipt of the papers you were so careful and obliging to send me; they came very safe. I entreat you to accept of my most humble thanks for this, and all your other most extraordinary favours. The Dean of St. Patrick's presents you his most affectionate love and service; and commanded me to tell you he would have writ to you upon this late occasion, if he had not been too deeply affected with your grief. Surely the two long months you have so often fixed for your return will be at an end; and then I shall have the opportunity of telling you from my mouth what I now give under my hand, that I am, with the highest respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,
MARTHA WHITEWAY.

My most obedient respects to Alderman Barber. Mr. Swift and his wife beg you will accept of theirs.

¹ Some information as to Swift's plate and furniture will be found in Appendix XII.

MCCXCII. [*Deane Swift.*]

ROBERT NUGENT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Bath, *April 2, 1740.*

MADAM,¹

I HAD not until very lately an opportunity of letting Mr. Pope know his obligations to you, of which he is very sensible, and has desired me to beg that you will remit to me, by a safe hand, whatever letters of his are now in your possession. I shall be in town next week, so that you may be pleased to direct to me, by the first convenient opportunity, at my house in Dover Street, London. I am, Madam, with great esteem,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

R. N.

My compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Swift.² I shall say nothing of the picture, because I am sure you remember it. I must beg that you will let Mr. Bindon know I would have the picture no more than a head upon a three-quarter cloth, to match one which I now have of Mr. Pope.³

¹ The writer of this letter was "the jovial voluptuary," afterwards created successively Viscount Clare and Earl Nugent, who had recently married the sister of the younger Craggs, the second of the three widows through whom he acquired wealth and political power. Before this letter was written he had become known to both Pope and Swift, to Pope as a young poet, to Swift possibly as a kinsman of Deane Swift's tenant (*supra*, vol. v, p. 174). While on a visit to Ireland, whence he had not long returned, Nugent had been asked by Mrs. Whiteway to tell Pope that she had some of his letters to Swift in her possession, and that she could return them to him whenever he wished, and this message he had conveyed to Pope (Pope's "Works," vii, 378). According to Elwin's theory (*supra*, p. 93, n. 1) the letters in Mrs. Whiteway's possession were those which Pope had sent Swift since the summer of 1737.

² *I.e.*, Deane Swift and her daughter.

³ This portrait is the one which was made famous by Dunkin's lines. Its present habitation eluded Sir Frederick Falkiner's search ("Prose Works," xii, 34).

MCCXCIII. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

April 29, 1740.

DEAR MADAM,

I FIND that you and I are fellow sufferers almost equally in our healths, although I am more than twenty years older; but I am and have been these two days in so miserable a way, and so cruelly tortured, that can hardly be conceived. The whole of last night I was equally struck as if I had been in Phalaris's brazen bull, and roared as loud for eight or nine hours. I am at this instant unable to move without excessive pain, although not the one thousandth part of what I suffered all last night and this morning. This you will now style the gout. I continue still very deaf.¹ Doctor Wilson's left eye is still disordered, and very uneasy. You have now your family at home: I desire to present them with my kind and hearty service. I am,

Ever entirely yours, etc.

J. SWIFT.

MCCXCIV. [*Elwin.*²]

— TO SWIFT

*[May 1740.]*SIR,³

THE true honour which all the honest and grateful part of this nation must bear you as the most public-spirited

¹ Swift's state of health at that time induced him, probably, to make his last will, which was executed four days later ("Prose Works," xi, 417). The document was not completed without difficulty. Another will signed by the same witnesses, and similar in all respects excepting in verbal differences, had been executed previously, and had been rejected owing to fear of error through a misdescription of some of the property. This will was found thirty years ago in a dismantled house at Cushendall in the county of Antrim, where the finder believed Swift stayed frequently, and was afterwards printed in the "Book-worm," vol. i, p. 375.

² The original was then in the possession of the Earl of Cork. As will be seen from subsequent letters, it was sent to the Earl of Orrery by Mrs. Whiteway, and was evidently never returned to her.

³ With this letter there was forwarded to Swift a printed volume,

of patriots, the best of private men, and the greatest polite genius of this age, made it impossible to resist the temptation which has fallen in our way of preserving from all accidents a copy of the enclosed papers, which at once give so amiable a picture of your own excellent mind, and so strong a testimony of the love and respect of those who nearest knew, and could best judge of it. As there is reason to fear they would be lost to posterity after your death, if either of your two great friends¹ should be possessed of them, as we are informed you have directed, they are here collected and submitted to your own mature consideration. Envy itself can find nothing in them that either you, or they, need be ashamed of. But you, Sir, are the person most concerned, and ought to be made the only judge in this case. You may be assured there is no other copy of this book in any hands but your own, so that, while you live, it will be in the power of no other but yourself to bestow it on the public. In so doing you shall oblige all mankind in general, and benefit any deserving friend in particular.² But if during your life you suppress it, yet after your death it is not fit that either you should be robbed of so much of your fame, or we of so much of your example, who are, worthy Sir,

Your sincere admirers, obliged countrymen, and faithfully affectionate servants.

without title-page, preface, or other introduction, containing the version of the correspondence between Pope, Gay, Bolingbroke, and himself, which was published in the next year in London, and also in Dublin by Faulkner, who afterwards issued it as the seventh volume of his edition of Swift's "Works." This letter and the accompanying volume were conveyed to Swift by his friend Samuel Gerrard (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 192), who had been at Bath and in correspondence with Pope, and were left at Gerrard's lodgings in Bath by an unknown messenger. As Elwin has proved beyond controversy, the editor of the mysterious volume was Pope, and Swift himself believed that his friend was responsible for it, and no doubt greatly enjoyed the imitation of his own labyrinthine methods in similar cases.

¹ *I.e.*, Pope and Bolingbroke.

² As, for example, Swift had done in the case of Mrs. Barber.

MCCXCV. [*Nichols.*]

SWIFT AND MRS. WHITEWAY TO WILLIAM RICHARDSON

May 13, 1740.

MRS. WHITEWAY

DEAR SIR,¹

BY the time this kisses your hand, I believe Mrs. Richardson will not blush to be wished joy by a person you have done the honour to call a friend, and whose ambition it is to deserve some place in her esteem; and now that all insinuations in your favour are as needless as the formal ceremony between lovers, I shall take the liberty to tell her, it will be her own fault if she is not one of the happiest women in the world. This is an unusual way of recommending myself to a bride, nor should I do it to any but yours; yet surely when a lady is married to a gentleman with an easy fortune, good nature, and a man of honour, how little is required on her side toward mutual felicity, which can be comprised in two words, love and obey.

About a fortnight ago I dined at the Dean of St. Patrick's in a mixed company, where one of the gentlemen told him you were married, or just going to be so, to a lady of fifteen, with a hundred thousand pound fortune, and a perfect beauty. I asked the person whether he had not that account from a woman. He said he had. The Dean inquired if I knew anything of the affair. I answered yes; only with this difference, that she was at least fifty, and a most ungentle disagreeable woman. The whole company looked upon me with contempt, and their countenances expressed they thought I drew my own picture whilst I enviously endeavoured to paint the lady's. The Dean only understood me, and, smiling, said he believed I was in the right. When we were alone, I let him know that you had commanded me to acquaint him with the affair, and I hoped, when I wrote to you next, he would add a postscript in my

¹ As appears from this letter Richardson had written to let Mrs. Whiteway know that he was going to replace his niece (*supra*, p. 154) by a wife, and to ask her to make some domestic arrangements for him.

letter. He promised me to do it, and this day I intend to put him in mind of it.

I waited on Mr. Hamilton yesterday to consult with him if it would not be proper to allow the servants board-wages from this time, and it was diverting enough to see us both keeping our distance about a secret the whole town has known these two months. However, at last we understood each other, and have agreed to give the coachman four shillings a week, and the maid three, until they go a ship-board. There would have been no occasion to be so formal with a friend as to desire Mr. Hamilton to give the servants money when you might have ordered me to do it, although I had not been in your debt, which, to my shame be it spoken, would be scandalous so long a time, if the fault were entirely mine. My son and daughter Swift present you and your lady their most obedient respects, and sincerest wishes. I am at a loss to express my obligations to her for the compliment she was pleased to remit to me, and I believe, when we meet, she will not be jealous that I dare give it under my hand to her, that I honour and esteem you more than any woman does except herself. I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
MARTHA WHITEWAY.

SWIFT

DEAR SIR,

I COULD never believe Mrs. Whiteway's gasconades in telling me of her acquaintance with you; but my age and perpetual disorders, and chiefly my vexatious deafness, with other infirmities, have completed the utter loss of my memory, so that I cannot recollect the names of those friends who come to see me twice or oftener every week. However, I remember to wish you a long lasting joy of being no longer a bachelor, especially because the teaser at my elbow assures me that the lady is altogether worthy to be your wife. I therefore command you both, if I live so long, to attend me at the Deanery the day after you land, where Mrs. Precipitate, alias Whiteway, says I will give you a scandalous dinner. I suppose you will see your governor my old friend John Barber, whom I heartily love, and so you are to tell him. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged servant,
JON. SWIFT.

MCCXCVI. [*Elwin.*]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO ALEXANDER POPE

May 16, 1740.

SIR,

SHOULD I make an apology for writing to you, I might be asked why I did so? If I have erred, my design at least is good, both to you and the Dean of St. Patrick; for I write in relation to my friend, and I write to his friend, which I hope will plead my excuse. As I saw a letter of yours to him, wherein I had the honour to be named, I take the liberty to tell you, with grief of heart, his memory is so much impaired, that in a few hours he forgot it; nor is his judgement sound enough, had he many tracts by him, to finish or correct them, as you have desired. His health is as good as can be expected, free from all the tortures of old age, and his deafness, lately returned, is all the bodily uneasiness he has to complain of.

A few years ago he burnt most of his writings unprinted except a few loose papers, which are in my possession, and which I promise you, if I outlive him, shall never be made public without your approbation. There is one treatise in his own keeping, called Advice to Servants, very unfinished and incorrect, yet what is done of it, has so much humour, that it may appear as a posthumous work. The History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne's Reign I suppose you have seen with Dr. King, to whom he sent it some time ago, and if I am rightly informed, is the only piece of his, except Gulliver, which he ever proposed making money by, and was given to Dr. King with that design, if it might be printed. I mention this to you, lest the Doctor should die, and his heirs imagine they have a right to dispose of it.

I entreat, Sir, you will not take notice to any person of the hints I have given you in this letter. They are only designed for yourself; to the Dean's friends in England they can only give trouble, and to his enemies and starving wits cause of triumph. I enclose this to Alderman Barber, who I am sure will deliver it safe, yet knows nothing more than its being a paper that belongs to you. The ceremony of answering women's letters, may perhaps make you think it necessary to answer mine, but I do not expect it, because

your time either is or ought to be better employed, unless it be in my power to serve you in buying Irish linen, or any other command you are pleased to lay on me, which I shall execute to the best of my capacity, with the greatest readiness, integrity, and secrecy; for whether it be my years, or a less degree of vanity in my composition than in some of my sex, I can receive such an honour from you without mentioning it. I should, some time past, have writ to you on this subject, had I not fancied that it glanced at the ambition of being thought a person of consequence, by interfering between you and the Dean, a character of all others which I dislike.

I have several of your letters to the Dean, which I will send by the first safe hand that I can get to deliver them to yourself; I believe it may be Mr. Macaulay, the gentleman the Dean recommended, through your friendship, to the Prince of Wales. I believe this may be the only letter which you ever received without asking a favour, a compliment, extolling your genius, running in raptures on your poetry, or admiring your distinguishable virtue. I am, Sir, with very high respect,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
 MARTHA WHITEWAY.

Mr. Swift, who waited on you last summer, is since that married to my daughter: he desires me to present you his most obedient respects and humble thanks for the particular honour conferred upon him in permitting him to spend a day with you at Twickenham, a favour he will always remember with gratitude.

MCCXCVII. [*Original*.¹]

WILLIAM PULTENEY TO SWIFT

London, *June 3, 1740.*

SIR,

I HAD, some time ago, a letter from Mr. Stopford,² who told me, that you have enjoyed a better state of health last year than you had done for some time past. No one wishes

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² *Supra*, p. 153.

you more sincerely than I do the continuance of it, and since the gout has been your physic, I heartily hope you may have one good fit regularly every year, and all the rest of it perfect health and spirits.

I am persuaded you will do me the justice to believe, that if I have not wrote to you for some time, it has proceeded from an unwillingness alone of engaging you in a very useless correspondence, and not from any want of a real regard and true esteem. Mr. Pope can be my witness how constantly I inquire after you, and how pleased and happy I am, when he tells me that you have the goodness frequently to mention me in your letters to him.

I fear you have but little desire to come among us again. England has few things inviting in it at present. Three camps, near forty thousand troops, and sixteen Kings,¹ and most of them such as are really fit to be Kings in any part of the world. Four millions of money have been raised on the people this year, and in all probability nothing will be done. I have not the least notion, that even our expedition under Lord Cathcart is intended to be sent anywhere,² and yet every Minister we have, except Sir Robert, very gravely affirms it will go, nay, and I am afraid, believes it too. But our situation is very extraordinary: Sir Robert will have an army, will not have a war, and cannot have a peace; that is, the people are so averse to it, that he dares not make one. But in one year more, when, by the influence of this army and our money, he has got a new Parliament to his liking, then he will make a peace, and get it approved too, be it as it will. After which I am afraid we shall all grow tired of struggling any longer, and give up the game.

But I will trouble you with no more politics, and if I can hear from you in two lines that you are well, I promise you not to reply to it too soon. You must give me leave to add to my letter a copy of verses at the end of a declamation made by a boy at Westminster school on this theme, *Ridentem dicere verum, quid vetat?*

Dulce decane, decus, flos optime gentis Hibernae
Nomine quique audis, ingenioque celer;

¹ *I.e.*, the Lords Justices. The King was then in Hanover.

² The expedition was the one against Carthage, on which the eighth Lord Cathcart died.

Dum lepido indulges risu, et mutaris in horas,
 Quo nova vis animi, materiesque rapit ;
 Nunc gravis astrologus, coelo dominaris et astris,
 Filaque pro libitu Patrigiana secas.
 Nunc populo speciosa hospes miracula promissis,
 Gentesque aequoreas, aériasque creas.
 Seu plausum captat queruli persona Draperi,
 Seu levis a vacuo fabula sumpta cado.
 Mores egregius mira exprimis arte magister,
 Et vitam atque homines pagina quaeque sapit.
 Socraticae minor est vis et sapientia chartae,
 Nec tantum potuit grande Platonis opus.

Mrs. Pulteney, knowing that I am writing to you, charges me to present her services, when I assure you that I am most faithfully and sincerely,

Your obedient humble servant,

WM. PULTENEY.

MCCXCVIII. [*Elwin.*]

ALEXANDER POPE TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Twickenham, *June 18, 1740.*

I AM extremely sensible of the favour of your letter,¹ and very well see the kindness as well as honour which moved you to it. I have no merit for the one, but being, like yourself, a sincere friend to the Dean, though much a less useful one; for all my friendship can only operate in wishes, yours in good works. He has had the happiness to meet with such in all the stages of his life, and I hope in God and in you, that he will not want one in the last. Never imagine, Madam, that I can do otherwise than esteem that sex, which has furnished him with the best friends.

The favour you offer me I accept with the utmost thankfulness, and I think no person more fit to convey it to my hands than Mr. Macaulay, of whom I know you have so good an opinion. Indeed anyone whom you think worthy your trust, I shall think deserves mine, in a point I am ever so tender of. I wish the very small opportunity I had of showing Mr. Swift, your son, my regards for him, had been greater, and I wish it now more, since he is become

¹ *Supra*, p. 161.

so near to you, for whom my respect runs hand in hand with my affection for the Dean, and I cannot wish well for the one without doing so for the other.

I turn my mind all I can from the melancholy subject of your letter. May God Almighty alleviate your concern, and his complaints, as much as possible in this state of infirmities, while he lives; and may your tenderness, Madam, prevent anything after his death which may anywise depreciate his memory! I dare say nothing of ill consequence can happen from the commission given to Dr. King. You see, Madam, I write to you with absolute freedom, as becomes me to the friend of my friend, and to a woman of sense and spirit. I will say no more, that you may find I treat you with the same delicacy that you do me, and for which I thank you, without the least compliment, and it is none when I add, that I am, with esteem, Madam,

Your most obliged and most obedient servant,

A. POPE.

MCCXCIX. [*Deane Swift.*]

SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY

[*July 26, 1740.*]

I HAVE been very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, that I am not in torture, but I daily and hourly expect it. Pray let me know how your health is and your family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be. I am, for those few days,

Yours entirely,

J. SWIFT.

If I do not blunder, it is Saturday, July 26, 1740. If I live till Monday, I shall hope to see you, perhaps for the last time.

MCCC. [*Elwin*.¹]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

October 7, 1740.

. . . I SHALL now talk to you as freely on another subject.² The Letters to and from Dr. Swift had been printed long ago, but for me. Mr. Faulkner can tell you that I opposed it publicly at the Dean's table, as I did often privately to himself, and with that warmth, which nothing could have excused but friendship. I got several persons to do the like, and put the book³ out of the way for some time, and kept it till I was forced to restore it, or perjure myself. This I know was going greater lengths than honour could answer. When I saw all this was to no purpose, I insisted on Mr. Faulkner's writing to Mr. Pope, which he did willingly. What has passed since he can acquaint you with. Yet I fear all will be to no purpose if your Lordship does not engage Mr. Faulkner to refuse it absolutely, and a promise not to lay it in the Dean's way to command him. This is *entre nous*. I would give more than I will say to talk with you one quarter of an hour, and most humbly desire, if you come to town for ever so short a time, that I may have that honour. In the meanwhile depend upon the truth of a woman in this particular, that let what will come out, or be done by a certain person, it is entirely against my opinion, though all that is in my power is to show my dislike publicly to it. There is a time in life when people can hear no reason, and with a sigh, I say, this is now the case with our friend. There is but one

¹ This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

² During the summer Swift had made over the volume which had been brought from Bath by Gerrard (*supra*, p. 157, n. 3) to Faulkner, and on the suggestion of Mrs. Whiteway Faulkner wrote to Pope to ask him if he had any objection to its contents being published. After a considerable lapse of time, instead of replying directly, Pope wrote to Orrery, who was at Caledon, his wife's place in the north of Ireland, expressing great dissatisfaction at Faulkner's proceedings and suggesting that the letters were not genuine. As a result of a letter from Orrery Faulkner went down to Caledon a day or two before this letter was written, taking with him the book brought by Gerrard and copies of such sheets as he had himself printed from it.

³ *I.e.*, the volume brought by Gerrard.

mortal in the world that I ever took notice of this to before, and he is such a friend to him as your Lordship.¹

MCCCI. [*Elwin.*²]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Caledon, *October 8, 1740.*

DEAR SIR,

I WRITE this from the bed of pain, but when I consider your complaints, and how much greater loss your head will be to the world in general, than even my feet can be to me, I think I have no reason to mourn even at my sufferings. They have been great this month past. Those cruel cramps which used to make your humanity pity me, are now turned into a settled confirmed gout, an hereditary evil, which renders my prospect of future life truly dismal. Yet for the sake of some young folk it is necessary I should live, and so God's will be done. But gouty as I am, January next will only complete me thirty-four.

When I cannot see you I am glad to see anybody who has seen you, or will see you. Mr. Faulkner will deliver you this. I have, at our friend Mr. Pope's request, detained your book of letters, and could wish you had let them stay in my hands for some time till this mystery of their being in print is a little cleared up. I own, if you will forgive my impertinence, I wish they had not been printed, and now they are so I wish they may not be published. How they came into the press is, perhaps, one of those secrets which are reserved for the day of judgement, but certainly Mr. Pope had no hand in it. A private correspondence between familiar and open-hearted friends ought not to be opened to the public, since it may give pleasure to a man's enemies, and can add no reputation, nor give the least satisfaction to his friends. But I am preaching to Tillotson, I am teaching Delany to read, or mending Lord Oxford's heart. Pray forgive me, and believe all I ever have written to you, or ever shall write to you, is only meant to show the ever honoured Dean of St. Patrick's how much I am his most obedient, and obliged humble servant.

¹ Probably the reference is to Pope (*supra*, p. 161).

² This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

MCCCII. [*Original*.¹]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Caledon, *December 17, 1740.*

DEAR SIR,

GREAT men like you must expect numberless petitions, which, like Jupiter, you put to various uses; but wonder not, when there is a place vacant in your family, that everybody is striving for the post, I mean your Cathedral family, for we are told there is a vacancy in the choir. I am desired to recommend to you one James Colgan, aged twenty and five; his voice excellent, his behaviour good, his person indifferent, his recommendation to me irresistible.² I beseech you, let Faulkner give me an answer; for neither he nor I, nor the choir of Lords, Doctors, Commons, etc., are worth your while to give yourself one moment's uneasiness about, if you are not well, and I am more than afraid you are not; only I must be enabled to say, I have mentioned him to you. My frozen fingers will only serve me to present Lady Orrery's most humble service to you, and the best wishes, prayers, and acknowledgements of all this family. I am, dear Sir,

Your ever obliged and obedient humble servant,

ORRERY.

Addressed—The Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's.MCCCIII. [*Elwin*.³]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

December 20, 1740.

. . . MR. FAULKNER mistook me in telling your Lordship that I sent you the letter that came from Bath.⁴ It is not

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² Colgan was admitted to the place of a vicar-choral a few years later, and held it until his death in 1772. He is said to have been "remarkable for his fine manner of singing."

³ This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

⁴ Since October there had been much correspondence between Or-

in my power to do it, for I am under an engagement to Mr. Pope to remit it by the first opportunity that is safe, with some other papers that I promised him I would send by Mr. Macaulay, who intended being in London long before this, which business has prevented. This I hope will plead my excuse for not sending it you. In the meantime I hope there is an end of the vexatious affair, if blabs will not mention it again to the Dean, who has quite forgot it. Your, etc.

MCCCIV. [*Elwin*.¹]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Caledon, *December 24, 1740.*

MADAM,

THE post that brought me the favour of yours, brought me a letter from Mr. Pope, in which he entreats me to write to you, and desire you will send to me the papers you intended for him by Mr. Macaulay, and the letter that was sent from Bath. I will take care, Madam, to transmit them to him very safe, and as he seems impatient for them, I beg you will lose no time in forwarding them to Caledon, and the moment I receive them, you shall have my acknowledgement of the receipt.

I doubt, Madam, it will be impossible to stop this vexatious affair. They are already in print. Who can stop the edition from coming out?² As they were printed the other side of the water they will certainly appear there, do what we can to suppress them in Ireland; and there is nothing in them, according to my apprehension, so reflecting upon anybody as upon my honoured friend, the Dean, who has let his friend's letters be stolen out of his custody. This is the only point that vexes me in the whole transaction. Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Gay must always write in such a manner as to give pleasure to the polite

rery, Pope, and Faulkner, and in one of his letters Faulkner appears to have said that Mrs. Whiteway intended to send Orrery the letter brought from Bath by Gerrard.

¹ This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

² At first Pope had pretended to wish to stop the publication of the letters, but afterwards took the line that it was impossible.

world, even in their most trifling correspondence; but as they certainly never writ these letters with an intention they should be printed, I own I am concerned upon the Dean's account that they should appear by his means.

Do you suspect, Madam, any person that is or has been about him for so base a piece of theft as that of stealing papers? Such a person ought to be exposed to the whole world. I dare say you will feel all the abhorrence on this occasion that is possible, and I heartily wish you could be the means of finding out, and explaining, their black and iniquitous piece of treachery.¹ I am in pain about my own letters, but much more about any papers that belong to the Dean's friends and mine. I know this collection of letters will alarm every one of the Dean's correspondents, and I should be glad, now my mind is at ease,² to hear very fully from you upon this subject, but not till you are free from your cold, which I hope this will find you. I am, Madam, with many thanks for your late trouble, your, etc.

Forgive me, Madam, for troubling you with my thankful service to Dr. Wilson.

MCCCV. [*Elwin.*³]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

December 30, 1740.

MY LORD,

I SHALL not hesitate one moment to send your Lordship Mr. Pope's letters, as likewise that from Bath; but how am I to convey them to you; not by post surely, for then I might be justly taxed with folly or breach of trust, to venture them by so uncertain and dangerous a way? If your Lordship will order a faithful servant, or a gentleman with a line under your hand, to call for them, I shall deliver them with pleasure, and this I should not do to any other person whatsoever, without an immediate direction to myself from Mr. Pope, who knows I refused them to

¹ At that time Pope was accusing Mrs. Whiteway of being herself the thief, and Orrery was writing as if she was capable of any villainy.

² His sons had had the smallpox.

³ This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

Mr. Robert Nugent,¹ from whom I had two letters in the last [summer], telling me Mr. Pope desired me to send them by his mother, then going to England; and by the same packet, and the same date, I had a letter from Mr. Pope,² who told me he would expect them by Mr. Macaulay, who intended long ago to have been in London, if business had not prevented him.

I am so far from suspecting any person of this side the water, and, therefore, it would be unjust to guess, that I do not believe they were taken here. I will tell you my reasons for it. First, I do assure your Lordship the Dean kept no copies of Mr. Pope's letters for these twelve years past to my knowledge, nor to anybody else, excepting to a Lord Lieutenant or a Bishop, whom he feared might make an ill-use of them, and those to Mr. Pope, I saw him write and send off immediately. This, therefore, makes me think it reasonable to suppose, it is not from this quarter that Mr. Pope has been ill-used, but must have been betrayed by his English servants, who have more cunning and a readier way of making money of them than ours have, and I cannot imagine any person above the degree of a servant capable of so base an action. My Lord, I beg leave to talk freely with you, and I can have no other view in it than to defend the Dean in a particular which concerns his honour, and all those he thinks proper to place confidence in. You must, I believe, have seen a book of letters stitched together by the Dean, wherein there are a number of them from the greatest men in England, both for genius, learning, and power, such as Lords Bolingbroke, Oxford, Ormond, Bathurst, Peterborough, and Queensberry, Parnell, Addison, Gay, Prior, Congreve, and Mr. Lewis, with several bundles large enough to make a volume,³ to say nothing of your Lordship's, because I am writing to you, which are in my possession, and may be commanded whenever you please, for I have lately got the Dean's leave to give them even when he is alive, which he at first refused me, and were there a person vile enough in this kingdom to be bought, why were not these sold to Curll as well as the others; for surely, not to mention yours, Sir, some of the rest might be

¹ *Supra*, p. 156.

² *Supra*, p. 164

³ The allusion is to the collection preserved in the British Museum; no letter from Parnell or Congreve is, however, to be found in it.

thought as entertaining to the world as the Dean's, and as easily to be stole? Permit me, my Lord, to ask a question of you. Do you think the Letters to and from Dr. Swift are genuine? If so, will you look over them again, and explain to me this sentence. Mr. Pope taking occasion to mention Mr. Wycherley, immediately after says: "Some letters of whose and mine have been lately published, not without the concurrence of a noble Lord, who is a friend of yours and mine."¹

I hope what I have said will convince your Lordship, how much I detest the base practices of those who could be capable of betraying friendship. I once more repeat my concern, that I had not power enough with the Dean to prevent their being given to Mr. Faulkner, and returned to Mr. Pope.² If you think it proper, when you send him the papers, present him my most obedient respects, and this letter, for I am sure anything of this kind from me is not worth his paying for. However, I shall submit this and everything else to your Lordship's judgement. There is one particular I had like to forget, that one of the letters of Mr. Pope's I took out of the Dean's stitched book with his permission, and, I must say, I think equal to any he writ, and yet this letter is safe, and not printed, although the book has been lent to many of the Dean's friends.³

MCCCVI. [*Elwin*.⁴]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Caledon, *January 2, 1740-1.*

YOUR obliging offer of returning my letters, together with those designed for Mr. Pope, is most gratefully accepted

¹ Mrs. Whiteway is quoting, evidently from memory, from Pope's letter to Swift of 28 November, 1729 (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 116). The passage is as follows: "I speak of old Mr. Wycherley, some letters of whom, by the by, and of mine, the booksellers have got and printed, not without the concurrence of a noble friend of mine and yours."

² Mrs. Whiteway is presumably alluding to the volume brought by Gerrard (*supra*, p. 166).

³ The letter was no doubt the first one from Pope to Swift, of 8 December, 1713 (*supra*, vol. ii, p. 95), which was first printed in "Orrery's Remarks."

⁴ This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

by me, and therefore I send Mr. Ellis, who is one of my agents here, and whose honesty and integrity I can trust, to receive them from your own hands, and to bring them down hither without the least loss of time. This is the most expeditious and safest method I could think of. The parcel for Mr. Pope I desire may be sealed up by you, but I could wish to see the letter from Bath, if you thought proper; if you enclose it to me, I will lose no time in forwarding it to Mr. Pope.

Certainly, Madam, this printed collection has been [made] by some low, mean, injudicious person, probably some servant, who has snatched at various opportunities. They will do as little honour to the writers as anything can, that comes from such great and eminent men. People's expectations will be raised by the names prefixed to them, but those expectations will not be answered by the letters themselves. The more I read them, the more I am convinced of the truth of this opinion. Not to mention some imprudencies of a high nature, the whole consists of private and amiable familiarities, in which the public can noways be interested, nor much entertained. I should think with you, Madam, that some of Mr. Pope's servants had stolen them, did not many letters appear from various people to the Dean, of which Mr. Pope cannot be supposed either to have seen the copies or originals,¹ but, alas! it is but a melancholy comfort to me, that this unhappy affair is so situated, as to redeem the honour of one friend at the expense of another. The collection begins very early, before the Dean's friendship for you, Madam, was in its meridian. Since that time I am in no pain about his letters; but yet, permit me to say, that there are, and have been other persons about him, who may have very different views from you, nor can your attendance be so constant as to hinder transactions that may give you, me, and all the Dean's friends uneasiness. I shall be extremely glad to have my own letters returned; and you will please, therefore, to give them into Mr. Ellis's hands, who is to leave Dublin as soon as he receives them from you.

I am glad the Dean is noways affected by the change of weather; his health is extremely dear to me. Would to God you could persuade him to come to Caledon, where

¹ The only other letters were those from Bolingbroke and Gay, over which Pope had as much power as over his own.

Lady Orrery would take care to make the place as agreeable as she could to him and you. She is by profession a nurse, and performs her part excellently; but we are both much concerned that you are acting the same part to one of your sons; the mildness of the season will, we hope, soon remove his complaint. I am, Madam,

Your most obedient humble servant,
ORRERY.

MCCCVII. [*Elwin*.¹]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO MRS. WHITEWAY

Caledon, *January* 10, 1740-1.

MADAM,

BY not receiving any letter from you either by this day's or Thursday's post, I fear you, or some of your family, are ill, and therefore am more anxious now to hear from you concerning your health than I was concerning the letters. You will relieve me I hope even before this can come to your hands, for if I hear nothing from you on Monday I shall be very uneasy.

Mr. Ellis brought me two parcels from you. That directed to myself contained the Bath letter, which I shall take care to give Mr. Pope, together with the sealed packet directed for him. I have writ to him this moment to let him know how obligingly, and, particularly so to me, you have complied with his request. I return you many thanks, Madam, for the delivery of my letters, from Curll, from God knows who. I am much obliged to the Dean for permitting them to be restored to me. Upon a revisal of them I will see how dangerous a familiar, unguarded correspondence may be, not only to ourselves but to our friends, and I hope we may hear no more of this little volume which is printed, though I must fear it will come out in opposition to all our endeavours. In the mean time it remains safe in my custody, nor shall I willingly deliver it up, unless by the Dean's or Mr. Pope's commands. I have many letters to write, and as I am not without thoughts of seeing you soon—this to yourself only—I will defer saying more at present, than that I am, Madam, etc.

¹ This letter was printed from a copy in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

MCCCVIII. [*Elwin.*]

THE EARL OF ORRERY AND ALEXANDER POPE
TO SWIFT

Duke Street, Westminster,
March 22, 1740-1.

ORRERY

DEAR SIR,¹

YOUR friends here are most inquisitive and anxious about your health. If my wishes took place, the accounts I should give them would be extremely acceptable. May the returning spring give you new strength, and, permit me to add, a new inclination towards this island. Your mistress would be happy in showing her tender regards for you by attending you to Duke Street, where we would find room for you, and all who belong to you.

Mr. Pope, since my arrival in London, has generously bestowed some of his time upon me—a strong instance that he loves those who he knows love you; and, indeed, his tenderness, his affection, and his sincerity towards you, are beyond description. I defy him, with all his power of words, to tell you what he thinks of you, or feels for you. Were it possible, I am sure he would come to you; make a whole kingdom happy and come to him. I am interrupted by Mr. Pope himself. Let me withdraw and leave the paper to him; and believe me

Your ever obliged and humble servant,

ORRERY.

POPE

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHEN the heart is full of tenderness, it must be full of concern at the absolute impotency of all words to come up to. You are the only man now in the world who costs me a sigh every day of my life, and the man it troubles me most, although I most wish to write to. Death has not used me worse in separating from me for ever poor Gay, Arbuthnot, etc., than disease and absence in separating you so many years. But nothing shall make me forget

¹ Orrery had apparently crossed to London without seeing Swift on his way.

you, and I am persuaded you will as little forget me; and most things in this world one may afford to forget, if we remember, and are remembered by our friends. I value and enjoy more the memory of the pleasures and endearing obligations I have formerly received from you, than the perfect possession of any other. I am less anxious every day I live for present enjoyments of any sort, and my temper of mind is calmer as to worldly disappointments and accidents, except the loss of friends by death, the only way, I thank God, that I ever have lost any. Think it not possible that my affection can cease but with my last breath. If I could think yours was exhausted, I should grieve, but not reproach you; if I felt myself ever hurt by you, I should be confident you knew not the blow you gave, but had your hand guided by another. If I never more had a kind word from you, I should feel my heart the same it has ever been towards you.

I must confess a late incident has given me some pain; but I am satisfied you were persuaded it would not have given me any; and whatever unpleasant circumstances the printing our letters might be attended with, there was one that pleased me, that the strict friendship we have borne each other so long, is thus made known to all mankind. As far as it was your will, I cannot be angry at what, in all other respects, I am quite uneasy under. Had you asked me, before you gave them away, I think I could have proposed some better monument for our friendship, or at least of better materials, and you must allow me to say, this was not my erecting, but yours. My part of them is far too mean, and how inferior to what you have ever in your Works set up to me, and can I see these without shame, when I reflect on the many beautiful, pathetic, and amiable lines of yours, which carry to posterity the name of a man, who, if he had not every good quality which you so kindly ascribe to him, would be so proud of none, as the constancy, and the justice of his esteem for you? Adieu. While I can write, speak, remember, or think, I am

Yours,

A. POPE.

MCCCIX. [*Copy.*¹]

SWIFT TO EATON STANNARD

Deanery House, *June 8, 1741.*

SIR,

I KNOW the bearer, Mr. William Swift,² to be a deserving young gentleman, and I think he hath some learning, although he be just returned from the study of law. He is my relation, and I desire you will please to present him to my Lord Chancellor.³ I am, worthy Sir, with true esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

Addressed—To Eaton Stannard, Esq., Dublin.MCCCX. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO SWIFT

Duke Street, Westminster, *July 7, 1741.*

THANKS to you, dear Sir, for your frequent remembrance of me by my great friend and patron Master George Faulkner, thanks to you for the honours you have showed my wife,⁴ but above all, thanks to you for using exercise and taking care of your health. It is the strongest instance of affection your friends either desire or deserve. In men-

¹ In the Forster Collection.² *Supra*, p. 112, n. 2.³ The great seal of Ireland was then held by Robert Jocelyn (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 373), who was created subsequently Baron Newport and Viscount Jocelyn. His forensic manner has been thus described:

“There’s Jocelyn next comes,
Who in very loud hums,
Which makes him not very concise, Sir,
With a finger and thumb
He strikes one judge dumb,
Who suspends till he asks his advice, Sir.”

⁴ Lady Orrery, who did not accompany her husband to England, appears to have crossed about this time (“Orrery Papers,” ii, 167) and had stayed probably in Dublin on her way.

tioning your friends, I must particularize Mr. Pope. He obeys your commands, and flings away much time upon me, *nec deficit alter aureus*. Doctor King does the same. Thus deities condescend to visit and converse with mortals.

Poor Lord Oxford is gone to those regions from whence travellers never return, unless in an airy visit to faithless lovers, as Margaret to William, or to cities devoted to destruction, as Hector amidst the flames of Troy.¹ The deceased Earl has left behind him many books, many manuscripts, and no money. His lady brought him five hundred thousand pounds, four of which have been sacrificed to indolence, good-nature, and want of worldly-wisdom, and there will still remain, after proper sales, and right management, five thousand pounds a year for his widow.² Mr. Cæsar died about two months ago.³ Mrs. Cæsar is still all tears and lamentations, although she certainly may be numbered *inter felices, sua si bona norint*. Lord Bathurst is at Cirencester, erecting pillars and statues to Queen Anne. Lord Bolingbroke lives in France: posterity, it is to be hoped, may be the better for his retirement. The Duke of Argyll reigns, or ought to reign in Scotland.⁴

Such is the state of Europe, but our disappointment in America has cast a gloomy face over London and Westminster.⁵ The citizens have recourse to mum and tobacco, by which means they puff away care, and keep dismay at a proper distance. In the mean time, my friends the ducks and geese in the Park cackle on, and join in chorus to the sounds of victory that are daily drummed forth on the

¹ The second Earl of Oxford died on 16 June.

² "In the second Earl of Oxford the interest of his father in collecting, at once intelligent and judicious," says Mr. E. S. Roscoe ("Robert Harley," p. 214), "degenerated into a foolish and an extravagant habit. Inheriting Robert Harley's good-nature, his son was without his judgement and his business capacity. He collected heedlessly and at great cost books, manuscripts, and curios. At the same time he had four mansions to pay for—his house in London, Brampton, Wimpole, and Down Hall—and so it came to pass that he died in 1741 deeply in debt."

³ Charles Cæsar (*supra*, vol. iv, p. 177, n. 2) had died on 2 April.

⁴ On account of his rescue of Edinburgh from the Porteous mob Swift's old friend enjoyed at that time great popularity in his native country. He was then one of Walpole's chief opponents.

⁵ *I.e.*, the failure of the attack on Carthage under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth.

parade, but reach no farther than the atmosphere of Whitehall. What news next? The weather—but you certainly know it is hot; for in truth, notwithstanding this letter comes from my heart, and is written in the pleasure of thinking of you, yet I sweat to assure you how much I am, dear Sir,

Your ever obliged and obedient humble servant,
ORRERY.

MCCCXI. [*Copy*.¹]

AN AFFIDAVIT OF RICHARD BRENNAN

*June 16, 1742.*²

MCCCXII. [*Scott*.]

AN AFFIDAVIT OF THE REV. FRANCIS WILSON

July 13, 1742.

THE examination of the Reverend Francis Wilson, Doctor in Divinity, who being duly sworn on the holy evangelists

¹ It was sold amongst the manuscripts of the Earl of Cork and is referred to by Sir Henry Craik ("Life," ii, 255).

² The following account of the occurrence to which this affidavit related is given by Faulkner: "Dr. Swift's memory failing him greatly at this time, Dr. Wilson took the advantage of carrying him [two days before the above date] to his house at Newlands, within four miles of Dublin, and endeavoured to intoxicate him with liquor, which he could not accomplish, and on their return to Dublin solicited Dr. Swift to make him sub-dean of St. Patrick's, and turn out Dr. Wynne, a very worthy and hospitable gentleman, which Dr. Swift refused; on which Dr. Wilson, in a most outrageous manner, insulted the Dean, beat him very severely, took him by the throat, and would have choked him, had it not been for the Dean's footman and coachman, who rescued him out of the hands of Dr. Wilson." The affidavit made by Brennan, who was Swift's servant at that time, indicates that Swift struck Dr. Wilson first. As Sir Henry Craik tells us: "Brennan says he was riding behind the carriage, when he heard Wilson demand the sub-deanship. Swift refused; when Wilson began to curse, and in loud tones swore that 'no man should strike him.' Brennan interfered, and rescued his master by force from the scoundrel's abuse." But, as Sir Henry adds, "even if Wilson's abuse was in answer to some violence offered by old age and imbecility it scarcely alters the case."

saith, that on Monday the 14th of June last he made a visit to the Rev. Doctor Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, who received the said Wilson with his usual fondness, which was always very great; that he told the said Wilson he would take the air that morning, and dine with him at his house in the country; that he did call accordingly for his coach,¹ and one Mrs. Anne Ridgeway, who usually attends him, but the coachman and she being both abroad, an hackney-coach was sent for, in which the said Doctor Swift and Wilson arrived at Newlands,² the said Wilson's house; the said Dean did dine, and, as this examinant believes, drink half a pint of white wine.

That soon after dinner they again went into the coach, in order to return to Dublin; that for about the first two miles of the road, the Dean treated the said Wilson with remarkable civility and love, but that of a sudden he cried out the said Wilson was the devil, and bid him go to hell,³ which words he often repeated in a most astonishing rage, but of which the said Wilson took no other notice than by an endeavour to appease him in repeating some passages out of such authors as the Dean admired most; but that, instead of giving any attention to what he, said Wilson, spoke, he struck him several times on the face, scratched

¹ According to Bishop Rundle, Swift had vowed to purchase a coach whenever Walpole was deprived of power, and on learning of the change of government in the early part of that year, procured one. The Bishop adds that on the newspapers reporting a few weeks later that Walpole's party revived, Swift refused to enter again "the treacherous vehicle," but from the present reference it is evident that he was afterwards induced to do so (Scott's "Life," p. 424).

² Newlands is situated on the border of the parish of Clondalkin, and was at the beginning of the eighteenth century the country residence of Lord Kilwarden, the ill-fated victim of Emmet's rebellion, who met his death while driving thence to Dublin.

³ Writing about that time Charles Yorke, the future brief occupant of the English woolsack, says: "Dean Swift has had a statute of lunacy taken out against him. His madness appears chiefly in most incessant strains of obscenity and swearing; habits to which the more sober parts of his life were not absolutely strangers, and of which his writings themselves bear some tincture. Mr. Pope's saying is true,

'Great wits to madness, sure are near allied,'

in a much less refined sense than that in which he meant it" (Harris's "Life of Hardwicke," ii, 20). Yorke's accuracy is not evidenced in his depriving Dryden of credit for this line, which should read: "Great wits are sure to madness near allied."

him, and tore off his wig, all which usage the said Wilson bore in pity for the poor Dean's infirmities, and in love to his person, when he thrust his fingers into the said Wilson's eyes; upon which the said Wilson ordered the coach to stop, which he left with the natural expressions of resentment and indignation, declaring he would not again tamely suffer the greatest man on earth to strike him; and the said Wilson further saith, that he did not once attempt to strike, or in any sort to violate the Dean's person, notwithstanding the provocation was as above set forth.

FRANCIS WILSON.

Sworn before me this 13th of July 1742.

DAV. CHAIGNEAU.¹

Endorsed—The affidavit of Dr. Francis Wilson, Prebendary of Kilmactalway, and Rector of Clondalkin, in the diocese of Dublin, exculpating himself from the charge of cruelty, etc., to Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

MCCCXIII. [*Banks's De Lunatico Inquirendo.*²]

THE KING TO THE RIGHT HON. LUKE GARDINER
AND OTHERS

[*August 12, 1742.*]

GEORGE the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so

¹ The Chaigneaus were prominent amongst the French refugees in Dublin, and the signatory, who was a merchant, had declined the office of Lord Mayor. He was connected by residence with Clondalkin.

² This paper was contributed by the late Sir John Banks, K.C.B., sometime Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin, to "The Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science" (N. S., vol. xxxi, no. 61), and bears the title "The Writ 'de Lunatico Inquirendo' in the Case of Jonathan Swift, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, with Observations." In a few pages Sir John Banks traces, with the lucidity and scholarship that mark his writings, the last events of Swift's life, but he abstains from expressing any views of his own on the medical aspect of Swift's case. As one of the first authorities of his day on mental disease it is a subject of regret that he did not do so. His words give some indication of his proposing to enter on the question at a future time, but his intention, if such it was, was never fulfilled. The writ is now preserved in the Forster Collection.

forth, to our trusty and well-beloved the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, Esq.; Eaton Stannard, Esq., Recorder of the City of Dublin; Philip Tisdall and Boleyn Whitney, Esqrs.; Doctor William Cooper and Doctor Thomas Trotter; Sir James Somerville, Alderman John Macarell, Alderman Percival Hunt, Alderman Nathaniel Pearson, Alderman Robert King; Thomas Le Hunte and Alexander Macaulay, Esqrs.; William Harward and John Rochfort, Esqrs.; Charles Grattan and Bellingham Boyle, Esqrs.,¹ greeting: Whereas it is given us to understand, by the petition of the Rev. John Grattan and the Rev. James King,² that the Rev. Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, hath for these nine months past, been gradually failing in his memory and understanding, and of such unsound mind and memory that he is incapable of transacting any business, or managing, conducting, or taking care either of his estate or person: We, being willing to provide a remedy in this behalf do command you, three or more of you, that you repair to the said Doctor Jonathan Swift, and by all proper ways and means, you examine him, and, moreover, by the oaths of good and lawful men, by whom the

¹ The persons to whom the commission is directed, include no less than five intimate friends of Swift's, namely, Stannard, Le Hunte, Macaulay, Rochfort, and Grattan, the master of Portora School, and are remarkable no less for their number than for their importance. Luke Gardiner was Deputy Vice Treasurer of Ireland, and owned half Dublin, and in addition to him, Stannard, Tisdall, Whitney, Cooper, Trotter, Somerville, Macarell, Pearson, Le Hunte, Rochfort, and Boyle, who was Archbishop Hoadly's son-in-law, were members of the Irish Parliament. Cooper was also a Master-in-Chancery, and Trotter had succeeded Marmaduke Coghill as Judge of the Prerogative Court, while Tisdall was a Serjeant-at-law, and Whitney a counsel to the King. I am informed by Dr. John Mayne Colles, Registrar in Lunacy in Ireland, that it was the practice at that period to have a panel of commissioners drawn from different professions and classes. In most cases the commission was directed to only six or seven, and the number in Swift's case was exceptionally large. "The case was that of a very prominent man," Dr. Colles writes, "and it is probable that much care was expended in the selection of well-known persons to satisfy public opinion." He adds that the procedure *inquirendo de lunatico* remains in all essentials just what it was in Swift's time, but about the end of the eighteenth century it became the practice to select the commissioners from a much smaller panel drawn principally from the bar, and, subsequently, two permanent commissioners were appointed, whose place has been taken in recent years by the Registrar in Lunacy, to whom all commissions are now directed.

² See Appendix X.

truth of the matter may be best known, you diligently inquire whether the said Doctor Jonathan Swift be a person of unsound mind and memory, and not capable of taking care of his person or fortune, as aforesaid; and if he be, how long he hath been so, and of what lands and tenements, goods and chattels, the said Doctor Jonathan Swift was possessed of at the time he so became of unsound mind and memory, or at any time since, and what is the yearly value thereof, and who is his next heir; and such inquisition as shall be then found, you, or any three or more of you, shall, openly and distinctly make return thereof to us, in our Chancery in Ireland, on the third day of November next, under your seals and the seals of those by whom the said inquisition shall be made, together with this writ.

Witness our Justices General and General Governors of our said Kingdom of Ireland, at Dublin, the twelfth day of August, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

DOMVILE.¹

Examined—Edward Madden, Deputy Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper.

Endorsed—The execution of the within commission appears by the inquisition hereunto annexed; so answer

Lu. Gardiner
Phil. Tisdall
Jn. Rochfort
Wm. Harward
Bell. Boyle
Percival Hunt
John Macarell.

MCCCXIV. [*Banks's De Lunatico Inquirendo.*]

THE RIGHT HON. LUKE GARDINER AND OTHERS TO
THE KING

[*August 17, 1742.*]

AN inquisition taken before us, the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, Philip Tisdall, Esq., John Macarell, Percival

¹ *I.e.*, Sir Compton Domville, Lady Santry's brother (*supra*, vol. v, p. 437, n. 3), who was then Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper.

Hunt, Aldermen, William Harward, John Rochfort, and Bellingham Boyle, Esqrs., commissioners by virtue of a commission of our Sovereign Lord George the Second of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, bearing date the twelfth day of August in the sixteenth year of the reign of his said Majesty, at the Deanery House of St. Patrick's, Dublin, the seventeenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-two.

[JURY:]

The names of the jury of honest and lawful men sworn to inquire and examine of, and into, the matter specified in said commission:

Edward Hunt, Alderman.	John Cooke, Hosier.
John Adamson, Merchant.	John Cummin, Carpenter.
Robert Donovan, Merchant.	Erasmus Cope, Jeweller.
Arthur Lamprey, Chandler.	John Sican, Merchant. ¹
Thomas Hamilton, Brewer.	John Martin, Currier.
John Welsh, Carpenter.	Joshua Barrington, Merchant.

[ISSUE:]

Gentlemen,

Your issue is to try and inquire whether Doctor Jonathan Swift in the annexed commission be a person of unsound mind and memory, and not capable of taking care of his person or fortune, and if he be, how long he hath been so, and of what lands, tenements, goods and chattels the said Doctor Jonathan Swift was possessed of at the time he so became of unsound mind and memory, or at any time since, and what is the yearly value thereof, and who is his next heir.

[FINDING:]

We find that the Revd. Doctor Jonathan Swift in the annexed commission named is a person of unsound mind and memory, and not capable of taking care of his person or fortune, and that he hath been so since the twentieth day of May last past. And we further find that the said Jonathan Swift was on the said twentieth day of May, and still is, seized and possessed of lands, tithes, and tenements of the clear yearly value of eight hundred pounds sterling, and

¹ The husband of Swift's correspondent.

also possessed of goods and chattels to the value of ten thousand pounds sterling; and it does not appear to us who is his next heir.

Ed. Hunt.
John Adamson.
Rob. Donovan.
Arthr. Lamprey.
Thos. Hamilton.
John Welsh.
John Cooke.
John Cummin.
Eras. Cope.
Jn. Sican.

John Martin.
Joshua Barrington.
Wm. Harward.
Jn. Rochfort.
Bell. Boyle.
Lu. Gardiner.
Phil. Tisdall.
John Macarell.
Percival Hunt.

Endorsed—Received 19 August 1742.

MCCCXV. [*Orrery's Remarks.*]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

Dublin, *November 22, 1742.*

MY LORD,

THE easy manner, in which you reproach me for not acquainting you with the poor Dean's situation, lays a fresh obligation upon me; yet mean as an excuse is for a fault, I shall attempt one to your Lordship, and only for this reason, that you may not think me capable of neglecting anything you could command me. I told you in my last letter, the Dean's understanding was quite gone, and I feared the further particulars would only shock the tenderness of your nature, and the melancholy scene make your heart ache, as it has often done mine.

I was the last person whom he knew, and when that part of his memory failed, he was so outrageous at seeing anybody, that I was forced to leave him, nor could he rest for a night or two after seeing any person, so that all the attendance which I could pay him was calling twice a week to inquire after his health, and to observe that proper care was taken of him, and durst only look at him while his back was towards me, fearing to discompose him. He walked ten hours a day, would not eat or drink if his servant stayed in the room. His meat was served up ready cut, and sometimes it would lie an hour on the table before he would touch it, and then eat it walking.

About six weeks ago, in one night's time, his left eye swelled as large as an egg, and the lid Mr. Nichols, his surgeon,¹ thought would mortify, and many large boils appeared upon his arms and body. The torture he was in, is not to be described. Five persons could scarce hold him for a week, from tearing out his own eyes, and for near a month, he did not sleep two hours in twenty-four; yet a moderate appetite continued, and what is more to be wondered at, the last day of his illness, he knew me perfectly well, took me by the hand, called me by my name, and showed the same pleasure as usual in seeing me. I asked him if he would give me a dinner. He said, "To be sure, my old friend." Thus he continued that day, and knew the doctor and surgeon, and all his family so well, that Mr. Nichols thought it possible he might return to a share of understanding, so as to be able to call for what he wanted, and to bear some of his old friends to amuse him.

But alas! this pleasure to me was but of short duration; for the next day or two it was all over, and proved to be only pain that had roused him. He is now free from torture, his eye almost well, very quiet, and begins to sleep, but cannot, without great difficulty, be prevailed on to walk a turn about his room; and yet in this way the physicians think he may hold out for some time. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

M. WHITEWAY.

MCCCXVI. [*Original.*²]

DEANE SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

December 19, 1742.

¹ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 355, n. 3.

² It was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Cork (Craik's "Life," ii, 255).

MCCCXVII. [*Nichols.*]

THE EARL OF ORRERY TO DEANE SWIFT

Marston, *December* [24], 1742.

SIR,

I AM much obliged to you for the full, though melancholy, account you have sent me of my ever honoured friend. It is the more melancholy to me, as I have heard him often lament the particular misfortune incident to human nature, of an utter deprivation of senses many years before a deprivation of life. I have heard him describe persons in that condition, with a liveliness and a horror, that on this late occasion have recalled to me his very words.

Our litany, methinks, should have an addition of a particular prayer against this most dreadful misfortune. I am sure mine shall. The bite of a mad dog, a most tremendous evil, ends soon in death, but the effects of his loss of memory may last even to the longest age of man; therefore I own my friendship for him has now changed my thoughts and wishes into the very reverse of what they were. I rejoice to hear he grows lean. I am sorry to hear his appetite is good. I was glad when there seemed an approaching mortification in his eyelid. In one word, the man I wished to live the longest I wish the soonest dead. It is the only blessing that can now befall him. His reason will never return, or if it should, it will only be to show him the misery of having lost it. I am impatient for his going where imperfection ceases, and where perfection begins; where Wilsons cannot break in and steal,¹ and where envy, hatred, and malice have no influence or power. While he continues to breathe, he is an example, stronger and more piercing than he or any other divine could preach, against pride, conceit, and vain-glory. Good God! Doctor Swift beaten and marked with stripes by a beast in human shape, one Wilson.

But he is not only an example against presumption and haughtiness, but in reality an incitement to marriage. Men in years ought always to secure a friend to take care of de-

¹ It is mentioned by Sir Walter Scott that Swift's servants accused Wilson of carrying away Swift's books ("Life," p. 448).

clining life, and watch narrowly, as they fall, the last minute particles of the hour-glass. A bachelor will seldom find, among all his kindred, so true a nurse, so faithful a friend, so disinterested a companion, as one tied to him by the double chain of duty and affection. A wife could not be banished from his chamber, or his unhappy hours of retirement, nor had the Dean felt a blow, or wanted a companion, had he been married, or, in other words, had Stella lived. All that a friend could do, has been done by Mrs. Whiteway; all that a companion could persuade, has been attempted by Mrs. Ridgeway. The rest—but I shall run on for ever, and I set out at first only with an intention of thanking you for your letter, and assuring you that I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
ORRERY.

I beg to hear from you from time to time, if any new occurrence happens in the Dean's unhappy state.

MCCCXVIII. [*Orrery's Remarks.*]

DEANE SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

Dublin, *April 4, 1744.*

MY LORD,¹

AS to the story of "O poor old man," I inquired into it. The Dean did say something upon his seeing himself in the glass, but neither Mrs. Ridgeway, nor the lower servants

¹ About that time it was reported that Swift was exhibited for money by his servants, which is hardly likely to have been the case. Writing to Mr. William Duke, of Barbadoes, on 16 September, 1743, Mr. George Maxwell, of the firm of Lascelles and Maxwell of Crutched Friars, says: "Dean Swift has absolutely lost his intellect. He had conveyed all his estates to certain trustees to be disposed of after his death for charitable uses, and, falling into a state of childhood, took to squandering away his fortune, on which the trustees got the guardianship of him to prevent it, and now his servants exhibit him for a show for money. He sits in an elbow chair in an odd dress, and curses and swears incessantly. How vain is the greatest human genius, when this man who laughed at follies of all people is become a laughing-stock for all the fools in Ireland. I wish he were dead for his own sake, as well as ours, that we might see his History of England, which is not to be published till after his death" (Forster Collection).

could tell me what it was he said. I desired them to recollect it by the time when I should come again to the Deanery. I have been there since; they cannot recollect it. A thousand stories have been invented of him within these two years, and imposed upon the world. I thought this might have been one of them, and yet I am now inclined to think, there may be some truth in it; for on Sunday the 17th of March, as he sat in his chair upon the housekeeper's moving a knife from him as he was going to catch at it, he shrugged his shoulders, and rocking himself, said, "I am what I am, I am what I am," and about six minutes afterwards repeated the same words two or three times over. His servant shaves his cheeks, and all his face as low as the tip of his chin once a week, but under the chin and about the throat, when the hair grows long it is cut with scissors. Sometimes he will not utter a syllable; at other times he will speak incoherent words; but he never yet, as far as I could hear, talked nonsense or said a foolish thing.

About four months ago he gave me great trouble; he seemed to have a mind to talk to me. In order to try what he would say, I told him I came to dine with him, and immediately his housekeeper, Mrs. Ridgeway, said "Won't you give Mr. Swift a glass of wine, Sir?" He shrugged his shoulders, just as he used to do when he had a mind that a friend should not spend the evening with him; shrugging his shoulders, your Lordship may remember, was as much as to say, "You'll ruin me in wine." I own, I was scarce able to bear the sight. Soon after he again endeavoured, with a good deal of pain, to find words to speak to me; at last not being able, after many efforts, he gave a heavy sigh, and, I think, was afterwards silent.

This puts me in mind of what he said about five days ago. He endeavoured several times to speak to his servant—now and then he calls him by his name—at last, not finding words to express what he would be at, after some uneasiness, he said, "I am a fool." Not long ago the servant took up his watch that lay upon the table to see what o'clock it was; he said, "Bring it here," and when it was brought, he looked very attentively at it. Some time ago the servant was breaking a large stubborn coal; he said "that's a stone, you blockhead."

In a few days, or some very short time after guardians had been appointed for him, I went into his dining-room,

where he was walking; I said something very insignificant, I know not what; but instead of making any kind of answer to it, he said, "Go, go," pointing with his hand to the door, and immediately afterwards, raising his hand to his head, he said "My best understanding," and so broke off abruptly and walked away. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
DEANE SWIFT.

THE REVEREND DOCTOR JONATHAN SWIFT, late Dean of St. Patrick's, deceased October the 19th 1745, and was interred the 22nd of the same, at the second pillar from the west gate in the south side of the great aisle. He was installed Dean of this Cathedral the 13th day of June 1713. Jon. Worrall, Dean's Vicar.—*Register of St. Patrick's Cathedral.*

SUPPLEMENTAL LETTERS

MCCCXVIII. [*Deane Swift.*]

THE REV. THOMAS SHERIDAN TO SWIFT

DRDN,¹

YEW mare aim Ember, a bout Ann our Ah go, Ire it
Sum Ann glow Ann Glee, I nim it ay shun off Ewers.
Butt If here they rare mist eaks. I few fine day nigh, Eye
may Kit mire eak quest Tom end dumb. They'll aid Eyes
Name Lee Mad damn Harry Son, White Whey, Sigh Cann
air ray dye Two join new, Sow add Yew Too Ale even,
Ewer Mow Stumble Add my rare.

THOUGH MASS SHE RID ANN.

Meath ay two went he Sick'st,
Wan thou Sand Say vain Hun dread, etc.

Tooth ay Revere End Dock tore Jo Nathan Dray Peer,
Gull Liver, Inn They Dane a wry.

¹ The following interpretation of this letter, which was probably written in May 1738, is supplied by Sir Walter Scott:

DEAR DEAN,

You may remember, about an hour ago, I wrote some Anglo-Angli, in imitation of yours; but I fear there are mistakes. If you find any, I make it my request to mend 'em. The ladies, namely Madam Harrison, Whiteway, Sican, are ready to join you, so adieu to eleven.

Your most humble admirer,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

May the twenty-sixth,
One thousand seven hundred, etc.

To the Reverend Doctor Jonathan Draper Gulliver,
in the Deanery.

MCCCXVIII B. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ORRERY

MCCCXVIII C. [*Original*.²]

ERASMUS LEWIS TO SWIFT

Endorsed by Swift—Mr. Lewis about young Paget, who hath eloped from his father.

MCCCXVIII D. [*Elwin*.]

MRS. WHITEWAY TO ALEXANDER POPE

SIR,³

I AM now with the Dean of St. Patrick's, who has commanded me to write for him to you. He is extremely deaf and giddy, which is doubly heavy at this juncture, as it prevents him from making you acquainted with one of the most valuable men of the kingdom, Mr. Macaulay, whose only business to England is to pay his duty, respects, and most humble thanks, to the Prince of Wales, to you, Sir, and Mr. Lyttelton. The character which the Dean hath ordered me to give you of Counsellor Macaulay is this, that he is a man of religion, without enthusiasm or hypocrisy, of excellent understanding, learning, taste, and probity, a just defender of other men's properties, and the liberty of his Prince and country, a most dutiful son, a faithful friend—here I stopped to put the Dean in mind that I was writing to Mr. Pope, not of him, he bid me go on, finish my sentence, and then make my remarks—a tender husband, father, and master. The Dean now, in his

¹ It was sold amongst the manuscripts of the Earl of Cork, and is said to be dated 17 June, 1738, but evidently not correctly, as Lady Orrery, who is mentioned in the letter, did not marry Lord Orrery until the close of that month.

² It was formerly in the possession of Bishop Percy, and is said to have been dated August 26, 1739, but the year was more probably 1737 (*supra*, p. 60).

³ This letter was probably written in the summer of 1739 (*supra*, p. 128).

turn, asked me what I thought of my precipitation, was I still of opinion it was Mr. Pope he was describing. As we women do not like to own ourselves mistaken, I insisted on my being in the right in what I said, for I could see no other difference in the pictures, than what an able artist might have designedly made, where one part was darkly shaded, for the imagination of the beholder to fill up.

The Dean says his great loss of memory, and very bad state of health, would still be more supportable, if he were not incapacitated by it to converse with you, who have his heart, his warmest wishes, and tenderest affections. Allow me, Sir, to add one wish for myself, that I may be an humble attendant on you both, in that glorious space, where great souls will, I am sure, from a just God, enjoy a more exalted happiness in being perpetually together. I am, Sir, with the highest respect,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MARTHA WHITEWAY.

MCCCXVIII. [*Draft.*¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF ARRAN

1739.

MY LORD,²

I AM earnestly desired by some worthy friends of mine, to write to your Lordship in favour of the bearer, Mr. Moore, minister of Clonmel, who will have the honour to present this letter to your Lordship.³ Those rectorial tithes of Clonmel were granted to the Church by letters-patent from King Charles the Second, with the perfect knowledge and full approbation of your great ancestor, the first Duke

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² It is evident from the terms of this letter that there had been no intercourse of late between Swift and his "brother," the Earl of Arran (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 183) Although he was in possession of the Duke of Ormond's estates, the Earl of Arran never visited Ireland, and John Loveday was told, when on his tour through that country in 1732, that he had not been at Kilkenny since he was a schoolboy.

³ The Rev. Joseph Moore, who became afterwards a dignitary of the Waterford diocese, was appointed to the living of Clonmel in 1737, and held it for fifty-seven years until his death in 1794.

of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Notwithstanding which, some of the former agents to your Lordship's family have greatly distressed the incumbent ministers of Clonmel, which is generally believed to be without the knowledge of his present Grace the Duke your brother, whom God long preserve. But your Lordship's present agent being extremely vigilant of all your Lordship's interests, hath lately renewed the claim of the Ormond family to those tithes, and was at the last assizes, after a long hearing of six hours, nonsuited. The living of Clonmel is one of the largest, and yet poorest parish in this kingdom; being upon the whole, including the valuation of the houses, scarce worth one hundred pounds a year, out of which, a curate assistant being absolutely necessary on account of its extent, a salary of forty pounds must be paid.

My Lord, your Lordship's family hath been always distinguished for their favour and protection to the established Church, under her greatest persecutions; nor have you, in the universal opinion, ever degenerated from them. Those tithes in and about Clonmel are very inconsiderable, having never been let for above twenty-four pounds a year, made up of very small pittances collected from a great number of the poorest people; so that the recovery of them by an expensive lawsuit, if it could be effected, would not be worth attempting. Mr. Moore is recommended to me by several persons of great worth, as I have already observed, and I hope I have not hitherto forfeited the credit I had with you. My humble request therefore to your Lordship is, that the minister of Clonmel may, without disturbance, enjoy that small addition to his support, which the King and your grandfather intended for him.¹ I have always understood and believed, that the Duke, your brother's, retiring hath not lessened your fortune, but increased it, and as to his Grace, unless all our intelligence be false, he is as easy as he desires to be. I heard of several persons who have ventured to wait on him abroad, and it is agreed that his Grace is perfectly easy in his mind and fortune.

Upon the whole, I do earnestly desire your Lordship to

¹ This sentence is inserted in the draft in a different hand, which tends to show that Swift sought assistance at that time in his correspondence. See Appendix X.

resign those poor scraps of tithes in and about Clonmel to Mr. Moore and his successors, in a legal form, for ever. Your loss will be at most but twenty-four pounds a year, and that with a thousand difficulties infinitely below your generosity and quality. I am, etc.

MCCCXVIII^F. [*Scott.*]

SWIFT TO THE REV. JAMES KING

Monday morn.

SIR,¹

I HAVE often desired to talk with you about the Wednesday dinner, but could never see you. Mrs. Sican is to buy the dinner; for which I advanced a moidore and a double pistole.² I hoped you would have wrote to Dr. Wilson, and taken some care about the wine, for I have none to spare. Pray let me know whether you are content to take your usual trouble on these occasions. I am,

Your obedient humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

¹ This letter is addressed to the incumbent of St. Bride's Church (*supra*, vol. v, p. 255), and from the reference in it to Dr. Wilson, was evidently written about the year 1739.

² Like the moidore (*supra*, vol. v, p. 368), the pistole was a foreign coin then in use in Great Britain. It was worth about eighteen shillings. The dinner was possibly one to the Chapter.

APPENDIX I

POPE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SWIFT AND ITS PUBLICATION

FOR more than a century it was the prevalent opinion that the correspondence between Swift and Pope, which was published in 1741, had found its way into print through an Irish channel, and it was not until Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke contributed his articles on "A Search into the History of the Publication of Pope's Letters" to the "Athenæum" fifty-three years ago¹ that a contrary view began to be entertained. In these articles Mr. Dilke disclosed the subterfuges to which Pope resorted in order to satisfy what has been described by Sir Henry Craik² as "his passion for giving to the world every scrap of his literary work," and in his last article he showed that the correspondence between Swift and Pope as originally published must have emanated from Twickenham. Eleven years later, in his Introduction to "Pope's Works," Mr. Elwin elaborated Mr. Dilke's arguments, and in the following year, in a series of masterly notes to letters that passed between the Earl of Orrery and the poet, finally established the case against Pope.

But apart from the evidence on which Mr. Dilke and Mr. Elwin relied, an examination of the letters published in 1741 leaves to my mind no room for doubt that the editing was done on Pope's side, and that it was the work of no other hand than his own. The desire to obtain possession of his letters arose in the present case not only from his craving for literary fame, but also from his wish to suppress passages that might prove inconvenient to him if published, and to excise all comment on passing events and contemporary persons, and anything that might lower his own prestige. A considerable number of the letters which are known from references in others to have disappeared relate to subjects on which Pope and not Swift was anxious to withhold information, and although letters obtained since from other sources prove that it was far from being the case, the volume published in 1741 con-

¹ See "The Papers of a Critic," edited by Sir C. Dilke, i, 312.

² "Life of Swift," ii, 250.

veyed the impression that the correspondence between the Deanery and Twickenham, especially the part for which Pope was responsible, was almost entirely of an academic character.

The following list, which gives the dates on which the letters now composing the correspondence between Swift and Pope were first published, shows that forty-four letters from Pope to Swift, and forty-six from Swift to Pope, are printed in these volumes. Of these, thirty-seven from Pope and thirty-three from Swift appeared in whole or in part in 1741. Faulkner added in 1746 one from Swift, Orrery in 1752 one from Pope, Hawkesworth in 1766 two from Pope and three from Swift, and Sir Walter Scott in 1824 one from Pope, while the discovery of the transcripts at Longleat revealed in 1871 no less than three unprinted letters from Pope and nine from Swift, besides enabling large additions to be made to those already published. In the foregoing letters there is evidence that sixteen more letters from Pope and five from Swift, the approximate dates of which are indicated in the list in *italic type*, were written, and there is ground for an assumption that these do not represent the total number.

TO SWIFT.				FROM SWIFT.			
	DATED.		PUBLISHED.		DATED.		PUBLISHED.
1.	1713	Dec. 8	1752 ¹	1.	1715	June 28	1741
2.	1714	June 18	1741	2.	1716	Aug. 30	1741
3.	1715	<i>May</i>		3.	1722	Jan. 10	1741
3.	1716	June 20	1741	4.	1723	Sept. 20	1741 and 1871
4.	1723	Aug.	1741 ² and 1871	5.	1725	July 19	1871
5.	1725	Sept. 14	1741	6.		Sept. 29	1741 and 1871
6.		Oct. 15	1741 and 1871	7.		Nov. 26	1741 and 1871
7.		Dec. 14	1741 ³ and 1871	8.	1726	Aug. 4	1741 ⁴
8.	1726	Aug.	1741 ⁵	9.		Aug.	1741 ⁶
9.		Sept. 3	1741	10.		Oct. 15	1871
10.		<i>Oct.</i>		11.		Nov. 27	1741 ⁹
10.		Nov. 17	1741 ⁷	12.		Dec. 5	1741
11.		Nov. 26	1741 ⁸	1.	1727	<i>Sept.</i>	
12.	1727	Feb. 18	1741 ¹⁰	13.		Oct. 12	1741
13.		Oct. 2	1741	14.		Nov. 23	1741 and 1871
14.		Oct. 22	1741 ¹¹				
15.	1728	Jan.	1871				

¹ "Orrery's Remarks," p. 53.

³ Under date Dec. 10, 1725.

⁵ Under date Aug. 22, 1726.

⁷ From "Mr. Gay."

⁹ Under date Nov. 17, 1726.

¹¹ From "Mr. Gay."

² Under date Jan. 12, 1723.

⁴ Under date May 4, 1726.

⁶ Under date Oct. 30, 1727.

⁸ Under date Nov. 16, 1726.

¹⁰ Under date March 8, 1727.

TO SWIFT.			FROM SWIFT.		
	DATED.	PUBLISHED.		DATED.	PUBLISHED.
16.	Feb. 15	1741	15.	1728 May 10	1741
17.	March 23	1741	16.	June 1	1741
3.	May		17.	July 16	1741
18.	June 28	1741	2.	Nov.	
19.	Oct. 12	1741 ¹	18.	1729 Feb. 13	1741
4.	1729 Feb.		19.	March 6	1766 ²
5.	March		20.	April 5	1741
6.	June		21.	Aug. 11	1741
20.	Oct. 9	1741	22.	Oct. 31	1741
21.	Nov. 28	1741	23.	1730 Feb. 6	1871
			24.	Feb. 26	1871
22.	1730 March 4	1741 ³	25.	May 2	1871
23.	April 9	1871	3.	Oct.	
24.	June	1741 ⁴	26.	1731 Jan. 15	1871
7.	Dec.		27.	April 20	1871
25.	1731 March 20	1871	4.	July	
8.	July		28.	July 20	1766 ⁵
9.	July				
26.	Dec. 1	1741 ⁶	29.	1732 June 12	1741 ⁸
27.	1732 April	1741 ⁷			
10.	May		30.	1733 Jan.	1741
11.	Sept.		31.	March 30	1871
12.	Oct.		32.	May 1	1741
28.	Dec. 5	1741	33.	July 1	1741 and 1913 ¹⁰
29.	1733 Feb. 16	1741	5.	Dec.	
30.	April 20	1741 ⁹	34.	1734 Nov. 1	1871
31.	May 28	1741			
32.	Sept. 1	1741	35.	1735 May 12	1741
33.	1734 Jan. 6	1741	36.	Sept. 3	1741
34.	Sept. 15	1741	37.	Oct. 21	1741
35.	Dec. 19	1741	38.	1736 Feb. 7	1741
13.	1735 April		39.	April 22	1741
14.	July		6.	Sept.	
36.	Sept.	1741	40.	Dec. 2	1741 and 1871
37.	Dec.	1741 ¹¹			
15.	1736 Jan.				
38.	March 25	1741			
39.	Aug. 17	1741			

¹ Under date Nov. 12, 1728.² Hawkesworth's "Works of Swift," xvii, 171. This is the letter written in consequence of Swift's mistaking a letter from Ford for one from Pope, and probably it was never sent to Pope.³ Under date April 14, 1730.⁴ Under date March 29, 1731.⁵ Hawkesworth's "Works of Swift," xvii, 197. A copy endorsed by Swift is in the Forster Collection, No. 549.⁶ From "Mr. Gay."⁷ From "Lord Bolingbroke."⁸ Under date June 22, 1732.⁹ Under date April 2, 1733.¹⁰ From a copy in the possession of the Duke of Portland.¹¹ Under date September, 1735.

TO SWIFT.			FROM SWIFT.		
	DATED.	PUBLISHED.		DATED.	PUBLISHED.
40.	Dec. 30	1741	41.	1737 Feb. 9	1741 ¹
41.	1737 March 23	1741	42.	May 31	1741
16.	1738 July 25		43.	June	1741 ²
42.	Oct. 12	1766 ³	44.	Aug. 8	1741
43.	1739 May 17	1766 ⁶	45.	1739 April 28	1746 ⁴
44.	1741 March 22	1824 ⁷	46.	May 10	1766 ⁵

From the longest gap in the correspondence no evidence can be drawn as to the editor of the volume published in 1741. As has been already suggested⁸ the "chasm" between 1716 and 1722, or rather 1723, for the letter written by Swift in January 1722 does not appear to have been sent to Pope at the time,⁹ is not improbably to be accounted for by the fact that few if any letters were written during that period. That no letters had been exchanged for some years before 1723 may, it seems to me, be at least concluded with some degree of certainty from the closing words of Pope's letter in that year: "If I have sinned in my long silence, consider there is one to whom you yourself have been as great a sinner."¹⁰

But two other gaps in the sequence of the correspondence which are known to be due to the disappearance of letters, are confirmatory of the view that Pope was the editor of the 1741 volume, and that the letters were destroyed by him. These gaps occur in the years 1731 and 1732. The year 1731 was the one in which the correspondence about the counterfeit letter to Queen Caroline took place. That Swift wished nothing concealed in regard to this incident may be surmised from the fact that the only letter on the subject now in existence is printed from a copy kept by him, while on the other hand Pope evidently believed that the counterfeit letter was written by Swift¹¹ and would naturally have desired, both

¹ Under date February 9, 1736.

² Under date July 23, 1737.

³ Hawkesworth's "Works of Swift," xvii, 261.

⁴ Faulkner's "Works of Swift," viii, 351.

⁵ Hawkesworth's "Works of Swift," xvii, 264.

⁶ Hawkesworth's "Letters by Swift and his Friends," iii, 292. The original is in the British Museum.

⁷ Sir W. Scott's "Works of Swift," xix, 246.

⁸ *Supra*, p. 16.

⁹ The apology was probably printed from a draft sent in 1737 to Pope with his own letters. From the collection in the British Museum it is evident that it was Swift's practice to keep such drafts as he made amongst the letters sent to him.

¹⁰ *Supra*, vol. iii, p. 169.

¹¹ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 243.

for his own sake and Swift's, that the whole affair should be buried in oblivion. In the year 1732 the correspondence about the publication of the last volume of the "Miscellanies" was carried on, and in the mystery surrounding this transaction there is one thing clear—that Swift's reputation and interests were not Pope's main object, and that for some reason or other Swift dropped for a time all correspondence with him.¹

After the summer of 1738 no attempt has been made in the list to indicate missing letters. According to his statements to Orrery, Pope wrote to Swift frequently after that time, but he cannot be accepted as a witness for himself without reserve. For instance, in the year 1736, writing on 16 April to Orrery, he says: "I wish excessively a line from the Dean. It is three months since I had one, and I have written thrice to him, twice by private hands and once by post."² But from his letter to Swift of 25 March previous it appears that he had received the letter which Swift wrote him on 7 February. From other sources there is, after 1738, only certainty as to two missing letters. The one from Swift, which is mentioned in his letter to Orrery of 21 November, 1738, and the one from Pope, which is mentioned by Mrs. Whiteway in her letter to him of 16 May, 1740. Possibly the latter is one which in a letter to Orrery of 27 March, 1740, Pope says he had sent to Swift from Bath six weeks before.³

According to Mrs. Pilkington Pope had good reason to wish that many of his letters should be suppressed, as he displayed in them an insincerity and obscenity that even the partiality of Swift could not excuse. Her account is said by the younger Sheridan⁴ to have been pure invention and to have originated in Pope's refusing to give any countenance to "the subscription for her poems," but this contradiction is too wholesale to carry under any circumstances much weight, and the more so as the ground on which the allegation rests is false, and Pope's name is found in the printed list of subscribers at the beginning of Mrs. Pilkington's volume.

The additions made to the correspondence from the transcripts at Longleat, which came there with the Earl of Oxford's papers and can only have been made by Pope's aid, comprise the lighter portions of the correspondence and contain frequent allusion to Swift's English friends. While presenting no sufficient reason for their destruction they supply just such information as Pope was likely to consider too trivial for print, but which on the other hand would have been deemed by Swift of the utmost value and gladly have been given by him to the world as evidencing his intimacy with great persons.

¹ *Supra*, vol. iv, pp. 342, 365.

² "Pope's Works," viii, 379.

⁴ Nichols's "Works of Swift," ii, 165.

³ *Ibid.*, 411.

The means by which Curll obtained in 1736 copies of the letters written by Pope and Bolingbroke in August 1723 must remain a matter of doubt, but it is significant that the version given by Curll is in some slight degree a more finished composition than the one published in 1741 and used in the present edition of Swift's Correspondence. The variations from the latter version, which follows presumably the original letters, could certainly not have been made by Swift's servants, whom Pope suggested sold copies of the letters to Curll, and are such as an author would make when revising a composition of his own for the press. In the letter from Pope (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 167) the variations are as follows: in line 8 "for both of us I believe have had and one of us hath both had and given a surfeit of writing," reads "for both of us have had and one of us has both had and given a surfeit of writing"; in line 14 "of whom I think of oftener" reads "of whom I think oftener"; in line 18 "all the respect" reads "all that respect"; in line 26 "beside" reads "besides"; in line 29 "immediately entailed" reads "entailed"; in line 34 "my particular ill fate" reads "my ill fate"; in line 44 "some account of the manner of my life and conversation" reads "some account of my manner of life and conversation"; in line 46 "than when you knew me among all sexes, parties, and professions" reads "than when you knew me and cared for me, and among all sexes, parties, and professions"; in line 65 "those are next" reads "those next"; line 68 "personal obligation" reads "personal obligation to him"; in line 73 "and yet not have displeased them" reads "and yet not to have displeased them"; in line 75 "by great chance" reads "by chance"; in line 80 "retaliated" reads "related"; and at the end the signature, "A. Pope," is added. In the letter from Bolingbroke the alterations are not so numerous. They are as follows: in line 40 "be admitted" reads "are admitted"; in line 46 "was of no side" reads "was no side"; in line 47 "ever was" reads "was ever"; in line 60 "jam" reads "I am"; in line 61 "*perductus*" reads "*productus*"; in line 62 "*nisi*" reads "*nil non*"; and at the end the signature "Bolingbroke" is added.

APPENDIX II

THE PRESERVATION OF SWIFT'S CORRESPONDENCE FROM 1728

So far as the letters to Swift are concerned an examination of the Correspondence from the year 1728 to the close of his life shows no reason for modifying the opinion already expressed that the

more important portion of them has come down to us.¹ The letters of his English friends, whether distinguished by birth or intellect, continued to be sedulously preserved by him and were regarded as a most cherished possession. As Mrs. Pilkington tells us,² they were placed in order under his own direction, and laid for safety within the covers of discarded books, such as the translation of Horace's Epistles by Dunkin's rival, Charles Carthy.³ In the preface to the sixteenth volume of his edition of Swift's "Works," George Faulkner confirms the view taken in the previous note that the letters were collected by Swift with an idea of publication, and says that about the year 1737 they were offered to him by Swift for that purpose, but were declined by him owing to orders of the House of Lords forbidding the letters of peers or peeresses to be printed without their consent.⁴

After Swift's return from his last visit to England the members of the Twickenham circle became his chief correspondents. Over Bolingbroke's and Gay's letters Pope had some power as well as over his own, and a few have been either abbreviated or suppressed, but the series of letters from Bathurst, Pulteney, and Arbuthnot seems almost if not quite complete. Nearly all the letters from such other English correspondents as are known outside the Twickenham circle are also in existence. Oxford and Carteret were only occasional correspondents, Ford, who very seldom visited Ireland, wrote even at longer intervals, and Lewis never took up his pen unless some purpose was to be served. Barber was the most constant friend, and, with a single exception, no letter from him appears to be lost. Letters from the other sex, a correspondence with whom became a striking phase of Swift's advancing years, form a large proportion of those now under review, and all the letters from the Duchess of Queensberry, Lady Elizabeth Germain, and Mrs. Pendarves are forthcoming. There is not any indication that Swift had other English correspondents of note, and it is probable that if he had had any, their letters would have been kept with equal care. As regards Irish correspondents the contempt entertained for them by Swift suggests the possibility of letters of interest having been destroyed, but excepting with Orrery and Castle-Durrow, most of whose letters have been saved, Swift does not appear to have carried on a correspondence with any leading people in that country.

Swift's own letters have, however, not escaped destruction to a similar extent, and a larger number are missing than in the preceding period. From what would have been called by Swift "widow's cant or mere prudery,"⁴ Lady Elizabeth Germain de-

¹ *Supra*, vol. iii, p. 451.

³ "Poetical Works," ii, 278.

⁴ Mrs. Delany's "Correspondence," ii, 418.

² "Memoirs," i, 51.

stroyed the whole of his letters to her, the four which survive having been printed from drafts kept by him, and Mrs. Pendarves consigned to the flames all but three of his letters to her. In the case of his letters to Bolingbroke, Pulteney, Bathurst, Carteret, Arbuthnot, and Ford the series is also imperfect, and would in several instances have been more so only for drafts which he had made. It is fortunate, however, that Pope, Gay, Oxford, Dorset, Orrery, Barber, and Motte estimated his letters at their real value, and handed down many to us.¹ The beginning of the period to which this note relates saw the conclusion of Swift's correspondence with Chetwode, but other Irish intimates were no less proud of the letters which he sent to them. The letters to Sheridan, on which so much time was wasted, occupy in the later volumes the most prominent place, but those to Stopford, Richardson, and Faulkner are no less interesting in exhibiting Swift's endless variety, and the gradual decay of his mind. †

APPENDIX III

REBECCA DINGLEY

THERE is no doubt that the connection between Stella's companion and the Temples was through the Hammonds.¹ Early in the seventeenth century Sir John Dingley, a native of Hampshire, married a sister of Sir William Temple's mother, who was a daughter of Dr. John Hammond, and in the later half of that century a second John Dingley, who was resident in Ireland and described as of Dunlavin in the county of Wicklow and Ship Street, Dublin, married another member of the Hammond family.

Nothing is known of Rebecca Dingley's near relations beyond the fact that she had a brother called Robert, and a conjecture that she may have been a daughter of the second John Dingley, who died soon after his marriage, seems not improbable. The licence for John Dingley's marriage was issued in the year 1671, and seven years later he made a nuncupative will bequeathing all he possessed to his wife Martha Dingley *alias* Hammond, which was proved two months later by her.² Deane Swift says,³ however, that Rebecca Dingley was fifteen years older than Stella, *i.e.*,

¹ *Supra*, vol. i, p. 42, n. 1.

² See Dublin Grants and Wills. John Dingley's will is dated 29 May 1678, and was proved on 13 July following.

³ "Essay," p. 91.

born in 1666, and if he is accurate we must look elsewhere for her parents. They may be possibly found in those of the Rev. William Dingley, whom Sir William Temple mentions in his will. His father was Charles Dingley of Newport in the Isle of Wight, who is known to have had two sons, Henry and William. Henry was born in 1665, graduated from Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1686, and became curate of Carfax, Oxford, and William was born in 1673, graduated from Corpus Christi College, of which he became a Fellow, in 1695, and was rector of All Saints Pavement, York, at the time of his death in 1735. Henry Dingley was married, and had a son Charles, who was born in 1692, graduated from Magdalen College in 1713, and died while rector of St. Peter le Bailey, Oxford, in 1725.

Rebecca Dingley's means were evidently small, and are said by Deane Swift to have consisted of an annuity of twenty-seven pounds a year. It is therefore likely that her residence in Sir William Temple's family originated in his wish to befriend a poor kinswoman, and from a letter addressed by Lady Giffard to one of her nieces¹ it appears that her position was not very clearly defined. Lady Giffard is writing about a servant who had proved too good for the place which she had to offer, and says, "three gentlewomen had been a little too much state as I make use of my cousin Dingley whenever I am in want, Hetty's place being the height of her ambition."

Both Deane Swift and Sheridan have drawn a very unattractive picture of her character from what they heard from others. Deane Swift² describes her as a very insipid companion, and Sheridan³ as "one of the common run of women, without knowledge or taste, and so entirely selfish as to be incapable of sincere friendship or warm attachment." Her attraction in Swift's eyes, according to Sheridan, was "the narrowness of her circumstances," which kept her in "a fixed state of dependency and conformity to his will." But readers of the *Journal to Stella* will hardly be prepared to admit that she was so devoid of good qualities as Swift's biographers would make us believe, and her will indicates right feeling and a spirit of independence. The chief point of interest in it is evidence that not long after Vanessa's death Swift gave Stella's companion an order for a hundred pounds, and that this order was never made use of by her. Swift's object in giving the money adds further mystery to the history of that time. Whether the money was intended to propitiate her or to provide additional comforts for Stella there is nothing to show. All that is certain is that Rebecca Dingley had never converted the order

¹ "Martha, Lady Giffard," by Julia G. Longe, p. 215.

² "Essay," p. 95.

³ "Life," p. 306.

into money and wished the fact to be recorded. The mention of the order occurs in connection with her bequests to the Rev. John Lyon, whom she appointed her executor. To him she leaves all her money, plate, books, and papers, "particularly a note of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, bearing date 10 October, 1723, for one hundred pounds payable upon demand."

Her will is dated 25 August 1739 and describes her as a spinster residing within the Liberties of St. Patrick's Cathedral. To her "dear brother Robert Dingley¹" she bequeaths her watch and chain, to her maid Isabella Martin her clothes and cabinet with its contents, and to Mrs. Anne Ridgeway the remainder of her furniture. The will was proved on 22 July, 1743, by Lyon in the Prerogative Court, three days after she had been interred in the old churchyard of St. Patrick's Cathedral, no doubt according to her direction, "at a late hour of the night."

APPENDIX IV

"AY AND NO"

THERE is more than one account in contemporary letters of the passage between Swift and Primate Boulter regarding the lowering of the gold, which is commemorated in the lines with the above title; and under the date of the occurrence, 29 September 1737, Lord Chancellor Wyndham's secretary notes in his diary,² "Duke of Devonshire, Lord Primate, Lord Wyndham dined with the old Lord Mayor, James Somerville, and Dr. Swift talked very impudently to Lord Primate, and Primate would not dine with the new Lord Mayor, William Walker, next day."

Writing to his father, the Duke of Dorset, from Dublin a week later, Lord George Sackville says,³ "The coinage has made a great rout here, and the Dean has shown himself more mad and absurd than ever. The poor Primate has been greatly threatened by anonymous letters, so that he has been obliged to have a corporal and six men lie in his house every night for the month past

¹ He appears to have married one of the Thompsons of Kirby Hall, Yorkshire, who had been formerly resident in the south of England, and to have had a daughter called Rebecca, who married one of her cousins (Burke's "Landed Gentry," ed. 1847, p. 1389).

² "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," edited by J. J. Howard, ser. ii, vol. iv, p. 38.

³ Mrs. Stopford-Sackville's Manuscripts, Hist. MSS. Comm., vol. i, p. 166.

to save him from any insult. The other day at the Lord Mayor's feast the Dean before all the company talked against lowering the gold, and told the Primate that had it not been for him he would have been torn to pieces by the mob, and that if he held up his finger he could make them do it that instant."

Two months later a correspondent of the Duke of Ormond says,¹ "The Irish Parliament has passed an Act to confirm the order of Council for lowering the gold. At a feast given by the Lord Mayor of Dublin to the Duke of Devonshire Dr. Swift was present, and the Primate, Archbishop Boulter, who is a very weak man, bluntly taxed the Doctor before the company for endeavouring to raise the mob, and to begin a rebellion on account of the lessening the value of the gold. The Doctor answered that he loved his country, and thought the diminution of the coin was a prejudice to it, that he could by lifting up a finger have influenced the mob to tear him in pieces, but he deferred doing it, because it would make an odd figure in history that a Primate was destroyed by the people for doing an odd job; he would not at present give it another name. The Doctor immediately left the room. The next day the Duke of Devonshire sent to the Doctor to come to the Castle, and he made his excuse that he had got the country disease, alluding to what had passed the day before in his presence."

APPENDIX V

THE PREFACE TO MACAULAY'S TRACT

THE following letter from Swift is printed as a preface to Macaulay's "Thoughts on the Tillage of Ireland." A comparison of it with the letter on the subject in the Correspondence² will show that the public were not allowed to know the real circumstances attending the publication of the tract.

A LETTER TO THE PRINTER

MR. FAULKNER,

I RECEIVED from you a manuscript sent, as you tell me, by some unknown hand, entitled a Discourse upon the Tillage of Ireland, of which you desire my judgment. In answer I do assure you I think it extremely well writ, and might be of the greatest

¹ C. F. W. Underwood's Manuscripts, Hist. MSS. Comm., Rept. X, App., pt. i, p. 508.

² *Supra*, p. 55.

advantage to the kingdom, if there were virtue enough among us to follow the author's advice, as I heartily wish. I am, Sir,
Your assured friend and servant,

J. SWIFT.

DEANERY HOUSE,
December 13, 1737.

APPENDIX VI

SWIFT AND THE AUTHOR OF "THE SHARPER"

As an introduction to his play Michael Clancy inserts the following account of the means by which it was brought under Swift's notice:

"The author, in the year 1737, had the misfortune of losing his sight by a cold, which rendered him incapable of his profession. In the beginning of his retirement to the country for the summer season, the Epitaph on Charteris was accidentally read to him. He writ some detached scenes in the dramatic way on the story of that professed sharper. He then connected them, and some of his friends having told him that they might bear being represented in the theatre, he at his return to the city brought the play to Dr. Helsham, and, conscious of his own insufficiency in matters so foreign to his way of life, requested of the Doctor, who was very familiar with Dean Swift, to put the comedy into his hands, as the author judged that his approbation or dislike after reading would at once determine the fate of the performance. 'Not I, indeed,' said Dr. Helsham, 'have you a mind that I should be obliged to go down his stairs faster than I went up? Shall I subject myself to be laughed at, or perhaps ill-treated? Not I indeed; I do not care to bring his tongue upon me. Go to Dr. Grattan; the Dean will probably hear from him, what he would not from me.'

"The author went to Dr. Grattan, and solicited his assistance in the same way. 'Who, I,' said Dr. Grattan, 'not I, by —; what have I to do with plays? I know nothing of writing books; I should have a fine time of it to bring such a piece of stuff before the Dean, and have it thrown in my face, or be called a blockhead for my pains. I should be glad to serve you, but find somebody else to befriend you on this occasion. No, no, not I, by —.' Dr. Grattan's brother, minister of St. Audoen's, happened to be present, who was pleased to say that he would find an opportunity of laying the book on the Dean's table, and if it was good, he would be apt to examine how it came there. The gentleman accordingly

did so, and there it lay for some time, without the author's hearing one word about it.

"Dr. Swift read it, and not knowing how the play came there asked all his friends, which of them had brought it, and none of those, to whom it was known to, would venture to tell as he had not declared his opinion of it. One day as Dr. Helsham saw it on his table he took it up to look into it, and asked the Dean what this was. The Dean smiled, and told him it was a villain well painted, and that whoever had written the piece, conveyed a good moral. Dr. Helsham, who saw that he had nothing to fear, told him the author, and what he knew of him. 'Tell him, then,' said the Dean, 'that in a few days I will pay him a visit.' He then went into his closet and wrote the following letter,¹ which Dr. Helsham brought with the packet mentioned in the postscript."

APPENDIX VII

DR. JOHNSON'S DEGREE

It is probable that the following letter, which was written by Gay's friend, the second Lord Gower,² who was afterwards created an earl, reached Swift, since it would appear to have been found amongst papers connected with him, but as Lord Gower apprehended, it would have been impossible for Swift, in the time at his disposal, to obtain what was requested. The University of Dublin at a later period voted the great Doctor the degree of a doctor of laws, but it was never conferred.

SIR,³

MR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, author of *London*, a satire, and some other poetical pieces, is a native of this country, and much respected by some worthy gentlemen in this neighbourhood, who are trustees of a charity-school now vacant—the certain salary is sixty pounds a year—of which they are desirous to make him master; but, unfortunately, he is not capable of receiving their bounty, which would make him happy for life, by not being a master of arts, which, by the statutes of the school, the master of it must be.

Now these gentlemen do me the honour to think that I have interest enough in you, to prevail upon you to write to Dean Swift, to persuade the University of Dublin to send a diploma to

¹ *Supra*, p. 56.

² *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 72.

³ First printed by Sir Walter Scott.

me, constituting this poor man master of arts in their University. They highly extol the man's learning and probity, and will not be persuaded that the University will make any difficulty of conferring such a favour upon a stranger, if he is recommended by the Dean. They say he is not afraid of the strictest examination, though he is of so long a journey, and will venture it, if the Dean thinks it necessary, choosing rather to die upon the road, than be starved to death in translating for booksellers, which has been his only subsistence for some time past.

I fear there is more difficulty in this affair, than these good-natured gentlemen apprehend; especially as their election cannot be delayed longer than the 11th of next month. If you see this matter in the same light as it appears to me, I hope you will burn this, and pardon me for giving you so much trouble about an impracticable thing; but, if you think there is a probability of obtaining the favour asked, I am sure your humanity, and propensity to relieve merit in distress, will incline you to serve the poor man, without my adding more to the trouble I have already given you, than assuring you that I am, with great truth, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

GOWER.

TRENTHAM,
August 1, 1738.

APPENDIX VIII

SHERIDAN AND HIS RELATIONS WITH SWIFT

THE quarrel between Swift and Sheridan shortly before Sheridan's death has in my opinion been unduly magnified. It was not by any means the first time that they had fallen out, and if Sheridan had lived the breach would probably, as on previous occasions, have been soon healed. Swift was never more happy than when Sheridan was with him, but his consciousness of Sheridan's failings was too acute to allow their intercourse to be one of uninterrupted friendship. Within three months from their first acquaintance Swift took offence, as we have seen,¹ with Sheridan for writing what he considered a lampoon upon him; he resented subsequently a rude remark which Sheridan made to Stella;² and after his first visit to the Achesons he considered Sheridan's misdoings were so serious as to deserve to be chronicled in the "History of

¹ *Supra*, vol. iii, p. 19.

² "Prose Works," xi, 153.

the Second Solomon." The formal quarrel which then took place is attributed by Swift entirely to Sheridan, who is said to have been angry at Swift's complaining of his not coming to Market Hill and writing the verses on his companions at Ballyspellan.¹ But at least the occasion to make a second party to the quarrel was not wanting. In the concluding paragraph of the "Second Solomon" we are told that, "without the knowledge or advice of one living soul," Sheridan had dared to write a royal birthday ode, and to adopt the role of a sycophant. Such a lapse is hardly likely to have been lightly regarded by Swift, and until Sheridan gave proof of repentance it is probable that Swift was one of "the old Tory friends" who withheld all their esteem. Indeed, it is otherwise hardly possible that the "History of the Second Solomon," which is certainly not written "in a spirit of mere jest and innocent merriment," could have been compiled.

In giving the account of the last quarrel, the younger Sheridan dwells much on the signs of Swift's failing powers at the time,² and says that his conduct was "the natural consequence of the decay of his faculties, the infirmities of age, and cruel disease, by which so total a change was made in him that scarce anything of his former self remained." The actual circumstances of the quarrel are thus related by him: "Dr. Sheridan, finding himself disappointed in all his expectations on his removal, continued at Cavan but little more than two years, when he sold his school and returned to Dublin. While a house was preparing for him, he took up his abode as usual at the Deanery, where he was seized with a fit of illness, which confined him for some weeks to his chamber. . . . When the Doctor had sufficiently recovered to be able to go abroad, he was apologising to the Dean for the trouble he had given him, saying, 'I fear, Mr. Dean, I have been an expensive lodger to you this bout,' upon which Mrs. Whiteway . . . briskly said 'It is in your power, Doctor, easily to remedy this, by removing to another lodging.' Swift was silent. The poor Doctor was quite thunder-struck. . . . He quickly saw that this must have been done by Swift's direction, in which he was confirmed by his silence on the occasion. He immediately left the house . . . nor did he ever enter it again."³

Although the younger Sheridan does not emphasize the point, his father was then in very bad health as well as Swift, and doubt as to his sanity appears to have been raised after his death. This occurred on 10 October, 1738, and the quarrel cannot have taken place many weeks before. From the partly-dated "Anglo-Angli"

¹ "Prose Works," xi, 156.

² "Life," pp. 391-395.

³ The younger Sheridan does not connect the warning which his father gave Swift as to the growth of avarice in his character with the last quarrel, and there does not appear any authority for doing so.

letter¹ it is probable that Sheridan had been staying at the Deanery in the previous May, and from Swift's reference to him in his letter to Barber,² that he was still with him in August. After the breach with Swift he went to Rathfarnham to stay with one of his friends, the O'Callaghans,³ and as his son tells us, died there a few hours after making his will. He prefaces his testamentary dispositions by the statement that he is sick and weak in body. The question of his sanity seems to have arisen from the allusions to his "unkind wife" and daughter Anne,⁴ as well as to another daughter, called Elizabeth, whom he suspected of having made an undesirable alliance, but one of his executors, a barrister and a counsel to the King, dissipated the allegation in an affidavit which is attached to the will.

The "Character of Sheridan," which Swift wrote after his death,⁵ betrays no alteration in the relations which their correspondence shows to have always existed between them. In it Sheridan is eulogized as "the best instructor of youth in these kingdoms, or perhaps in Europe, and as great a master of the Greek and Roman languages," and commended for his wit and humour, but at the same time he is not allowed to escape censure for his indiscretions, domestic and otherwise. All Swift's letters to him are similar in their tone, and in hardly any case will praise be found unmingled with rebuke.

APPENDIX IX

SWIFT'S PATERNAL RELATIONS

THE Rev. Thomas Swift, who was born in 1595 and died in 1658, is said in Swift's autobiography⁶ to have left, by his wife Elizabeth Dryden, ten sons and three or four daughters. Of only seven sons, Godwin, Dryden, Thomas, Abraham, William, Jonathan, and Adam, and one daughter, Elizabeth, is anything known.

Godwin Swift, the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, entered Gray's Inn in 1650, and was called to the English bar in 1660 and to the Irish in 1663. He was appointed Attorney-General of the Regalities of Tipperary, from which office he was superseded in 1668. He was married four times, and died 7 December, 1695.

¹ *Supra*, p. 191.

³ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 200.

⁵ "Prose Works," xi, 159.

² *Supra*, p. 93.

⁴ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 155.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

By his first wife, Elizabeth Wheeler, he had two sons, Thomas and Willoughby.

Thomas was born in London in 1658, and was educated at Kilkenny School and in Dublin University, which he entered in 1672. In 1675 he was admitted to Gray's Inn. He married in 1679 Mary, widow of Nevill Pooley, and daughter of Sir Humphrey Jervis. His will is dated 5 November, 1679, and was proved on 17 January following, and her will is dated 16 February, 1680-1, and was proved 3 March following.

Willoughby was a merchant at Lisbon, and was twice married. His will, and a codicil which is attached, were dated respectively at Lisbon on 27 January, 1710, and 29 March, 1713, and proved in England on 15 March, 1714-5, and in Ireland on 4 July following.

By his first wife he had a daughter, Honoria, and by his second a daughter, Hannah.

Honoria married Ferdinand Swanton, and had issue.

Her will is dated 12 September, 1755, and was proved 21 April, 1756.

Hannah married the Rev. Stafford Lightburne.

By his second wife, Katherine, daughter of William Webster of London, merchant, who was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral 13 January, 1672, Godwin Swift had a son, Godwin.

Godwin, the second, married his first cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of William Swift. His will is dated 1 November, 1731, and was proved 26 January, 1739-40, and her will is dated 11 April, 1761, and was proved 17 March, 1769. They had four sons, Godwin, Michael, Jonathan, and William, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Hannah Maria.

Godwin the third, was born in 1707 in the county of Cork, and was educated at Kilkenny School and in Dublin University, which he entered in 1724. He married his first cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Deane Swift, and had issue.

Michael married and had issue. His will is dated 23 December, 1774, and was proved on 21 October, 1777.

Jonathan was in the Ordnance Department. He died in 1778.

William was born in 1710, at Kilkenny, and was educated at Dublin under Mr. Quigg and in Dublin University, which he entered in 1728. He was admitted to the Middle Temple and was called to the

Irish Bar. He married Elizabeth Longfield and left issue. His will is dated 1 February, 1769, and was proved 2 March, 1776.

Elizabeth married her cousin, Ffolliott Whiteway.

By his third wife, Hannah (or Anne), daughter of Major Richard Deane, whom he married in 1673, Godwin Swift the first had a son, Deane, and a daughter, Hannah Maria.

Deane was a merchant at Lisbon, and resided, after his marriage, at Lion's Den in the county of Meath, and Roper's Rest in Dublin. He married Elizabeth Lenthall. His will is dated 16 May, 1713, and was proved 27 May, 1714, and her will is dated 5 January, 1733-4, and was proved 2 November, 1739. They had a son Deane, and a daughter Elizabeth.

Deane, the second, was born in 1706, and was educated in Dublin University, which he entered in 1723.

Afterwards, in 1734, he entered Oxford University from St. Mary Hall and graduated in arts in 1736. He married, in 1739, his cousin, Mary, daughter of the Rev. Theophilus Harrison, and died in 1783, leaving issue.

Elizabeth married her cousin, Godwin Swift the third.

By his fourth wife, Elinor, daughter of Colonel William Meade (who married secondly, in 1702, the Rev. Theophilus Harrison, Dean of Clonmacnoise), Godwin Swift the first had three sons, Meade, Michael, and Christopher.

Meade was born in 1683 and was educated at Dublin under Dr. John Jones and in Dublin University, which he entered in 1698. He resided at Lynn in the county of Westmeath, and was twice married. His will is dated 5 August, 1738, and was proved 6 June, 1739.

By his first wife, Mary, daughter of John L'Estrange, he had two sons, John and Thomas.

John married, in 1731, Katherine Swanton, and had issue.

Thomas married Frances, daughter of John Dennis, and had issue.

By his second wife, Frances, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Delgarno, he had a son, Alexander.

Alexander married Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Pratt, and had issue.

Michael was born in 1685 and was educated at Dublin under Dr. Jones and in Dublin University, which he entered in 1700. He married Mary Hodson, otherwise L'Estrange. His will is dated 24 May, 1731, and has a codicil attached, dated 11 October, 1734, and was proved

21 April, 1737.¹ Her will is dated 31 March, 1739, and was proved 30 August, 1740. Christopher was a solicitor. His will is dated 25 April, 1735, and was proved 17 December following.²

Dryden Swift, the second son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1651, and is said to have come to Ireland.

Thomas Swift, the third son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, entered Oxford University in 1653 and graduated in arts from Balliol College in 1656. He was appointed, in 1660, Rector of Thorpe Mandeville, and in 1666 Rector of St. Edmund, Lombard Street. He married a daughter of Sir William Davenant, and had a son, Thomas.

Thomas, the third, was born 1665 and was educated at Kilkenny and in Dublin University, which he entered in 1682 and of which he became a bachelor of arts in 1686. Afterwards, in 1690, he was incorporated in Oxford University, and graduated from Balliol College in 1692, master of arts. He took holy orders and became Rector of Puttenham. He died in 1752.

Abraham Swift, the fourth son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, was a merchant in Dublin. His will is dated 23 August, 1686, and was proved 2 September following. He married Martha, daughter of Sir William Billington, and left one son, Abraham.

Abraham was born in 1685 and entered Dublin University in 1702.

William Swift, the fifth son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, was admitted a solicitor in Ireland in 1661. His will is dated 19 May, 1703, and was proved 11 March, 1705-6. He was married four times. His first wife was Susannah —, who was buried in St. Michan's Church, Dublin, in 1673; his second wife was Dorothy Bromeston, whom he married in 1674,

¹ "On Sunday night last died in Gorey," says "Pue's Occurrences" of 2 April, 1737, "Lieutenant Michael Swift, late of Colonel Ligonier's Regiment of Horse. As he was a gentleman of candour, integrity and great endowments, his death is much lamented." In another newspaper a paragraph dated from Gorey on 30 March announces: "Last night Captain Swift, a relation to the Rev. Dean of St. Patrick's, was buried here; he was lieutenant in Colonel Ligonier's Regiment of Horse.

² "On Saturday last died at Cork," says "Pue's Occurrences" of 3 May, 1735, "Christopher Swift, Esq., one of the attorneys of the Court of Common Pleas; he was a near relation and agent to Sir Richard Meade, Bart., and a gentleman of a very fine character, and his death is much lamented by all who knew him.

and who was buried in the same church in 1676; his third wife was Frances King, whose will is dated May 1682 and was proved on 21 October, 1684; and his fourth wife was Elizabeth Naylor, otherwise Arrom, whom he married in 1685 and who survived him, her will being dated 21 November, 1716, and proved 18 January following.

By one of his first three wives he had a daughter, Elizabeth, and by his fourth wife a son, William.

Elizabeth married her first cousin, Godwin Swift the second.

William was born in 1687 and was educated at Dublin under Mr. Wall and in Dublin University, which he entered as a fellow commoner in 1702. He died in 1711 and was buried in St. Bride's Church, Dublin, on 28 August.

Jonathan Swift, the sixth son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, was appointed Steward of the King's Inns, Dublin, on 25 January, 1665-6, and admitted a member of the society on the following day. He died in April 1667. In 1664 he married at Dublin Abigail Erick. She died in 1710. They had two children, Jane and Jonathan.

Jane was baptized in St. Michan's Church on 1 May, 1666, and married, in 1699, Joseph Fenton. An intestacy grant of his goods was made to her in 1720.

JONATHAN was born in Dublin on 30 November, 1667, and was educated at Kilkenny School and in Dublin University, which he entered in 1682, and of which he became, in 1686, a bachelor of arts, and, in 1702, a doctor of divinity. In 1692 he was incorporated a member of Oxford University, and took the degree of a master of arts. He was admitted, in 1694, to deacon's orders, and in 1695 to priest's orders. In 1695 he was presented to the prebend of Kilroot in the diocese of Connor, which he resigned in 1698, in 1700 to the vicarage of Laracor, and in the same year also to the prebend of Dunlavin in St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1713 he was appointed to the deanery of that Cathedral. He died 19 October, 1745.

Adam Swift, the seventh son of the Rev. Thomas Swift, was admitted a solicitor in Ireland in 1671, and was elected, in 1703, member of Parliament for the borough of Newry. He resided in Dublin and at Greencastle in the county of Down. His death took place on 8 April, 1704, and his will, which is undated, was proved 27 May following. He was twice married,

first to Ann Cotterell, and secondly, in 1688 at Richmond, Surrey, to Martha Hopper.¹

By his first wife he had a son, William, and a daughter, Anne, and by his second a daughter, Martha.

William was born in 1674. He was alive in 1704.

Anne married James Perry, of Perrymount, co. Down, and had issue.

Martha was born on 29 May, 1690, and was twice married, first, in 1707, to the Rev. Theophilus Harrison, whose will is dated 25 June, 1714, and was proved 18 September following, and secondly, in 1716, to Edward Whiteway, of whose goods an intestacy grant was made to her in 1732. She died at Worcester in 1768.²

By her first husband she had a son, Theophilus, and a daughter, Mary, and by her second husband two sons, Ffolliott and John.

Theophilus Harrison graduated in 1734 in Dublin University, and died in 1736.

Mary Harrison married, in 1739, her cousin, Deane Swift.

Ffolliott Whiteway, who appears to have been for some time in the army, married his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Godwin Swift the second.

John Whiteway, who was born in 1723, became a surgeon and was the second President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. He was surgeon to Steevens's Hospital and also to the hospital founded by Swift. He married, in 1749, Jane, daughter of George Nugent of Castlerickard, and died in 1798.

Elizabeth, the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Swift, is mentioned in 1686 as married and residing at Chiswick.

¹ Her sister married in 1683, as his second wife, William Lowndes of the Treasury.

² In a paragraph dated from Worcester on 18 February, 1768, Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" of 5 March announces that "on Thursday last [11 February] died here Mrs. Martha Whiteway in the 78th year of age. She was a lady of great endowments, both natural and acquired, and was always liberal to the poor and distressed. She was the cousin german as well as the friend of Doctor Swift."

APPENDIX X

THE WRITINGS AND FRIENDS OF SWIFT'S LAST YEARS

THERE are many indications in the Correspondence that Swift began to age prematurely. The most striking, his mistaking Ford's letter for one from Pope,¹ occurred when he was only sixty-one. He says the blunder, as he calls it, was caused by his reading the letter by candlelight, and thinking the handwriting was Pope's, but as he had written a few weeks before to him, and the style of his two friends was hardly similar, another faculty than sight must have been at fault. A year later there is proof of his memory failing him, and within a month of his receiving a letter from Pope and Bolingbroke, he was unable to recollect whether he had sent a reply or not.² These lapses were of course then exceptional, premonitions of what was hereafter to become his habitual state, but nine years before his death, in the summer of 1736, a great change was observed in him by Dr. King.³ The impression left upon Dr. King was that he took more wine than was good for him, but as all his other friends testify to his temperate habits, such an idea may be dismissed as the suspiciousness of a water-drinker, and Swift's loquacity or wandering thoughts set down to mental or physical weakness. When intellectual decay becomes apparent in his writings is a question on which there will always be difference of opinion, but none will be inclined to deny that it is very marked in the letters written by him in 1738, especially in the one addressed to Pope and Bolingbroke in the August of that year.⁴ The only letter afterwards that is at all comparable to those of former times is the one to Lord Lyttelton in the summer of 1739,⁵ and possibly with regard to it he received help, as he did in the case of his letter to Lord Arran.⁶ A few months later, when he was described by Orrery as in excellent health and spirits,⁷ he is said by Deane Swift to have been unable to carry on conversation without the help of some familiar friend as a prompter,⁸ and from that time he seems to have led the life of a chronic invalid.

The last verses from Swift's pen were probably those occasioned

¹ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 62.

² "Anecdotes of his own Times," p. 16.

³ *Supra*, p. 93.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 194, n. 1.

⁵ Craik's "Life," ii, 244.

⁶ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 125.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 133.

⁸ *Supra*, p. 144, n. 2.

by the lowering of the gold in the autumn of the year 1737; in regard to that incident Swift wrote not only the well-known lines entitled "Ay and No," but a ballad beginning:

Patrick astore, what news upon the town?
By my soul there's bad news, for the gold she was pulled down.¹

By Sir William Wilde² two lampoons on George II, written in the year 1738, were attributed to Swift, but the manuscript, which was sold a few years ago by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge,³ is not claimed to be in Swift's usual writing, but in what is described as his "well-known disguised hand." The style is also unlike Swift's:

Serene the morn, the season fine,
Great George, advancing on the plain,
To view his horse and concubine,
The goodly blessings of his reign.
The trumpets sound,
The coursers bound,
The fields all blaze with arms,
His Trojans true
Their tactics show,
And Helen shows her charms.

After he had been declared a lunatic he is said to have written the lines on the magazine in the Phoenix Park:

Behold a proof of Irish sense,
Here Irish wit is seen!
When nothing 's left that's worth defence,
We build a magazine;

but it is difficult to believe that he had not seen the structure before that time, as it had been in existence for at least ten years.⁴

The last prose compositions other than letters attributed to Swift are the "Character of Sheridan," which must have been written in the closing months of the year 1738, and the remarkable Exhortation to the Chapter of St. Patrick's about the choir, which is dated more than three years later, on 28 January, 1741-2. That Swift should have been able at that time to compose such a document is surprising, but his letter to Stannard in the summer of 1741⁵ shows that he retained then some sense of humour, and an Account of the Cathedral and Charity Money⁶ was kept by him with intelligence and clearness until a few months before the commission *de lunatico inquirendo* was issued, the last entry, which is in his usual handwriting, being "1742 April 18

¹ "Poetical Works," ii, 276.

² "Closing Years of Swift," p. 183.

³ 1 December, 1910.

⁴ Departmental Correspondence in P.R.O. of Ireland.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 177.

⁶ Forster Collection, No. 513.

Collected 18s. 3d." Two versions of the Exhortation are extant, the one printed by Sir Walter Scott,¹ and another in Swift's own handwriting which was lately in the possession of Mrs. King, to whom there has been previous reference,² The first, which is not without some indication of a diseased mind in the writer, is said to have been written entirely by him, even to the names of the witnesses, and the second, which is more dignified in its tone, was possibly substituted for it on the advice of some of his friends. For comparison it is thought well to print them here in parallel columns:

January 28, 1741-2.

[*January 28, 1741-2.*]

WHEREAS my infirmities of age and ill-health have prevented me to preside in the chapters held for the good order and government of my Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, in person, I have, by a legal commission, made and appointed the Very Reverend Doctor John Wynne, Precentor of the said Cathedral, to be Sub-Dean in my stead and absence: I do hereby ratify and confirm all the powers delegated to the said Dr. Wynne in the said commission.

And I do hereby require and request the Very Reverend Sub-Dean, not to permit any of the Vicars-Choral, choristers, or organists, to attend or assist at any public musical performances, without my consent, or his consent, with the consent of the Chapter first obtained.

And whereas it hath been reported, that I gave a licence to certain vicars to assist at a club of fiddlers in Fishamble Street, I do hereby declare that I remember no such licence to have been ever signed or sealed by me; and that if ever such pretended licence should be produced, I do hereby annul and vacate the said licence; intreating my said Sub-Dean and Chapter to punish such vicars as shall ever appear there, as songsters, fiddlers, pipers, trumpeters, drummers, drum-majors, or in any sonal quality, according to the flagitious aggravations of their respective disobedience, rebellion, perfidy, and ingratitude.

I require my said Sub-Dean to proceed to the extremity of expulsion, if

WHEREAS several of the Vicars Choral have disobeyed and transgressed some rules and orders made by my Sub-Dean and Chapter for regulating their behaviour and conduct and pretend and give out that they have my licence under my hand to act contrary to the said orders made by my Sub-Dean and Chapter: Now I do hereby declare, that to the best of my remembrance I never did sign any licence to any of the said vicars to perform at any musical society contrary to the said orders nor did I ever design it.

And, if I have been so far imposed upon as to sign any deed or licence to the purposes aforesaid and it be produced to justify their behaviour, I do hereby annul and vacate the same, and hope and desire that my said Sub-Dean and the Chapter will proceed steadily and with vigour against all infringements of their rules and orders and the Statutes made for the governing of the Choir, according to the ancient laws and customs of the said Chapter.

And I do further intreat my said Sub-Dean and the Chapter that, the infirmities of age disabling me to attend personally and take the care which I have much at heart, they will keep up the honour and dignity of the Chapter, and not let it suffer in its rights or privileges by the encroachments of any persons nor by the neglects, disobedience, or perfidy of these who are subject to it. Given under my hand and seal the 28th day of January, 1741.

Present seal.

¹ "Works," xix, 253.

² *Supra*, vol. v, p. 255, n. 1.

the said vicars should be found un-governable, impenitent, or self-sufficient, especially Taverner, Phipps, and Church, who, as I am informed, have, in violation of my Sub-Dean's and Chapter's order in December last, at the instance of some obscure persons unknown, presumed to sing and fiddle at the club above mentioned.

My resolution is to preserve the dignity of my station, and the honour of my Chapter; and, gentlemen, it is incumbent upon you to aid me, and to show who and what the Dean and Chapter of Saint Patrick's are.

Signed by me,

JONATHAN SWIFT,
Dean of St. Patrick's.

Witness present,

James King.
Francis Wilson.

To the Very Reverend Doctor John Wynne, Sub-Dean of the Cathedral Church of Saint Patrick, Dublin, and to the Reverend Dignitaries and Prebendaries of the same.

Towards the close of his life Swift's circle of friends shrank to very narrow proportions. Such a circumstance was the natural consequence of his long years of impaired health, and would be accepted without comment were it not for a controversy between Delany and Deane Swift. In his Observations upon Orrery's Remarks, Delany opens by expressing his regret that Orrery should have relied for information on persons who called themselves Swift's friends, but who were far from really being so, and goes on to say that by "the evil arts of insinuation and untruth" these persons were instrumental in depriving Swift of the society of those who were entitled to be called his best friends. These allegations were taken by Deane Swift as made against his mother-in-law, Mrs. Whiteway, and himself. He admits that Swift had lost many of his companions, but seeks to prove by quotations from Swift's letters that they had deserted him of their own accord, and had begun to do so twelve years before his death.¹

It is impossible to doubt Mrs. Whiteway's sincerity and disinterested devotion to Swift. Before their relations became close she was aware that he intended to leave all his savings for a charitable purpose, and any present advantage which she derived was disproportionate to the anxiety and trouble which her care

¹ "Essay," p. 323.

of him involved. The only occasion on which, so far as the information at our command enables us to judge, a charge of separating him from his friends could be made, was when she gave Sheridan a hint to leave the Deanery, and for that incident the younger Sheridan throws the blame upon Swift, and says that his father saw that she was only carrying out directions which she had received from him.¹ Even if she was entirely responsible, Sheridan's health justified such a step, and taking it would have shown wise solicitude for Swift, who was then in no fit condition to entertain a friend in such a precarious state as Sheridan proved to be. In the whole of the letters from her printed in these volumes there is not the slightest indication of double-dealing on her part, and a letter addressed to one of Swift's executors after his death is touching in its desire that every proper respect should be paid to Swift's memory, even if the expense fell upon her own small legacy:

SIR,²

THE indignation which the town have expressed at the manner of burying their Patriot, is a proof his memory is dear as his life was once so to them. I am told, and I wish my authority may not be true, that Dr. Swift is to be carried out of his back door at one in the morning by four porters into the church, attended only by two clergymen, with the circumstance of the respect paid to them of giving each a scarf. I know his desire was to be buried as privately as possible, but were the same persons to be executors to a Duke, and a man who had left but five pounds behind him, would the words be construed in the same literal sense, and I appeal to yourself, whether ever you knew a gentleman whose corpse was not in danger of being arrested for debt, treated in such a manner—an executed criminal to whom the law doth not allow Christian burial could only be used thus by some slight acquaintance.

Surely to hang the room Dr. Swift lies in with black,³ to give him a hearse and a few mourning coaches, would be judged a funeral sufficiently private for so great a man, and that he himself thought decency requisite at a funeral may be known by what he

¹ *Supra*, p. 211.

² First printed by Sir W. Scott, "Life," p. 456.

³ "He was laid out in his own hall, and great crowds went to see him. His coffin was open; he had on his head neither cap nor wig; there was not much hair on the front or very top, but it was long and thick behind, very white, and was like flax on the pillow. Mrs. Barnard, his nursetender, sat at his head, but having occasion to leave the room for a short time, some person cut a lock of hair from his head, which she missed upon her return, and after that day no person was admitted to see him" (Mason's "Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral," p. 411).

did for his honest, trusty seryant, Alexander McGee.¹ If this expense be thought too much to be taken from the noble charity he hath bequeathed, I make the offer of doing it, and desire it may be taken out of my legacy, as the last respect I can pay to my great and worthy friend. If this favour be denied me, I shall let whoever mentions this affair in my hearing, know the offer I have made. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
MARTHA WHITEWAY.

October 22, 1745,
ten in the morning.

It is, however, possible that the cap provided by Delany fitted Deane Swift, and that he was not so unselfish in his relations with Swift as his mother-in-law. Indications are not wanting that as a writer and editor he was actuated by other motives than Swift's reputation. The aggrandizement of his family had some share in his undertaking his Essay, and the portion of Swift's correspondence which he contributed for publication contains some of the less important letters, and betrays a disposition to turn every scrap to account. It is evident from a history which he gives of the means by which the Journal to Stella was saved from destruction that he was not on good terms with those who were in possession of Swift's effects after his death,² and it seems not improbable that the disagreement may have arisen in connection with the sale of some of Swift's unpublished works which took place a few weeks before his death. All that is known of this transaction is told in the following letter addressed by George Faulkner to his friend William Bowyer, the London publisher:

Dublin, October 1, 1745.

DEAR SIR,³

THE bank-note for one hundred guineas came safe to hand. Enclosed you have part of the Advice to Servants. I wish I could get franks to send it in. Fix your day of publication, and I will wait until you are ready, that we may both come out the same day. I think the middle of November will do very well, as your city, as well as Dublin, will be full at that time.

I shall finish the volume⁴ with a cantata of the Dean's, set to music, which in my opinion, will have a greater run with the lovers of harmony than any of the Corelli's, Vivaldi's, Purcell's, or Handel's pieces. When Arne, the famous composer, was last in Ireland,⁵ he made application to me for this cantata, which I

¹ *Supra*, vol. iii, p. 127.

³ First printed by Sir W. Scott, xix, 337.

⁴ *I.e.*, the eighth volume of Faulkner's edition of Swift's "Works."

⁵ The author of "Rule, Britannia" first visited Ireland in 1742.

² "Essay," p. 271.

could not then procure, to set it to music. Perhaps he may do it now, and bring it on the stage, which, if he does, will run more than the Beggar's Opera, and therefore I would have you get it engraved in folio, with scores for bass, etc., which will make it sell very well. I believe you might get something handsome for it from Rich, or the managers of Drury-lane, for which I shall send you the original manuscript. I am thus particular, that you may have the profit to yourself, as you will have the trouble.

I was in daily expectation, for six weeks, of going to London; but was prevented by many accidents—I cannot say business, for I never had less, as Mr. Hitch well knows, having had no order from me for two months past. The Advice to Servants was never finished by the Dean, and is consequently very incorrect.¹ I believe you may see some Irishisms in it; if so, pray correct them. The Dean's friends do not know the manner of an assignment, and desire you will send over the form. The story of the Injured Lady does not make above a sheet, and will vex your northern hardy neighbours more than the Public Spirit of the Whigs, of which they complained to Queen Anne. As you are famous for writing prefaces, pray help me to one for Advice to Servants, for which I have not yet printed the title.²

My best compliments to our friends, and should be obliged to Mr. Dodsley for the two letters, which you may send, under cover to Samuel Bindon, Esq., at my house. I am whimsical, and send you the beginning of Advice, etc., and the remainder to Mr. Hitch, that you may print it immediately. I think it might be printed without the Injured Lady, as your volume will make the better figure with original pieces, but this I submit to your better judgement. I long much to see London, although I have no other business than to visit my friends, and do them any service in my power, and if I can be useful to you in England or Ireland, pray let me know, and I will do it. I would not have you advertise until two or three days before you publish, in which I wish you all imaginable success; and am, dear Sir,

Your faithful friend, and obliged humble servant,

GEORGE FAULKNER.

In alluding to the banishment of Swift's best friends Delany refers presumably to events subsequent to the year 1737. He includes himself no doubt in the number, and in that year as we have seen³ he was still one of Swift's visitors. It was in the year

¹ *Supra*, p. 96, n. 1.

² Forster appends the following note: "Clear then that Faulkner did not write the prefaces to the Works subscribed by him, which are manifestly to me the Dean's own."

³ *Supra*, p. 32.

1738 that Deane Swift's intimate acquaintance with Swift began,¹ and it was at the close of that year, or the beginning of the next, that, apparently as a sort of substitute for Sheridan, the Rev. Francis Wilson became an *habitué* of the Deanery. What happened during the next three years is not known, but one of the undated letters² and the names appended by Swift as witnesses to the Exhortation to the Chapter, indicate that Wilson and the Rev. James King were his chief companions. King probably took, however, an independent view from Wilson. He was one of the petitioners for the commission of lunacy, and with him was joined John Grattan, who is likely to have been amongst Swift's banished friends, and to have come to the rescue of Swift on hearing from King that all was not going well at the Deanery. It was to King's curate Lyon that as a result of the commission the care of Swift's person was committed by the court.

A letter from Baron Wainwright to the Earl of Oxford in the summer of 1738, which has been already quoted³ tends to corroborate Delany's allegations. After referring to Orrery's marriage he goes on to say: "The Dean of St. Patrick's involves himself sometimes in such strange, improper, insignificant oppositions to matters of a public nature, that by hanging out black flags and putting his bells in mourning he makes it impossible for one in my station to converse with him. Besides he is much and often out of order and beset with odd persons, who command everything that he says, writes, or does, and every letter or paper that he has. This fact is certainly so."

Apart from the one alleged by Delany other causes had undoubtedly deprived Swift of friends. For instance, death had taken from him in 1737 Lady Eustace⁴ and Lady Acheson,⁵ and in 1738 Helsham,⁶ and his own coldness had estranged Worrall, whom, after the death of his wife, Swift shook off as "a man of

¹ "Essay," p. 377.

² *Supra*, p. 195.

³ *Supra*, p. 83, n. 4.

⁴ "Last Saturday, May 10, 1737, died at Island Bridge the Lady Clotilda Eustace, relict of the late Sir Harry Eustace. Her Ladyship hath left the bulk of her fortune to her daughter, Mrs. Tickell" ("Pue's Occurrences").

⁵ "Last Sunday, November 1, 1737, died the Lady Acheson, wife of Sir Arthur Acheson, Bart." ("Dublin Gazette").

⁶ "Yesterday, August 25, 1738, died Dr. Helsham, a very eminent physician and Professor of Natural Philosophy in our University" ("Pue's Occurrences"). Michael Clancy was in early life befriended by Helsham, and wrote verses on Helsham's death which were commended by Swift on the safe ground that they showed "a real concern and an unfeigned sorrow" on the part of their author. Clancy says ("Memoirs," i, 43) that Helsham had "a graceful aspect and a noble mien," and combined "decency and sweetness of behaviour" with "a well-formed understanding." According to him Helsham's marriage was unfortunate, and united him to "one of those inoffensive doves who soften life by making its end appear lovely."

little or no consequence," and treated with bare civility.¹ Any fresh acquaintances known to have been made by him were only birds of passage. In connection with the anecdote of his being carried off by his nurse to Whitehaven, it is mentioned that about the year 1740 Swift was introduced to a merchant of that place who then visited Dublin and asked him to dinner.² Letters in the Forster Collection from Mr. Thomas Kersdale of Bristol show that the Whitehaven friend was a Mr. Walter Lutwidge, who was high sheriff of Cumberland in 1745. He is said to have had daughters of such singular beauty that when travelling their carriage used to be beset by crowds anxious to see them, and their descendants possessed a copy of the first seven volumes of Faulkner's edition of Swift's Works with an inscription which indicates that even with his decline of reason Swift was capable of being captivated by such charms: "June 24 1741. These seven volumes are presented to Mrs. Elizabeth and Mrs. Eleanor Lutwidge by their friend and admirer the supposed author."

APPENDIX XI

SWIFT'S TRAVELS IN IRELAND AFTER 1727

In the spring of 1728 Swift made a tour in the south-eastern counties, passing through Gorey, and in June he went to reside at Market Hill.

In January 1729 he terminated his first visit to Market Hill. In June he returned thither for the second time, and remained there until October.

In May 1730 he visited Trim, and in June he went to the north of Ireland for the third time, and remained there again until October.

In January 1731 he expressed his intention of wandering for a month or two in the country, and in March he mentions that he had been out of town for a fortnight. In August he was staying at Powerscourt, and in October and November he paid probably visits to his friends on the north side of Dublin.³

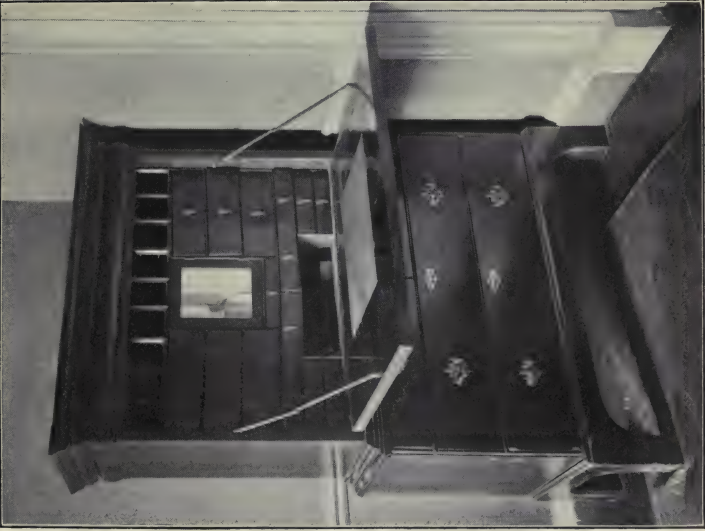
In 1732 there is no record of his movements.

In April 1733 he visited Castlerickard, staying there from the

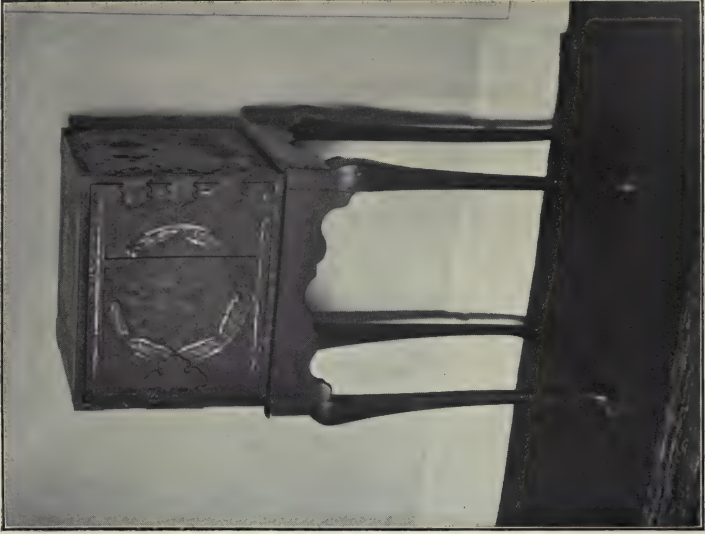
¹ Deane Swift's "Essay," p. 311.

² "Swiftiana," ii, 162.

³ *Supra*, vol. v, p. 453, and "Poetical Works," ii, 375.



SWIFT'S ESCRITTOIRE



SWIFT'S CABINET

From photographs by Mr. T. F. Geoghegan

8th to the 11th. In May he was at Trim from the 15th to the 19th, for the Bishop's visitation. In July he stayed at Howth Castle, and from the 25th to the 28th at Belcamp. In August he paid a visit to the Grange.

In 1734 he was staying from November 11 to 16 at Belcamp, from 21 November to 4 December at the Grange, and possibly afterwards at Howth Castle.¹

In May 1735 he visited Castlerickard, and in November he went to Cavan and stayed with Sheridan until December.

In 1736 he has left no record of his movements.

In April 1737 he had an idea of visiting his friend William Richardson at Coleraine, which appears to have been a part of Ireland unknown to him, but he did not carry out his intention.

APPENDIX XII

SWIFT RELICS

ALL that is known of the disposal of Swift's effects is contained in the following advertisement which appeared in Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" for 1 February, 1746-7: "On Monday next, the 3rd of February 1746, will begin to be sold by Auction at the House in William Street, where Mrs. Carr lately lived, and next door to Lord Powerscourt's, the Library of the late Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, being a Collection of Curious, Scarce and Valuable Books, as also a collection of Curious Paintings done by the best Masters. The Sale to begin every day at 11 o'clock, till all are sold. Catalogues to be had at Mr. Walker's, Cabinet Maker in said Street and at the Printers hereof. The Books may be viewed the Friday and Saturday before at the Place of Sale."

In addition to books and pictures, Swift's plate must also have been dispersed. The following list of it, which was printed by Sir Walter Scott² from the original in Swift's handwriting, shows that it had cost Swift little more than a third of what Faulkner believed,³ but that it must have made an ostentatious display

¹ Account of Expenses preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

² "Works," xix, 229. The original was endorsed by Swift, "An Account of the Dean's Plate and Prices," and on the back was written twice by him Stella's name.

³ *Supra*, vol. iv, p. 175, n. 3.

calculated to lead Swift's friends to place an exaggerated value upon it.

	£	s.	d.
Soup dish	16	7	3
Quart pot	8	0	10½
Tuns	6	19	0
Saucepan	6	12	8
Six spoons	5	12	8
Six plates	33	16	10
Two little cups	3	13	3
Ladle	2	5	0
Tobacco candlestick	1	14	0
Two English candlesticks	4	5	0
Two salvers	4	0	0
Three castors	12	0	0
Little tankard	4	0	0
Two candlesticks	5	0	10
Snuffers and dish	3	11	0
Two cans	5	2	10
Four salts	4	1	9
Strainer	1	4	3
Little saucepan	2	12	6
Soup plates	15	0	0
Platells, knives, etc.	15	0	0
Six teaspoons	1	4	0
Six silver plates	34	18	1
A marrow-spoon	1	2	0
Tun-dish	0	7	6
Cup and save-all ¹	15	0	0
Six silver plates	34	12	1
Six silver plates	39	0	10
Six silver dishes	73	17	3
Tun-dish	0	7	6
Nutmeg-grater	0	9	0
Pepper-box	1	0	0
Wax-candlestick	1	14	0
	<hr/>		
	£364	11	11½
	<hr/>		

Besides his writings, few relics of Swift have come down to us. One of the most important is an escritoire in the Hospital which he founded. From papers found in a secret drawer there can be little doubt that it was used by him. Through the efforts of the Bishop of

¹ It bore the words, "For Ireland."

Ossory a cabinet of Chinese design, which had belonged to him, was procured a few years ago for the Deanery of St. Patrick's. It was then in the possession of Mrs. Whiteway's descendants, and according to tradition was the one given to him by Lady Worsley. In his essay on the portraits of Swift Sir Frederick Falkiner has described¹ a curious chair which is in the possession of Major Connellan, of Coolmore, in the county of Kilkenny, and which is believed to have been made for Swift on the model of one used by Gay. The late Professor Dowden had a prayer-book with the letters and date, J. S. D.D. A.D. 1710, engraved on the clasp,



SWIFT'S WINE-BOTTLES

and also a book with the inscription: "August 22 1735. From Doctor Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, to Mrs. Mary Harrison, sent as a gift for next new year's day." In Sir William Wilde's "Closing Years of Swift" there is reference to a snuff-box used by Delany's mother, in which lines by Swift were engraved,² and also to a cream-ewer and bible which had been owned by him. While this note is being printed, an exhibition of Swift relics in Vanessa's house at Celbridge has disclosed a seal, candlestick, wine-glass, and snuff-box, said to have belonged to him, and the robe in which, according to tradition, he was christened.

Amongst the antiquities belonging to the Royal Irish Academy

¹ "Prose Works," xii, 73.

² "Notes and Queries," I, v, 274, 330, and X, ii, 249, 292.

in the National Museum of Ireland there are two bottles from his cellar. They are said to have been the ordinary wine-bottles of the period, and are made of blackish-green glass, in a bell-shape. On a disc glazed on to them there are the letters and date J. S. Dean 1727. There are also in the same collection two contemporary medals of Swift. The first, of which there is an illustration in Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Swift," shows a bust of Swift supported by Hibernia and History, who crowns him with a wreath. Over them there is a winged figure with a crescent on the forehead, and near the bust there is an infant Genius with a palm branch. On the reverse there is the figure of Hibernia. The second is a tiny medal representing Swift in a full wig and gown. In addition to these there is in a collection of medals belonging to the Museum the matrix for one of Swift in high relief showing him in gown and bands.

The houses which Swift knew have nearly all disappeared. The present Loughgall Manor and Gaulstown House, of which illustrations have been given in these volumes, contain possibly some remains of those of his time, but their outside appearance is entirely changed. The residence of his friends, the Achesons, at Market Hill, has almost altogether vanished and given place to the splendid modern mansion known as Gosford Castle. And more regrettable than anything else, the Deanery House of St. Patrick's, from which he dated so many of his letters, was destroyed by fire towards the close of the eighteenth century, and all that exists of it is some portion of the basement. The engraving which has been reproduced in the present volume gives probably, however, a faithful representation of its appearance. The miniature house shown as attached to the main building can be none other than the little one to which Swift alludes in his letter to Stearne of 10 June, 1708,¹ and further confirmation of this opinion is found in the plan of the vicinity of St. Patrick's Cathedral, which indicates that the Deanery in Swift's time consisted of two buildings, and that they were not placed directly at right angles, but were joined at the corners like the structures in the illustration.

¹ *Supra*, vol. i, p. 91.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS
AND
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

CLIVA. [*Original.*¹]

THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND TO SWIFT

November 3 [1712], Eleven at night.

DOCTOR,²

I HOPE your servant has told you, I sent to beg the favour of you to come hither to-night; but since you could not conveniently, I hope you will not deny me the satisfaction of seeing you to-morrow morning. My Lord joins with me in that request, and will see no company but you. I hope you will come before ten o'clock, because he is to go at that hour to Windsor. I beg your pardon for sending so early as I have ordered them to carry this; but the fear of your being gone abroad, if they went later, occasioned that trouble given you by, Sir,

Your most sincere, and most faithful humble servant,
M. ORMOND.

CCXVIII. [*Original.*³]

SIR JOHN STANLEY TO SWIFT

Dublin Castle, November 20 [1713].

SIR,⁴

THOUGH you used to forget me for a year together in the same town, I have been so careful of your commands at

¹ In the British Museum. See Preface.

² This letter has been hitherto included in the correspondence of the succeeding year, but from a passage in the Journal to Stella it seems probable that it was written on the return of the Duke of Ormond from his command in Flanders (*supra*, vol. i, p. 320, n. 2), which took place at the date now affixed. The passage, which was written four days before, is as follows: "The Duchess of Ormond found me out to-day and made me dine with her. . . . The Duke of Ormond will not be over these three or four days. I design to make him join with me in settling all right among our people. I have ordered the Duchess to let me have an hour with the Duke at his first coming, to give him a true state of persons and things.

³ Preserved amongst the State Papers relating to Ireland in the Public Record Office.

⁴ As mentioned in Swift's letter to Walls some weeks before (*supra*,

this distance, that I have got three of your favourites made chaplains to my Lord Lieutenant as you desired, Dr. Raymond, Mr. Thomas Forbes, and Mr. Wade.¹ I could not succeed in getting in the whole forty you named, because his Grace has not in all above a dozen, being unwilling to entertain more than he has a prospect of providing for. We are got here in the most eating, drinking, wrangling, quarrelsome country that ever I saw. There is no keeping the peace among them. It were easier to reconcile the Postboy and Flying Post, and I cannot but think you in the right to hold the deanery of St. Patrick's at London; I should be glad to hold my Secretary's office there too. I hear you have been scribbling lately.² Send me your works as they come out, or you shall be summoned to attend your deanery. In the meantime, I am,

Yours most faithfully,

J. STANLEY.

CDLXXXA. [*Copy.*³]

ADRIAN DRIFT TO SWIFT

Duke Street, Westminster, *January 25, 1721-2.*

SIR,⁴

MY Lord Harley who is principal executor to Mr. Prior, my late dear master, deceased, being desirous to see a state of Mr. Hyde's account of the books which he has delivered out to the gentlemen in Ireland who were subscribers to Mr. Prior's Poems, occasions you this new trouble, Sir, on

vol. ii, p. 66), Stanley had been taken to Ireland by the Duke of Shrewsbury, on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, in the capacity of Chief Secretary.

¹ To Raymond and Forbes there have been frequent references.

² The allusion is to the tracts of which Burnet and Steele were the subjects, or to some of Swift's "Imitations of Horace." See "Prose Works," xii, 130.

³ The copy of this letter, as well as those of the two which follow, is in the possession of the Duke of Portland. *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 160, n. 2.

⁴ As will be seen, this letter relates to the executorship of Matthew Prior, who had died as already mentioned (*supra*, vol. iii, p. 103) in the previous September. The writer appears to have acted as his secretary, and had been attached to him from the time of his first employment in the embassy to France at the close of the seventeenth century ("Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath," iii, *passim*). It was from transcripts made by him that Prior's "History of his Own Times" was

that head, and to pray that you will be pleased to direct Mr. Hyde to transmit to me to be laid before his Lordship such account, specifying what number of books he has delivered and to whom, including the eighty books already delivered by him, as mentioned in your letter of the 16th March last, and paid for by Mr. Daniel Hayes of London, merchant,¹ pursuant to your orders the 21st of April following; to which account Mr. Hyde will add his own charges on the delivery of the said books, which I humbly entreat you to desire him to do as soon as possible, to the end Mr. Hyde may be reimbursed his said charges, and the inventory of Mr. Prior's effects be perfected, and lodged, as usual, in Doctors' Commons. I shall, by the very first opportunity, in obedience to my Lord Harley's commands, convey to you under Mr. Hyde's cover a little box with three rings enclosed therein, one of which you will be pleased to accept and wear in memory of Mr. Prior, whom you so dearly loved, and present the other two to Colonel Pennefather² and his lady, to whom I do not know how to address a letter, and pardon this trouble given you by him who has the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

ADRIAN DRIFT.

CDLXXXIA. [*Copy.*]

SWIFT TO ADRIAN DRIFT

Dublin, *February 3, 1721-2.*

SIR,

I HAD a letter from you this day, which I was very glad to receive, being altogether at a loss with whom I should

printed, and in that volume there is a letter from Drift to Oxford which opens with these amusing lines :

“When to the World loved Prior bade adieu,
And on bright Cherubs' wings to Heaven flew,
Poor Drift's concern, my Lord, he left to you ;
To you, my Lord, of all his friends the best,
Most just, most kind.—Thus, dying, Drift he blest ;
And thus, great Guardian, blest, on you depends
The future weal of Drift, O Oxford! best of friends.”

¹ *Supra*, vol. iii, p. 76.

² *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 61.

account for Mr. Prior's books sent into this kingdom, though I often writ to some friends in England to inform me. You will please to know that although I prevail to get more subscriptions than I could expect from this poor country, yet many gentlemen have been very backwards in taking out their books, and paying their second subscriptions. I have been for some weeks confined by a deafness and noise in my ears, which disorder my excellent friend was subject to. I sent this day to Mr. Hyde to come to me, but he is laid up with a rheumatism; however he hath sent an abstract of his account, of which I here send you a copy. We must pick the remaining money as we can. You have no such notion of beggary in England, but it cannot be helped. I am very much pleased that my Lord Harley has been pleased to act as one of Mr. Prior's executors. I beg you will present my most humble service to him.

I shall be sure to gather up the money as fast as I can, and have it sent in specie by some friend. I doubt you cannot very safely send so small a thing safely as the box you mention, but I shall consult Colonel Pennefather who belongs to the Custom House here, and then give you notice and be very thankful of a memorial of Mr. Prior, though I need nothing to make me remember him with all regard due to his merits, and whose friendship I so highly esteemed. I am with great truth, Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

You are to take notice that Mr. Hyde's account is Irish, where a guinea is one pound three shillings. If a good picture of Mr. Prior's could be sent to Mr. Jervas, I would write to Mr. Jervas to copy it for me. Mr. Hyde has not time or health at present to send me an account of what number of books he has remaining. I heard him once complain that one or two of them wanted odd sheets. I find by Mr. Prior's list returned, I believe in your hand, that the books sent over were a hundred and fifty-three. I cannot well understand his account, but I will place it fair to your view, he is a very honest man, and has not made any demand for his trouble, and when he does it shall be very reasonable. In the meantime the account stands thus; the account is all in Irish money:

A hundred and fifty-three guineas make of Irish money		£175 19 0
Returned to Mr. Prior eighty guineas, which with exchange makes of Irish money, exchange being then at thir- teen per cent.	£94 0 0	
For carriage to Chester, freight, and cus- tom	8 2 10	
	<hr/>	102 2 10
So there remains due by Mr. Hyde to Mr. Prior, Irish money		<hr/> <hr/> 73 16 2

Sixty-four guineas make Irish money £73 12s. 6d., so that Mr. Hyde hath sixty-four books to account for, and four shillings and two pence odd money.¹

CDLXXXIB. [*Copy.*]

ADRIAN DRIFT TO SWIFT

London, *February 15, 1721-2.*

SIR,

I HAVE received the honour of your letter of the 3rd instant, for which I humbly thank you, as I do likewise for the stated account of the subscriptions therein contained, and hope that you will have the goodness to satisfy Mr. Hyde for his trouble and all other expenses out of the money which may arise on the disposition of the sixty-four books remaining, in the manner you judge best.

I am commanded by my Lord Harley, to whom I communicated your letter, to present his service to you, and to acquaint you that his Lordship is ready to send the picture of Mr. Prior painted by Monsieur Rigault at Paris in 1699, to Mr. Jervas, to be by him copied for you, if you approve thereof, his Lordship taking it to be an admirable picture of Mr. Prior; and truly, Sir, if I may add my own sentiments, I think the best. You will please to signify your pleasure on this head.

¹ To this letter the following receipt is appended: "April 28th 1726. Received of Dr. Swift by the hands of Erasmus Lewis, Esq., two and twenty guineas remitted in specie from Ireland by the Doctor for twenty two books, subscription money to Mr. Prior's Works, second payment, £23 2. 0."

As to the little box, I hope it will come safe to you, the same having been sent the 5th instant, in a chest of books transmitted from hence by Mr. Taylor, bookseller, to Mr. Dobson, bookseller, at Dublin, the said little box being directed to Mr. Hyde, to be by him forwarded to you, which may possibly reach your hand as soon as this letter, when you will be pleased with my great respects to present the two rings to Colonel Pennefather and his lady, and pardon all this trouble given you by him, who wishes you entirely freed from the indisposition you complain of, and that you may long enjoy a perfect state of health, as being,
Sir,

Your most obedient and most obliged humble servant,
ADRIAN DRIFT.

DCVA. [*Original*.¹]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD

Friday morning [*August 12, 1726*].

MY LORD,

MY things are all packed up and in the city.² I therefore beg your Lordship will please to send by the bearer those papers I gave your Lordship and my Marmora.³ I shall set out for Ireland on Monday next, and hope by some good accident to see your Lordship before I go, and whatever becomes of me, while I breathe, I resolve to be with the utmost respect and truth, my Lord,

Your most obedient humble servant and brother,
J. SWIFT.

DCLXXXIVk. [*Original*.]

SWIFT TO THE EARL OF OXFORD

Sunday morning.

MY LORD,⁴

I HAD a note from Mr. Thomas telling me you had got a hurt in your hand. I hope it is a trifle. I pray let your

¹ This letter and the following one are in the possession of the Duke of Portland. *Supra*, vol. ii, p. 160, n. 2.

² *Supra*, vol. iii, p. 331.

³ *Supra*, vol. iii, p. 424, n. 2.

⁴ This letter was probably written in July, 1726.

servant tell mine so. How is it possible for me to obey young Mr. Neddy Harley's¹ request? I can as easily leap over the moon as write verses in two or three days upon demand. Had the time been much longer I would not have suffered anybody to depend upon me for such a thing; though I might have promised to do my endeavour. Neither is my head free or breath or humour good enough for such amusements. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant and brother,

J. SWIFT.

¹ The Auditor's son, who became third Earl of Oxford (*supra*, vol. v, p. 195).

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOL. I

- Page viii, line 25, *delete from* "For instance the use" *to* "due to Faulkner."
- P. xlvii, l. 20, *for* "niece" *read* "cousin."
- P. 3, n. 4, l. 6, *for* "former" *read* "latter"; l. 12, *for* "20 July 1736" *read* "15 June 1735."
- P. 8, n. 4, l. 17, *delete* "in one of the references relied upon he is confused with another William Swift."
- P. 9, n. 2, l. 15, *for* "S. C." *read* "S. G."
- P. 20, n. 1 and elsewhere, *for* "Jeffreys" *read* "Jeffrey."
- P. 21, n. 2, l. 2, *for* "a bird of paradise" *read* "or parakeet (lory)."
- P. 21, n. 3, l. 6, *add* "but in Miss Longe's 'Life of Lady Giffard,' where this member of Sir William Temple's household is also mentioned, the name is spelled Kilby."
- P. 29, n. 2, l. 1, *delete* "and was a member of the family now represented by the Earl of Leitrim."
- P. 30, n. 2, l. 7, *delete from* "An examination of" *to* "thinking that"; l. 10, *add* "in the matriculation book of which his name appears as Penton."
- P. 37, n. 1, l. 19, *for* "Adam" *read* "Anne"; l. 24, *for* "W. J." *read* "W. G."; l. 25, *for* "v, 26" *read* "vi, 162"; l. 26, *for* "IV" *read* "VI."
- P. 42, n. 2, l. 8, *for* "whom" *read* "who."
- P. 48, n. 1, l. 3 and elsewhere, *for* "Lyons" *read* "Lyon."
- P. 66, n. 2, l. 5, *for* "whom" *read* "who."
- P. 113, n. 1, *delete and substitute* "According to a Dutch fable this lady gave birth to as many children as there are days in the year, as a judgement for reproaching a beggar woman for having twin children ('English Historical Review' for 1911, p. 113)."
- P. 119, n. 4, l. 2, *for* "since he came to England in the preceding year" *read* "since they left England."
- P. 169, n. 3, l. 1, *for* "n. 3" *read* "n. 1."
- P. 172, n. 3, l. 7, *add* "and as appears from Miss Longe's 'Life of Lady Giffard,' Lady Giffard's objection to the publication of the book was due to its depreciatory references to the first Earl of Essex whose widow was one of her greatest friends."
- P. 180, n. 3, l. 2, *for* "recall Swift's lines" *read* "recall the lines."
- P. 193, n. 3, l. 1, *for* "Earl of Poulett" *read* "Earl Poulett."

242 ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- P. 200, n. 3, *add* "The memorial as presented to Harley will be found in 'The MSS. of the Duke of Portland,' iv, 609. The facts are the same, the arrangement is slightly different."
- P. 242, n. 3, *add* "An English version was published in 1707 with the title 'Authentick Memoirs, being Secret Transactions in the Southern Provinces of France to rescue that Nation from Slavery, by the Marquis of Guiscard, Lieutenant-General of the Forces gone upon the Present Descent.'"
- P. 244, l. 3, *for* "O.S. 6" *read* "O.S. 7."
- P. 245, n. 2, l. 7, *for* "Professor Laughton" *read* "Sir J. K. Laughton."
- P. 255, l. 5, *for* "Sheridan" *read* "Nichols."
- P. 257, n. 1, l. 10, *add* "The original and an English translation are printed by Sir Walter Scott, 'Works,' v, 362. There is also an English version with some small omissions in the Harleian Miscellany, *ed.* Thomas Park, i, 3, which appears to have been circulated."
- P. 274, n. 3, l. 7, *for* "Westminster" *read* "Bossiney."
- P. 310, n. 8, l. 5, *add* "It appears from Miss Longe's 'Life of Lady Giffard' that there was personal as well as public enmity between Swift and the Duchess of Somerset. As a niece of the Countess of Essex she had resented the publication of the third part of Temple's 'Memoirs' as much as Lady Giffard, and says that even before then she had formed the opinion that Swift was "a man of no principle, either of honour or religion.'"
- P. 332, n. 2, l. 9, *for* "Baxter's friend" *read* "Harley's father-in-law."
- P. 337, n. 2, l. 5, *add* "It is described by Deane Swift ('Essay,' p. 171) as a beautiful tortoise-shell snuff-box, richly lined with gold, with the prospect of the Rialto of Venice, several gondolas plying on the canals, and other figures to the number of one hundred and fifty, representing the pleasures of a carnival, painted on the inside of the lid."
- P. 342, l. 16, *for* "H—e" *read* "H[ill]."
- P. 345, n. 2, l. 2, *add* "She is mentioned in Sir Thomas Hanmer's Correspondence as living with his wife, the Duchess of Grafton."
- P. 349, l. 37, *for* "*occasio salvæ*" *read* "*occasio salva*."
- P. 354, n. 3, l. 3, *add* "It was bequeathed by Swift to Lord Orrery, and is reproduced in the 'Orrery Papers.'"
- P. 356, n. 2, l. 4, *add* "See notice of Watkin in Mr. Aitken's 'Life of Arbuthnot,' p. 96, n. 4."
- P. 382, l. 14, *insert* "19" *before* "M D 9."
- P. 390, l. 22, *for* "Navors" *read* "Travers."

VOL. II

- P. 8, l. 20, "Rushpoint" *add as note* "I.e. Portrush."
- P. 16. n. 1, l. 15, *add* "At an earlier period Swift had considered a proposal that Oxford should change his party as not undeserving of consideration. Amongst the Duke of Portland's Manuscripts there has been found the following anonymous and undated letter addressed to the 'Right Honourable Robert Harley, at his house in York Buildings, London,' and bearing in Swift's handwriting the laconic criticism, 'This was not writ by a fool.' 'Were it amiss for you to consider well whether you are safer in a Parliament of Tories than of Whigs, whether the latter may not be made easier if the war is carried on till it ends in a good peace, since it is only that they have at heart, not the remove of the first Minister, who together with the general has used them like footmen? Can you expect those men will stick to you when there shall be occasion, who even now you are serving their turn use your name with the utmost indignity? Is it prudent to carry things to the extremity against one party without being very well assured of the other? Lest no friend has laid this before you in the glut of your good fortune, one who is not fond of meddling with things of this kind, being alone and in the country, reflecting upon the times, had these thoughts come into his head, and leaves it to you to consider whether they come from an ill intention.'"
- P. 61, l. 3, *for* "Louis" *read* "louis."
- P. 86, n. 2, l. 3, *for* "third" *read* "second"; l. 5, *for* "fifth" *read* "fourth."
- P. III, n. 3, l. 4, *add* "On the 19th of last month Swift had submitted to Oxford some 'Observations on the Privy Council of Ireland,' which may have helped to deprive Molesworth of his seat: 'Whig Privy Councillors—Archbishop of Dublin, very bad but I am told is a Privy Councillor *ex-officio*: Earl of Mount-rath, insignificant: Earl of Drogheda, very bad: Lord Mountjoy, very bad: Lord Blessington, very bad, but now, I hear, in England: Sir Thomas Southwell, Gustavus Hamilton, Mr. Molesworth, Theophilus Butler; these four very bad, and very insignificant except the third, who is the worst of them: Lord Coningsby, Mr. Dodington, Mr. Addison; these live in England. The Earl of Barrymore's friends say he would take it kindly to be made a Privy Councillor. Our friends would be much encouraged if the four commoners above-named were out, and if a Lord were added, it should be Mountjoy or Blessington, I think rather the former. Note. The Privy

Councillors there attend whether they be summoned or no; and have much more opportunities of doing mischief in either House of Parliament, by being Privy Councillors.' (Duke of Portland's Manuscripts.)"

- P. 132, n. 4, l. 3, *for* "corpse" *read* "corps."
 P. 178, l. 10, *for* "even" *read* "ever."
 P. 200, n. 4, l. 1, *for* "Strafford" *read* "Stratford."
 P. 234, n. 3, l. 1, *for* "George" *read* "James."
 P. 278, n. 6, l. 4, *for* "Wharton" *read* "Walpole."
 P. 303, l. 38, *add after* "street" *as note* "*Infra*, p. 316."
 P. 316, n. 5, l. 2, *add* "He was a son-in-law of Isaac Manley."
 P. 333, l. 23, *delete* comma *after* "conversation."
 P. 370, n. 2, l. 2, *for* "Archbishop King was discarded as being too favourable to the Irish interest and" *read* "in addition to Archbishop King."

VOL. III

- P. 80, n. 5, l. 1, *for* "Swift" *read* "Chetwode."
 P. 102, n. 3, l. 3, *add* "'Sir James Baker, Knight, Chief Journalist of Great Britain,' is introduced in 'Gulliveriana' in connection with the poem 'Country Life.'"
 P. 119, n. 1, *for* "Pro Murena, 37, 38" *read* "Philippic, ii, 13."
 P. 129, n. 8, l. 3, *add* "But possibly the word slack has been mis-transcribed stack."
 P. 129, n. 10, l. 5, *add* "He was elected a governor of Bedlam in the year 1714. There is no record of any attendance of his at the courts."
 P. 146, n. 1, l. 6, *for* "Isaac Butt, the founder of the Home Rule Party" *read* "the Rev. Richard Sinclair Brooke, author of 'Recollections of the Irish Church.'"
 P. 190, l. 21, *for* "H." *read* "A."
 P. 408, n. 4, l. 1, *for* "a place of fashionable resort in Armagh" *read* "the Mall in St. James's Park."

VOL. IV

- P. 3, n. 3, l. 1, *add after* "Swift" "to whom and his own mother Pope refers."
 P. 3, n. 4, *delete* "1726 or" *and add* "He had accompanied Provost Baldwin to present an address to George II, and, as appears from a letter of Archbishop King, had never been in London before."
 P. 14, n. 1, *for* "Her mother" *read* "Pope's mother."
 P. 22, n. 1, l. 2, *for* "vicem dolore" *read* "vicem eorum dolore."

- P. 24, n. 3, l. 14, *after* "country" *insert* "in a measure."
- P. 42, n. 2, l. 3, *for* "bábhun" *read* "bádhun."
- P. 66, l. 25, *for* "astant" *read* "adstant"; l. 27, *for* "155" *read* "151."
- P. 109, l. 20, *for* "learning" *read* "leaning."
- P. 121, l. 4, *for* "cheeks" *read* "checks."
- P. 146, n. 1, l. 7, *for* "works" *read* "words."
- P. 159, n. 1, *delete and insert* "I.e., Mrs. Drelincourt, *supra*, vol. iii, p. 408, and *infra*, p. 234."
- P. 161, n. 2, l. 1, *for* "rapt" *read* "wrapt."
- P. 195, n. 3, l. 3, *for* "nephew" *read* "cousin."
- P. 253, l. 5, *add after* "Father Paul's" *as note* "I.e., Paolo Sarpi."
- P. 264, n. 1, *for* "Swift's" *read* "Pope's."
- P. 274, l. 22, *for* "Behmist" *read* "Behmenist."
- P. 285, n. 1, l. 6, *for* "James" *read* "Robert."
- P. 313, n. 4, l. 4, *for* "Mills" *read* "Milles."
- P. 336, n. 1, l. 3, *add* "She was the widow of Richard Tenison of Thomastown, co. Louth, whose brother Harry is mentioned in the Journal to Stella."
- P. 345, l. 19, *for* "Steeven's" *read* "Steevens's."
- P. 383, l. 26, *for* "Mr. Davys" *read* "Mrs. Davys."
- P. 459, l. 31, *add after* "forthcoming" *as note*, "The verses attributed usually to that year are said by Stella to have been written in 1720-1. See 'Poetical Works,' ii, 26."
- P. 483, l. 36, *add after* "proper" *as note* "The assignment which was conveyed on 5 October 1732 by Pilkington to Bowyer was as follows: 'Whereas several scattered papers, in prose and verse, for three or four years last past, were printed in Dublin by Mr. George Faulkner, some of which were sent in manuscript to Mr. William Bowyer of London, printer, which pieces are supposed to be written by me, and are now by the means of the Reverend Matthew Pilkington, who delivered or sent them to the said Faulkner and Bowyer, become the property of the said Faulkner and Bowyer, I do here without specifying the said papers, give up all manner of right I may be thought to have in the said papers, to Mr. Matthew Pilkington aforesaid, who informs me that he intends to give up the said right to Mr. Bowyer aforesaid. Witness my hand, July 22 1732, Jonath. Swift. From the Deanery House in Dublin, the day and year above written' (Scott's 'Works of Swift,' x, 399)."

VOL. V

- P. 149, n. 1, l. 1, *for* "Andrew" *read* "Arthur."
- P. 161, n. 1, l. 4, *add* "The original is in the possession of Mr. Philip Yorke of Erddig Park, Wrexham. There are only one or two verbal variations from the version given by me."
- P. 193, n. 12, l. 1, *for* "uncle" *read* "cousin."
- P. 212, n. 2, l. 4, *add* "The following notes were subsequently made by Swift in his copy: 'Sent me by Mr. W. Duncombe, the publisher, 1735. The author is a Mediocris Poeta, but he seems to have been an honest man. Jonath. Swift. March 13 1737/8 upon the whole this writer hath not shown one single quality of a poet in his two volumes. J. S.' ('Notes and Queries,' 3, iii, 260)."
- P. 444, l. 6, *for* "Babber" *read* "Barber."

VOL. VI

- P. 108, n. 1, *delete and insert*, "An Elzevir Virgil. *See* Deane Swift's 'Essay,' p. 373."
- P. 129, n. 2, l. 1, *for* "Swift" *read* "Pope."
- P. 135, n. 1, l. 3, *for* "Whiteway" *read* "Harrison."
- P. 148, n. 4, *delete and insert*, "The Rev. Peter Cooke, who graduated in 1691, in Dublin University."

Note—Points indicate lacunae, asterisks words that have been omitted.

EDITORIAL POSTSCRIPT

DURING the three years that have elapsed since the first of these volumes was issued, I have had occasion to make additional demands on what the Bishop of Ossory has well described as the generosity traditional in the great house of Albemarle Street, and I cannot allow the volumes to close without a further acknowledgement of my obligation to Mr. John Murray, not only for the use of his Swift autographs, but also for permission to reprint letters only to be found in the monumental edition of the "Works of Pope" published by him.

I cannot omit also to express my thanks to the officials in charge of the Forster Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington for extending to me privileges originally granted to Mr. Litton Falkiner for the examination and transcription of Mr. Forster's manuscripts, and for assistance rendered to me when making researches.

For aid generally in the progress of my work I am indebted to friends too numerous to attempt to particularize, and I can only ask them to believe that I shall ever retain a grateful sense of their kindness. The index to the volumes has been compiled by Miss Jacob, who has taken pains to make it as exhaustive and perfect as the one with which she furnished Swift's "Prose Works," and sanction was given by the Controller of the Stationery Office to reprint such letters as had appeared in the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

F. ELRINGTON BALL.

DUBLIN.

INDEXES

BY

MISS CONSTANCE JACOB

INDEX TO CORRESPONDENTS

- A** CHESON, Lady, from, iv, 288.
to, iv, 287.
- Addison, Joseph, from, i, 79, 151, 158,
159, 178, 181, 186; iii, 2, 15.
to, i, 187; ii, 26, 394.
- Anglesey, Earl of, from, ii, 122.
- Arbuthnot, John, from, ii, 92, 150,
158, 174, 184, 195, 232, 245, 254,
296; iii, 16, 21, 179, 283, 303,
342, 356, 434; iv, 72, 80, 86, 170,
265, 277; v, 93.
to, ii, 152, 162, 178, 190, 196, 218;
v, 106.
- Arbuthnot, Robert, from, iv, 369.
- Argyll, Duke of, to, i, 248; ii, 5.
- Arran, Earl of, to, vi, 193.
- Ashe, Bishop, to, ii, 422.
- Athenian Society, The, to, i, 6.
- Atterbury, Dean, from, ii, 21, 308.
to, i, 287; ii, 57, 306, 311, 396.
- Barber, John, from, ii, 146, 172, 177,
205, 212, 277; iv, 338, 386; v, 24,
43, 166; vi, 25, 71, 88.
to, iv, 323, 333, 349, 368; v, 8, 139,
203, 225, 402, 429; vi, 60, 68, 74,
91, 112, 122.
- Barber, Mrs., from, v, 388.
- Bathurst, Lord, from, iv, 123, 155,
162, 213, 410; v, 232; vi, 44, 54.
to, iv, 166, 235; v, 252.
- Beach, Thomas, to, v, 161; vi, 246.
- Berkeley, Earl of, from, i, 151.
- Birch, Rev. John, from, ii, 211.
- Blachford, Rev. John, to, iv, 212; v,
114, 116.
- Blount, Mrs. Martha, from, iv, 28.
to, iii, 448; iv, 13.
- Bolingbroke, Viscount. *See* St. John.
- Bolingbroke, Viscountess, Frances
Winchcombe, from, ii, 313, 326;
Marquise de Villette, from, iii, 376;
iv, 445.
- Bolton, Archbishop, from, v, 156, 172.
to, v, 221.
- Bowyer, William, to, iv, 480, 482,
483, 486; vi, 223.
- Brandreth, Dean, to, iv, 311.
- Browne, John, from, iv, 24.
- Brownlow, Lady Elizabeth, from, v,
182.
- Budgell, Eustace, from, ii, 422.
- Burlington, Earl of, to, iv, 82.
- Caesar, Mrs., from, iv, 332.
to, iv, 358; v, 19.
- Carte, Thomas, from, v, 371.
- Carter, Thomas, from, v, 314.
- Carteret, Lord, from, iii, 195, 206;
iv, 406; v, 68, 141, 428.
to, iii, 191, 193, 196, 211, 234, 247.
iv, 1, 143.
- Castle-Durrow, Lord. *See* Flower.
- Chamberlain, Rev. Philip, to, iv, 230.
- Chandos, Duke of, to, v, 87.
- Charleton, Chiverton, from, ii, 139.
- Chesterfield, Earl of, from, iv, 184.
to, iv, 177, 191.
- Chetwode, Knightley, from, ii, 249,
260, 271, 275, 288, 298, 420; iii,
160; iv, 94, 103, 200, 226, 292.
to, ii, 241, 244, 247, 254, 257, 264,
270, 274, 282, 284, 291, 294, 302,
406; iii, 9, 20, 78, 80, 83, 96, 106,
107, 123, 125, 156, 159, 164, 166,
186, 187, 188, 189, 215, 217, 225,
227, 228, 229, 236, 253, 305, 355,
377, 429, 437, 441; iv, 65, 81, 87,
91, 122, 153, 224, 476.
- Chetwode, Mrs., to, ii, 300.
- Clancy, Michael, from, vi, 58.
to, vi, 56.
- Clarke, —, from, iv, 486.
- Clarke, Rev. Henry, to, v, 112.
- Conduitt, Mrs., from, v, 47.
- Coote, Charles, from, v, 49.
- Cope, Robert, to, ii, 392; iii, 53, 137,
161, 165; vi, 47.
- Corbridge, James, from, vi, 140.
- Cork, Corporation of, to, vi, 42.

252 INDEX TO CORRESPONDENTS

- Dartmouth, Earl of, to, i, 354; ii, 65; iv, 397.
- Davenant, Charles, from, ii, 82.
- Davys, Hon. Margaret, from, vi, 15.
- Dawson, Joshua, to, i, 390; ii, 49, 126, 204.
- Delafaye, Christopher, from, ii, 423. to, ii, 424.
- Delany, Rev. Patrick, from, v, 69. to, iii, 18; v, 383.
- Diaper, Rev. William, to, ii, 24.
- Dingley, Miss Rebecca, from, vi, 40. to, v, 29, 121.
- Discoverer, A, from, ii, 415.
- Dolben, Sir Gilbert, from, ii, 105.
- Donnellan, Miss Anne, from, v, 31, 126, 174.
- Donnellan, Rev. Christopher, from, v, 255, 356.
- Dorset, Duke of, to, iv, 291; v, 53, 123, 150, 164, 294, 324, 382.
- Drelincourt, Mrs., to, iii, 408.
- Drift, Adrian, from, vi, 234, 237. to, vi, 235.
- Dunkin, Rev. William, from, v, 395; vi, 125.
- Ellis, Bishop, from, ii, 73.
- Evans, Bishop, to, iii, 36, 86.
- Farren, Thomas, from, vi, 43.
- Faulkner, George, from, vi, 224. to, iv, 286, 444; v, 297; vi, 53, 58, 67, 85, 96, 145, 207.
- Fitzherbert, Mrs., from, v, 158.
- Fitzherbert, William, to, v, 148.
- Flower, William, afterwards Lord Castle-Durrow, from, iv, 66; v, 398, 411; vi, 151.
- Fontaines, Abbé des, from, iii, 397. to, iii, 406.
- Ford, Charles, from, ii, 169, 175, 178, 180, 188, 192, 193, 206, 214, 230, 234, 335; iii, 373; iv, 370, 422; v, 37, 344, 362; vi, 50. to, iii, 40; iv, 417, 444; v, 26, 46, 350.
- Fontaine, Sir Andrew, from, i, 182. to, ii, 12; v, 21.
- Fownes, Sir William, from, iv, 343; v, 98.
- Freind, Rev. Robert, from, ii, 299.
- Gay, John, from, ii, 144, 218; iii, 144, 153, 340, 344, 351, 358, 382, 426; iv, 10, 15, 32, 36, 51, 69, 107, 129, 137, 158, 172, 186, 205, 210, 220, 239, 270, 274, 280, 284, 301, 324, 340, 364. to, ii, 149; iii, 148, 323, 347, 430; iv, 11, 19, 110, 132, 174, 179, 202, 233, 258, 271, 293, 314, 335, 351.
- Geoghegan, Francis, from, iv, 63.
- Geree, Rev. John, from, ii, 134; v, 334.
- Germaine, Lady Elizabeth, from, iv, 164, 188, 199, 232, 262, 268, 283, 296, 322, 362, 388, 443; v, 10, 56, 108, 132, 153, 183, 204, 228, 264, 305, 353, 365, 387. to, iv, 373; v, 170, 185, 348, 413.
- Gerrard, Samuel, to, iv, 192, 418; v, 129, 131, 135.
- Gibson, —, to, v, 426.
- Giffard, Lady, to, i, 170.
- Giraldi, Monsieur, to, ii, 267.
- Gower, Lord, from, vi, 209.
- Grafton, Duke of, to, iii, 151.
- Graham, William, to, vi, 12.
- Grant, Francis, from, v, 60. to, v, 63.
- Granville, Countess, from, v, 46.
- Greenvil, Mrs., to, iii, 363.
- Griffith, Thomas, from, v, 304.
- Grigsby, John, to, ii, 188.
- "Gulliver, Lemuel," from, iii, 369.
- Halifax, Lord, from, i, 165. to, i, 155.
- Hamilton, Duchess of, from, iii, 447.
- Hamilton, Miss Margaret, afterwards Lady Orrery, from, vi, 84, 104. to, vi, 83.
- Hanmer, Sir Thomas, from, ii, 30; iii, 69. to, iii, 64.
- Harcourt, Lord, to, ii, 31.
- Harley, Edward, to, iii, 45.
- Harley, Edward, Lord, afterwards 2nd Earl of Oxford, from, ii, 184; iii, 4, 260, 265, 285, 423; iv, 40, 131, 159; v, 79, 195; vi, 3, 35, 82. to, ii, 269; iii, 6, 196, 222, 261, 279, 285, 312, 319, 387, 389, 428; iv, 31, 45, 147, 160, 372, 389, 396, 437; v, 22, 84, 121, 222, 250; vi, 20, 52, 76, 238.
- Harley, Robert, afterwards Earl of Oxford, from, i, 391; ii, 129, 198, 399; iii, 221. to, i, 200, 387, 391; ii, 4, 86, 160, 197, 236, 393, 395, 415; iii, 47, 178.

- Harley, Thomas, from, ii, 155.
 Harrison, Miss, to, v, 307.
 Harrison, William, from, i, 355.
 Hartstonge, Bishop, to, i, 191.
 Henley, Anthony, from, i, 112, 115, 160.
 Hill, Miss Alice, to, i, 350.
 Hill, John, to, i, 336.
 Hoadly, Miss, to, v, 70.
 Holderness, Countess of, to, iv, 85.
 Hort, Bishop, from, v, 307.
 to, v, 326.
 Howard, Mrs., afterwards Countess of Suffolk, from, iii, 361, 412, 413; iv, 263.
 to, iii, 353, 365, 369, 374, 401, 404, 411, 412, 413, 419; iv, 181, 246, 265.
 Howth, Lady, from, v, 81, 369; vi, 57.
 Howth, Lord, from, v, 201.
 to, v, 222.
 Hunter, Robert, from, ii, 10, 42.
 to, i, 132, 142.
 Irish Society, The, to, vi, 125.
 Jackson, Rev. Daniel, to, iii, 103, 127.
 Jenney, Rev. Henry, to, iv, 303.
 Jervas, Charles, from, v, 111.
 Johnson, Miss Hester, to, iii, 79.
 Johnson, Lady, from, iv, 74.
 Jones, Lady Catherine, from, iv, 87, 310.
 to, iv, 84.
 Kane, Nathaniel, to, v, 131.
 Kelly, Miss, from, iv, 385, 432, 441; v, 5, 26.
 Kendall, Rev. John, to, i, 3.
 Kerry, Countess of, from, iv, 400.
 Kildare, Earl of, from, ii, 421.
 King, Rev. James, to, v, 255; vi, 195.
 King, Dr. William, Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Dublin, from, i, 51, 63, 76, 77, 78, 80, 96, 102, 107, 121, 136, 139, 196, 209, 211, 214, 221, 223, 232, 234, 242, 250, 259, 268, 271, 280, 285, 293, 297, 300, 318, 320, 327, 332, 333, 348; ii, 6, 20, 27, 35, 61, 99, 116, 324, 339, 361, 373, 376, 378, 385, 421, 422, 423, 424.
 to, i, 36, 48, 53, 60, 66, 72, 74, 85, 92, 104, 115, 126, 128, 147, 192, 204, 212, 215, 217, 225, 230, 238, 246, 255, 264, 274, 278, 288, 312, 322, 325, 329, 346; ii, 1, 14, 22, 32, 55, 77, 110, 318, 336, 348, 352, 371, 374, 382; iii, 100, 159, 199, 390.
 King, Dr. William, Principal of St. Mary's Hall, from, v, 237, 378, 392, 400; vi, 26, 28, 73, 80, 107, 109, 111, 114.
 Langford, Sir Arthur, to, ii, 251.
 Lewis, Erasmus, from, ii, 40, 55, 57, 62, 167, 182, 191, 194, 199, 201, 206, 211, 220, 227, 267, 359, 388, 390, 391; vi, 30, 40, 77, 192.
 to, vi, 37.
 Lightburne, Rev. Stafford, to, iii, 235.
 "Lilliput, The Prince of," from, iii, 383.
 Lindsay, Bishop, from, ii, 88, 108, 114.
 to, i, 191.
 Lintot, Bernard, to, i, 388.
 Long, Anne, from, i, 305.
 Ludlow, Peter, from, iii, 11.
 Lyttelton, George, from, vi, 128, 137.
 to, vi, 133.
 Macaulay, Alexander, from, vi, 80.
 Marsh, Primate, from, i, 191, 210.
 to, i, 146.
 Masham, Lady, from, ii, 200; iii, 190; iv, 417.
 to, ii, 221.
 Masham, Lord, from, iv, 417.
 Montagu, Duke of, to, ii, 410, 411, 413.
 Moore, Mrs., to, iii, 435.
 Morville, Count de, to, iii, 395.
 Mossom, Dean, to, iii, 71.
 Motte, Benjamin, from, iii, 330, 331; v, 214, 243.
 to, iii, 328, 331, 373, 386, 438; iv, 6, 15, 317, 359, 367, 383, 484; v, 254, 257, 338.
 Mountjoy, Viscount, from, vi, 48.
 Nelson, Robert, from, i, 237.
 Nichols, John, to, v, 355, 377; vi, 73.
 Nugent, Robert, from, vi, 156.
 Nutley, Mr. Justice, from, ii, 83, 90.
 Orkney, Countess of, from, i, 344, 345, 351, 354.
 to, i, 332.
 Ormond, Duchess of, from, ii, 133, 301, 304, 330; iii, 49, 95, 182; vi, 233.
 to, i, 358.

- Ormond, Duke of, from, ii, 191, 276.
 Orrery, Earl of, from, v, 206, 213, 229, 244, 298, 420, 422; vi, 1, 19, 35, 39, 65, 85, 106, 144, 167, 168, 169, 172, 174, 175, 177, 187.
 to, iv, 382, 402, 424, 433; v, 27, 211, 239, 249, 299, 313, 358, 423, 432; vi, 18, 34, 53, 63, 102, 166, 168, 170, 185, 188, 192.
 Orrery, Countess of. *See* Hamilton.
 Oxford, Earl of. *See* Harley.
- Palmerston, Viscount, from, iii, 299.
 to, iii, 297, 300.
 Parvisol, Isaiah, to, ii, 405.
 Pembroke, Earl of, to, i, 153, 177.
 Pendarves, Mrs., from, iv, 435; v, 13, 33, 88, 109, 180, 257, 296, 318, 376.
 to, v, 94, 136, 300.
 Percival, Robert, to, iv, 118.
 Peterborough, Earl of, from, i, 244, 262; ii, 127; iii, 307, 370.
 to, i, 235, 252; ii, 135; iii, 308; iv, 446.
 Philips, Ambrose, to, i, 99, 109, 114, 141, 168.
 Phillips, Rev. Marmaduke, from, v, 103.
 Phipps, Sir Constantine, from, ii, 70, 80, 85, 120; iii, 70.
 Pilkington, Mrs., from, iv, 261.
 to, iv, 261, 354, 371; v, 381.
 Pilkington, Rev. Matthew, from, iv, 480, 482, 483, 485.
 Pope, Alexander, from, ii, 95, 154, 325; iii, 167, 269, 280, 294, 332, 336, 358, 363, 380, 420, 424; iv, 3, 8, 17, 35, 49, 101, 114, 130, 140, 154, 207, 274, 289, 365, 393, 434, 484, 485; v, 30, 51, 90, 117, 242, 293, 314, 374, 408, 423, 426; vi, 100, 129, 164, 175.
 to, iii, 113, 174, 256, 276, 291, 323, 325, 334, 347, 367, 371, 421, 430, 447; iv, 29, 33, 38, 57, 59, 89, 106, 120, 125, 149, 193, 217, 242, 307, 380, 412, 428; v, 1, 100, 176, 226, 251, 302, 320, 396, 414; vi, 16, 32, 93, 126, 127, 161, 192.
 Poulett, Earl, from, ii, 19.
 Pratt, Mrs., from, v, 42, 152, 168.
 to, iii, 231.
 Pratt, Provost, from, ii, 25.
 Prior, Matthew, from, ii, 18, 59, 398, 401; iii, 4, 6, 14, 32, 38, 50, 73, 75.
 to, iii, 29, 43, 48.
- Pulteney, William, from, iii, 338; iv, 198; v, 146, 168, 279, 402; vi, 168.
 to, v, 143, 178, 418.
 Pyle, Rev. Thomas, to, i, 307.
- Queensberry, Duchess of, from, iv, 172, 186, 210, 239, 324, 340, 398, 420, 439; v, 35, 39, 57.
 to, iv, 179, 202, 223, 258, 271, 314, 335, 351, 404.
 Queensberry, Duke of, from, iv, 270.
 to, iv, 271.
- Ramsay, Andrew, from, iii, 404; iv, 79; vi, 49, 65.
 Ramsay, Miss, from, i, 344.
 Reader, Dean, from, i, 35.
 Richardson, Miss Katharine, from, vi, 59, 66, 81, 103.
 to, vi, 61.
 Richardson, William, from, v, 425; vi, 10, 87, 104, 118, 119, 122.
 to, vi, 8, 13, 90, 96, 116, 120, 124, 135, 154, 159.
 Rochfort, George, from, iii, 215.
 Rooke, George, from, iii, 220.
- Sacheverell, Rev. Henry, from, i, 316.
 St. John, Henry, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke, from, i, 231, 304; ii, 4, 177, 214, 229, 333; iii, 24, 88, 109, 170, 183, 206, 258, 296, 323, 343, 379, 393, 394, 396, 448, 449; iv, 8, 97, 109, 140, 197, 207, 249, 289, 319; v, 66, 75, 90.
 to, i, 232, 258; ii, 222, 237; iii, 29, 40; iv, 75, 104, 135; vi, 93.
 Santry, Lady, to, v, 437.
 Scott, John, from, vi, 138.
 Sharpe, Rev. John, from, ii, 41.
 Sheridan, —, to, iii, 243, 257.
 Sheridan, Rev. Thomas, from, iv, 299; v, 50, 73, 82, 119, 139, 154, 197, 200, 207, 209, 219, 235, 247, 259, 269, 275, 276, 285, 299, 308, 310, 316, 317, 328, 340, 342, 354, 360, 366, 368, 373; 379, 393, 461; vi, 23, 190.
 to, iii, 146, 173, 177, 241, 243, 245, 266, 273, 274, 315, 324, 387, 399, 401, 409, 415, 416; iv, 41, 43, 297, 408; v, 188, 191, 231, 240, 271, 277, 311, 321, 331, 335, 346, 364, 434, 435; vi, 4.
 Shiell, John, from, v, 185.

- Shower, Rev. John, from, i, 390.
to, i, 391.
- Sican, John, from, v, 267.
- Sican, Mrs., from, v, 265.
- Smalridge, Dean, from, ii, 68, 106.
- Snape, Rev. Andrew, from, iii, 130.
- Somerville, Sir James, to, vi, 36.
- Southwell, Edward, to, ii, 25, 423.
- Southwell, Sir Robert, to, i, 1.
- Stanhope, Mr. Secretary, to, ii, 421.
- Stanley, Sir John, from, vi, 233.
to, v, 386.
- Stannard, Eaton, to, v, 48, 59, 159; vi, 177.
- Stearne, Dean, afterwards Bishop, from, v, 72.
to, i, 82, 89, 123, 179, 198, 309; ii, 103; iii, 191; v, 15.
- Steele, Richard, from, i, 166; ii, 29, 37.
to, ii, 33, 38.
- "Stella," to, iii, 383.
- Stopford, Rev. James, to, iii, 239, 287, 320, 325, 346, 446; iv, 93; v, 145; vi, 18, 22, 153.
- Strafford, Earl of, from, v, 133.
- Suffolk, Countess of. *See* Howard.
- Sunderland, Earl of, to, ii, 422.
- Swanton, Mrs., to, v, 11.
- Swift, Deane, from, vi, 108, 188.
to, i, 10, 30, 37; v, 245; vi, 73, 80, 187.
- Swift, Miss Jane, from, i, 30.
- Swift, Mrs. Jonathan, from, i, 37.
- Swift, Rev. Thomas, Senior, from, i, 369.
- Swift, Rev. Thomas, Junior, from, i, 59, 387.
to, i, 361, 367.
- Swift, William, to, i, 8.
- "Simpson, Richard," from, iii, 328, 331, 386.
to, iii, 330, 331.
- Synge, Bishop, from, vi, 98.
- Temple, John, to, i, 54; v, 416.
- Temple, Sir William, from, i, 1.
to, i, 13.
- Thomas, William, from, ii, 157, 167.
- Throp, Rev. Robert, from, vi, 146.
- Tickell, Thomas, to, iii, 198, 204, 214, 219, 254, 270, 287, 303, 313, 384; iv, 245, 256.
- Tisdall, Rev. William, to, i, 37, 40, 45.
- Tooke, Benjamin, from, i, 185.
to, i, 150, 183.
- Towers, Rev. John, to, v, 218.
- Trinity College, Dublin, Provost and Senior Fellows of, to, v, 359.
- Vanhomrigh, Miss Esther, from, i, 340, 341; ii, 43, 46, 48, 51, 259, 403; iii, 60, 63, 87, 132, 441, 444, 445-
to, i, 299, 335, 339, 342, 344; ii, 40, 52, 142, 173, 209, 233, 252, 260, 404; iii, 33, 56, 58, 61, 73, 84, 131, 134, 135, 442, 443.
- Vanhomrigh, Mrs., from, i, 389.
to, ii, 44.
- Voltaire, from, iii, 395, 438; iv, 446.
- Walker, William, to, vi, 46.
- Wallis, Rev. Thomas, to, iii, 105, 157, 385; iv, 50.
- Walls, Archdeacon, to, i, 69, 118; ii, 63, 66, 69, 72, 93, 124, 130, 131, 147, 164, 203, 226, 256, 262, 279, 280, 281, 305, 314, 315, 317, 318, 321, 332, 343, 344, 347, 349, 350, 355, 356, 357, 358, 363, 365, 367, 368, 369, 380, 381, 385, 387, 400, 404, 406; iii, 250.
- Waring, Miss Jane, to, i, 15, 31.
- Wharton, Marquess of, from, iii, 1.
- Whitehall, Rev. John, to, i, 369, 371.
- Whiteway, Mrs., from, v, 262, 271, 277, 283, 287, 289, 321, 331; vi, 63, 90, 96, 116, 120, 124, 154, 159, 161, 166, 168, 170, 185, 192, 222.
to, iv, 190; v, 259, 269, 274, 275, 276, 285, 291, 306, 309, 328, 334, 373, 378, 392, 393, 395, 461; vi, 26, 65, 81, 99, 102, 103, 111, 114, 118, 125, 135, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 156, 157, 164, 165, 169, 172, 174.
- Winder, Rev. John, to, i, 22, 26.
- Wogan, Charles, iv, 390.
to, iv, 327; v, 439.
- Worrall, Rev. John, to, ii, 113; iii, 98, 251, 265, 305, 317, 327, 331, 418; iv, 47, 53, 54; v, 69.
- Worsley, Lady, from, iv, 332.
to, iv, 145, 222, 355.

GENERAL INDEX

- A**BDY, his Irish bulls, iv, 168.
- Abercorn, James, 6th Earl of, his relations with Swift, i, 382, 386; ii, 113 *n.*, 121, 242 *n.*; iii, 192 *n.*; his daughters, ii, 45 *n.*; iii, 107 *n.*; and see Hamilton; his lease from the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's, ii, 113, 114, 121, 242, 271; iv, 346 *n.*; and Wood's Halfpence, iii, 192; and the Irish Bank, iii, 192 *n.*; Governor of the Blue Coat School, v, 131 *n.*; death, v, 131 *n.*
- Abercorn, Countess of, daughter of Sir Robert Reading, i, 382 *n.*; ii, 242 *n.*
- Abercothy, near Caermarthen, ii, 168, 202.
- Abigail, Swift's cousin, ii, 46.
- "Abigail," Hester Johnson libelled as, iv, 65 *n.*
- Abingdon, Montagu, 2nd Earl of, ii, 170, 217 *n.*
- Absalom, Frederick, Prince of Wales, described as, v, 421.
- Academy to correct, enlarge and ascertain the English language, An.*, i, 325, 331, 334, 347, 348.
- Acheson, Archibald, son of Sir Arthur, afterwards 1st Viscount Gosford, v, 219; his anecdotes of Swift, v, 454, 455.
- Acheson, Sir Arthur, entertains Swift at Market Hill, iv, 38-59, 61, 87-93, 103 *n.*, 150 *n.*, 154 *n.*, 160-162, 166, 237, 360; v, 444, 454, 455; vi, 210, 211; account of, iv, 38 *n.*; Swift sends him some usquebaugh, iv, 57; his house in Dublin, iv, 57; character and scholarship, iv, 57; his verses on Swift, iv, 57 *n.*; Swift's verses upon, iv, 61, 237; relations with Swift, iv, 106 *n.*; v, 219 *n.*; and *Hamilton's Bawn*, iv, 215, 304, 360; his family, iv, 433 *n.*; v, 219; politics, v, 219; and Sheridan, vi, 210, 211.
- Acheson, Lady, wife of Sir Arthur, daughter of Philip Savage, kindness to Swift, iv, 38, 42-44, 95; v, 454; account of, iv, 38 *n.*; Swift's verses upon, iv, 42, 49, 58, 237; her good understanding, iv, 57; good voice, iv, 57; Swift's pupil, iv, 57; and Dr. Helsham, iv, 59; and *Hamilton's Bawn*, iv, 215, 304; related to William Ryves, iv, 285 *n.*; in Dublin, iv, 287, 434; v, 266; April Fool's letter to, iv, 287, 288; and Ford, iv, 371; her late hours, iv, 371; v, 219; dines with Delany, v, 69; and Marmaduke Phillips, v, 105, 213; and Lady E. Brownlow, v, 183; and Lord Howth, v, 202; receives venison from Sheridan, v, 210; ill, v, 219, 222, 266; death, vi, 225.
- Acheson, George, iv, 433 *n.*
- Acheson, Mrs. George, formerly wife of Philip Savage, and mother of Lady Acheson, entertains Swift at the Grange, Baldoyle, iv, 433; v, 9 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 105, 108 *n.*, 454, 455; and Lady E. Brownlow, v, 183; ill, v, 193, 202, 219, 222; loses her eye, v, 222.
- Achilles, ii, 6; iii, 59 *n.*, 367; iv, 27.
- Achitophels, *temp.* George II, v, 421.
- A'Court, Mrs. Pierce, iv, 322, 323.
- Act of Grace, ii, 391, 393.
- Act of Succession, ii, 235.
- Adair, Mr., in Pilkington's divorce suit, vi, 69 *n.*
- Adamson, John, juryman on Swift's lunacy commission, vi, 184, 185.
- Addison, Joseph, Secretary to Lord Sunderland, i, 79, 142; ii, 394 *n.*; iii, 198 *n.*; his relations with Swift, i, 80, 100, 101, 114, 131, 135, 138, 144, 165, 166, 168, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 186-190, 200 *n.*, 213 *n.*, 383-385; ii, 16 *n.*, 288, 394, 395; iii, 2, 3, 15, 16, 118, 433; v, 454,

- 466; vi, 171, 243; his acquaintance with Frowde, i, 79, 80; friendship with Steele, i, 80, 100, 166, 179, 186; Under Secretary for the Southern Department, i, 80 n.; and Philips, i, 99, 169; ill-health, i, 101; iii, 2, 15; character, i, 109, 131 n., 144, 146, 183; his genius, i, 113, 114; iii, 50, 51; Secretary to Lord Wharton, i, 131, 133, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 145, 151, 158, 159, 165, 166; iii, 119; and Archbishop King, i, 131; ii, 322 n.; and the Test Act, i, 131; forgets to forward Swift's correspondence, i, 132, 142, 143, 145, 171 n.; acquaintance with Hunter, i, 134, 135, 145, 146; and the remission of the First Fruits, i, 140, 147, 149; friendship with Bishop Ashe, i, 151, 158, 179; ii, 394; iii, 3, 16; offers Swift a passage, i, 158, 159; relations with Halifax, i, 165, 166; and Smith, i, 178; returning to Ireland with Wharton, i, 178; and Dawson, i, 178; at Finglas, i, 181; friendship with Tickell, i, 187 n.; iii, 198 n., 272; Keeper of the Records, i, 188; death, i, 188 n.; iii, 198 n.; his popularity with both parties, i, 188, 189; described by Mrs. Manley, i, 190; M. P. for Cavan, Lostwithiel, and Malmesbury, i, 190; leaves Ireland, i, 190; his Indian expectations, i, 190; his brother, i, 190 n.; his part in the quarrel between Swift and Steele, ii, 26, 27, 29, 30, 34, 35, 37-39; vi, 68; at Button's, ii, 154 n.; his spelling, ii, 169 n.; Secretary to the Regents, ii, 212; and Pope, ii, 286 n.; v, 396; Secretary of State, ii, 394, 395; iii, 198 n.; resigns his office, iii, 2, 3; and Craggs, iii, 3; living at Holland House, iii, 3; marries the Countess of Warwick, iii, 3 n., 4; at Bristol, iii, 15; esteem for Bishop Smalridge, iii, 16; his estate at Bilton, iii, 16; and Misson, iii, 93 n.; and Harley, iii, 117; and Budgell, iii, 150 n.; his maxim about fees, iii, 246; his *Cato*, iv, 18; and Walter Carey, iv, 219; travels in Italy, v, 370; and the *Spectator*, v, 446.
- Address to both Houses of Parliament*, iii, 239 n., 264, 266.
- Adelmare, Cesare, a Venetian Physician, iv, 332 n.
- Admiralty, Commissioner of the. *See* Berkeley, Dodington, Orford, Stratford.
- Admiralty Scheme, the, i, 116, 118, 121.
- Adreen, Mrs., of Cavan, v, 313.
- Advertisement by Dr. Swift in his Defence against Joshua, Lord Allen*, iv, 127 n.
- Advice to a Young Poet, Letter of*, iii, 75 n.
- Advice to Servants. See Directions to Servants.*
- Advice to the October Club*, i, 322 n.; v, 39.
- Æneas, iv, 228; vi, 2.
- Æschines, iv, 199.
- Æsculapius, iv, 442.
- Agamemnon, iv, 272.
- Agistment of tithes, Bill for the, v, 305 n., 322 n.
- Agrippa, iv, 94.
- Aix-la-Chapelle, iv, 97, 142.
- Ajax, iv, 27.
- Alberoni, Cardinal, his expedition against England, iii, 28, 50 n.
- Aldersgate Street, an inn in, iii, 422, 425.
- Aldrich, Alderman, v, 164, 165.
- Aldrich, Dr. Henry, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, v, 165, 399.
- Aldrich, Michael, son of Alderman, v, 165, 166.
- Alexander the Great, iii, 225; iv, 20, 352, 418; seal of, i, 154.
- Alexander, Archibald, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Alexandrine verses, v, 162, 361.
- Allen, John, of Colemine, iv, 466.
- Allen, Joshua, 2nd Viscount, account of, iv, 111 n.; his attack on Swift, iv, 126, 127, 151, 414; vi, 6 n.; called "Traulus," iv, 151, 229; v, 142; his marriage, iv, 151 n.; and Sir Edward Pearce, v, 459.
- Allen, Margaret, Viscountess, and Pope, iv, 111, 112, 126, 151; sets the fashion in Dublin, iv, 111 n.; connection with the Duke of Dorset, iv, 151, 279; her marriage, iv, 151 n.; attacked in *The Toast*, v, 459.
- Almanza, Battle of, i, 74, 99 n.
- Altorf, Hofmannus, v, 237.
- Amadeus Victor, Duke of Savoy, i, 245 n.; ii, 127-129.
- Amadis de Gaul, v, 241.
- "Amanda." *See* Queensberry, Duchess of.
- Ambrose, St., iv, 201, 225.
- America, the Church in, ii, 42.

- Amesbury, iv, 158, 241, 284, 293;
 Vicar of, iv, 336, 341.
- Anchises, vi, 2.
- Anderson, Joney, of Meath, iv, 469.
- Anglesey, Arthur, 1st Earl of, ii, 122 n.
- Anglesey, Arthur, 5th Earl of, and Archbishop King, i, 256 n., 271, 272; Joint Vice Treasurer and Treasurer of War in Ireland, i, 271 n.; politics, ii, 47, 55, 170 n., 171; relations with Swift, ii, 122 n.; account of, ii, 122 n.; and Dean Jephson, ii, 132 n.; expected to be Lord Lieutenant, ii, 170, 181; and the Dublin civic dispute, ii, 189, 194; on the Council of Regency, ii, 217 n., 231.
- Anglesey, John, 4th Earl of, ii, 122 n.
- Anjou, Duke of. *See* Philip.
- Anne, Empress of Russia, v, 343.
- Anne, Queen of England, i, 77 n., 91, 138 n., 357, 382 n.; ii, 11 n., 79, 362, 415; iii, 31, 141 n.; iv, 13 n., 229, 252, 253, 375, 379, 384; v, 37, 154 n., 157, 223; vi, 64, 92; her remission of the Irish First Fruits and the Crown Rents, i, 50, 92-95, 104, 130, 139, 140, 147, 191, 196, 197, 201-203, 205, 206, 210, 216, 218, 220, 222, 223, 230, 233, 267, 269, 270, 275-277; at Kensington, i, 74, 195; ii, 133 n., 158, 181, 192; her relations with Harley, i, 75, 265 n.; ii, 132 n., 137, 157 n., 196, 199-201, 408; and the Mashams, i, 75, 310 n., 313; ii, 151 n.; iii, 190; her relations with St. John, i, 75, 232; and Godolphin, i, 75, 191, 198, 229 n.; and the Irish referments, i, 83; opposes Somers' appointment as President of the Council, i, 85; and the Test Act, i, 97, 138; prorogues Convocation, i, 134; and the *Project*, i, 152; her health, i, 195, 240, 249, 266, 278, 322, 324; ii, 75, 79, 84, 121, 124, 126, 137, 146, 151, 152, 164, 200, 201, 206-209, 224; and the Duke of Shrewsbury, i, 195, 199; ii, 215; and Ormond, i, 199, 282; and Sir John Holland, i, 200; at Hampton Court, i, 218; ii, 57; at Windsor, i, 218, 264, 331, 335; ii, 57, 79, 92 n., 121, 126, 192; her attitude towards Swift, i, 218, 219, 335; ii, 21 n., 212; v, 106; and the Marlboroughs, i, 226, 314; death, i, 227 n.; ii, 138 n., 179 n., 197 n., 205, 206, 214-216, 227, 232, 236, 237, 242, 243, 255, 286, 321, 322, 349; iii, 114, 168 n., 190 n., 257, 390; iv, 104 n., 151 n., 180, 204, 225, 304, 306, 374; v, 16, 21 n., 141, 186, 332, 384, 385, 407, 408; vi, 21, 37, 41, 110; and Lord Peterborough, i, 237; address presented to her after Guiscard's attempt on Harley, i, 243; political attitude, i, 265 n.; ii, 224; her physicians, i, 266 n., and *see* Arbuthnot, Inglis, Radcliffe, Shadwell; and the *Academy*, i, 267; and the Irish Convocation, i, 269, 277, 283, 303; her liking for the Duchess of Somerset, i, 278 n., 279, 310 n., 313; ii, 21 n.; and the "Regium Donum," i, 301 n.; character, i, 310, 313; ii, 78 n., 170, 193, 196 n.; v, 332; and the Duke of Somerset, i, 310, 311, 313; and the Peace of Utrecht, i, 347; ii, 2, 14, 137; vi, 21; and Lady Oglethorpe, i, 355 n.; her Uncle Keightly, ii, 80 n.; and the death of Lady Carmarthen, ii, 93; entertaining on her birthday, ii, 126; at St. James', ii, 136, 145 n.; and the Electoral Prince of Hanover, ii, 137; opens Parliament, ii, 145 n.; and the office of Historiographer, ii, 161, 184, 185, 196; and the Spanish Treaty, ii, 171; her will, ii, 221 n., 232; compared with Lougarou, ii, 239; and the Pretender, ii, 255; promotes Dean Chetwode, ii, 290 n.; and the chorister Elford, iii, 130; on Brown's preaching, iii, 244 n.; paragraph relating to her inserted in *Gulliver*, iii, 373, 374; and Lord Charlemont, v, 455; statues of, vi, 88, 178; and *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, vi, 224; her maids of honour, *see* Chetwynd, Warburton.
- Anne, Princess Royal, daughter of George II, marries the Prince of Orange, v, 35, 47.
- Annesley, Francis, ii, 15, 424; account of, ii, 15 n.; friendship with Archbishop King, ii, 15 n., 28; iii, 391 n.; expected to be Chancellor of Ireland, ii, 181; legacy from Vanessa, iii, 463.
- Anstis, Sir John, Garter King of Arms, iv, 472.
- Answer of the Right Honourable William Pulteney, Esq., The*, iv, 248 n.
- Answer to Hamilton's Bawn, An*, iv, 303.

- Antenor, v, 129.
 Antichrist, iii, 246.
 Anthony, Dr., a Dublin mountebank, v, 448.
 Antony, iv, 35.
 Antony, Mr., ii, 412.
 Antrobus, Rev. John, cousin to Vanessa, iii, 137 n.
 Apicius, i, 163.
 Apollo, iii, 255; iv, 228; v, 284, 286.
Apollo and the Burning Glass, ii, 186.
Apollo's Edict, i, 17 n.
Apology to Lady Carteret, An, iii, 234 n.
 Arbuthnot, Anne, Nancy or Nanny, daughter of John, tries to get a chorister for Swift, iii, 342, 356; iv, 171; character, vi, 30, 130.
 Arbuthnot, Charles, second son of John, death, iv, 277, 378.
 Arbuthnot, George (1), brother of John, living at Rouen, iii, 17 n.; marries Peggy Robinson, iv, 11; account of, iv, 11 n.; loses his wife, iv, 102; sends Swift some Hermitage, iv, 116, 128, 134, 138, 141, 150, 379; sends wine to Lord Oxford, iv, 138; in China, iv, 138, 141, 150, 379.
 Arbuthnot, George (2), son of John, vi, 30, 42.
 Arbuthnot, Dr. John, ii, 5, 220; iii, 293, 334, 354, 370, 387, 447, 452, 453; iv, 3, 22, 52, 62, 114, 116, 138, 152, 177, 180, 220, 238, 302, 417; v, 5, 466; and Swift's snuff-box, i, 338 n.; friendship with Swift, i, 338 n.; ii, 18 n., 92, 93, 145 n., 150-153, 160, 162, 196, 197, 233, 245 n., 360, 389, 391; iii, 149, 176, 270, 292, 433; iv, 128, 129; v, 106-108; and Prior, ii, 18; a member of the Brothers' Club, ii, 18 n.; intimacy with the Mashams, ii, 18 n., 151-153, 158, 190, 195 n., 246, 297; iii, 181, 190 n.; in attendance on the Queen, ii, 92 n., 121 n., 207, 208, 232; his professional reputation, ii, 92 n.; and Gay, ii, 144, 149, 150, 152; iii, 149, 154; iv, 12, 51, 71, 72, 234, 366, 378; v, 7 n.; a member of the Scriblerus Club, ii, 145 n., 155, 159, 162, 163, 186, 418; his relations with Harley, ii, 158, 195, 196, 297; solicits Harley on behalf of Parnell, ii, 158; verses by, ii, 160; iii, 17 n.; recommends Swift for the office of Historiographer, ii, 184, 185, 196; v, 106; urges Swift to return to town, ii, 175, 206; iii, 284; offers to lend him money, ii, 185, 196; his satire on Whiston, ii, 197; his wit, ii, 197; iv, 330; his post at Chelsea Hospital, ii, 221, 246, 255, 278; his family, ii, 298; iii, 17, 181, 358; and Swift's choristers, ii, 298; iii, 340, 342; iv, 16, 21; v, 93, 106; friendship with Lewis, ii, 389, 391; iii, 284, 285; contrives "a lie" with Swift and others, ii, 407; takes his daughters and Nelly Bennet to France, iii, 17, 24; prescribes for Swift, iii, 22, 154, 180, 181; iv, 170, 171; v, 418; and the Roseingraves, iii, 22, 23; his anthem, iii, 22 n.; and the Marquise de Villette, iii, 23; his *Epitaph on Charteris*, iii, 63 n.; vi, 56 n., 208; his precautions against the Plague, iii, 124 n.; ill-health, iii, 181, 270, 278, 281, 283, 284; iv, 36, 37, 80, 86, 195, 221; v, 93, 106, 109, 117; and George I, iii, 181; and Stopford, iii, 240, 257, 382; his gaiety under pain, iii, 270; a slouch in his walk, iii, 278; his *Tables of Ancient Coins*, iii, 282, 283, 342, 352, 356; iv, 277 n.; his love of mischief, iii, 295; takes Swift to visit the Princess of Wales, iii, 303, 353 n.; iv, 248, 266; takes Swift a course through London, iii, 303 n.; and the Wild Boy, iii, 304; love of cards, iii, 337; iv, 102; attends Congreve, iii, 340, 343; his *Character of Swift*, iii, 343; attends Mrs. Howard, iii, 343; attends Pope, iii, 344; iv, 209, 211, 396; v, 117; introduces Swift to Lord Chesterfield, iii, 348 n.; dines with Lord Bolingbroke, iii, 357; his part in the *Ballad* on Lady Hervey, iii, 357; and *Gulliver*, iii, 359, 368; recommends Captain Innes to Swift, iii, 434; assists Pope with *περι βιβλίου*, iv, 4; at Sir W. Wyndham's, iv, 16; living in Cork Street, iv, 21; and Martha Blount, iv, 29; at Tunbridge, iv, 37; at Bath, iv, 37, 80; and Whaley, iv, 72; recommends Mason to Swift, iv, 80, 86; and Swift's wine, iv, 141; to subscribe to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; falsely reported to be physician to Queen Caroline, iv, 171;

- recommends Dr. Helsham to the Duke of Dorset, iv, 171; and Mrs. Barber, iv, 171; his *Brief Account of Mr. John Ginglycul's Treatise*, etc., iv, 199, 278; losses in his family, iv, 277, 378; v, 94; his inattention, iv, 316; and Pilkington, iv, 334, 377, 378; recommends Delamar to Swift, iv, 379; v, 93; living at Hampstead, v, 93, 107; small fortune, v, 93, 107; the *Prologue to Pope's Satires* dedicated to, v, 117; death, v, 140, 147, 167, 176; vi, 30, 38; self-indulgence, v, 167; and the *Miscellanies*, v, 216.
- Arbuthnot, Mrs. John, ii, 298; iii, 24; iv, 102.
- Arbuthnot, Robert, brother of John, living at Rouen, iii, 17, 434, 435; and Stopford, iii, 320, 326; marriage, iii, 320; in London, iii, 320; iv, 80; in danger of shipwreck, iii, 343, 350; suffers from rheumatism, iii, 358; transmits the Abbé des Fontaines's letter to Swift, iii, 398; loses his wife, iv, 102; invites Swift to Paris, iv, 369; v, 267, 268; recommends Delamar to Swift, iv, 370; and John Sican, v, 267; and Mr. Leslie, v, 269.
- Arbuthnot, Mrs. Robert, iii, 320 n.; iv, 102.
- Archdeacon family, iii, 124.
- Archimedes, i, 160.
- Archy, Swift's groom, iii, 146, 316.
- Ardagh, Bishop of. *See* Sheridan.
- Ardagh, see of, ii, 103 n., 104, 124, 132 n.
- Ardee, ii, 386.
- Ardallagh, Peter Ludlow's place. *See* Ludlow.
- Argument against abolishing Christianity*, An, i, 111 n.
- Argument against enlarging the Power of Bishops*, iii, 176 n.
- Argyll, John, 2nd Duke of, goes to Spain, i, 248-250; iii, 323; relations with Swift, i, 248 n.; ii, 5, 6; v, 352; at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball, i, 338 n.; position in Scotland, ii, 41, 213; iii, 415; vi, 178; at the Council, ii, 206 n., 215 n.; in opposition to Walpole, ii, 213; vi, 178; expected to be Lord Lieutenant, iv, 58; and the Bill for the Relief of Quakers, v, 346, 352.
- Ariosti, Attilio, composer, iii, 155.
- "Aristippus," *i.e.*, Bolingbroke, iii, 40, 41, 90, 111, 113; iv, 77.
- Aristotle, ii, 150; iii, 242.
- Armagh, Archbishop of. *See* Boulter, Boyle, Margetson.
- Armstrong, Augustine, i, 384 n.
- Armstrong, Mrs., i, 384.
- Army, a standing, i, 97; iii, 120, 121.
- Army Bill, The, iv, 370.
- Arnall, William, supposed to be "The British Journalist," iv, 9 n., 255.
- Arne, Thomas, composer, vi, 223, 224.
- Arran, Charles, Earl of, brother of 2nd Duke of Ormond, ii, 331, 415; iii, 69, 265; his residence, Bagshot Park, iii, 95; member of the Brothers' Club, iii, 95, 183; vi, 193 n.; has Ormond's estates, vi, 193; asked to forgo his claim to the Clonmel tithes, vi, 193-195.
- Arrom, Elizabeth. *See* Naylor.
- Artemidorus, v, 316.
- Arthur, iii, 104.
- Arthur, King, v, 35.
- Arundel, Richard, Surveyor of the Works, iii, 304.
- Arundel Marbles. *See* *Marmoræ*.
- Arundell, Henry, afterwards 5th Baron Arundell of Wardour, i, 238.
- Arundell of Trelice, John, 2nd Baron, i, 110 n.
- Arundell, Lady, widow of 2nd Baron Arundell of Trelice, marries 3rd Earl of Pembroke, i, 110, 115, 116, 381; iv, 65 n.
- Ascot Races, i, 278.
- Ashburnham, Lady, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Ormond, iii, 459.
- Ashby, George, of Quenby, M.P. for Leicester, i, 62 n.
- Ashe, Dillon, "Dilly," brother of St. George, Vicar of Finglas, i, 45; iv, 93 n.; account of, i, 42 n.; his puns, i, 42, 70 n., 155 n., 177, 374, 376, 377; ii, 380; friendship with Swift, i, 42 n., 90, 168 n.; marriage, i, 42 n., 376 n.; Archdeacon of Clogher, i, 42 n.; his acquaintance with Addison, i, 181; death, ii, 380 n.; iii, 18 n.
- Ashe, Mrs. Dillon, born St. George, i, 42 n., 376 n.
- Ashe, St. George, afterwards Bishop of Clogher, Swift's tutor, i, 42 n., 83 n.; relations with Swift, i, 90, 158, 159, 166, 171 n., 177, 382, 383, 386; ii, 306, 315, 316, 364, 404, 414; iii, 3;

- said to have married Swift to Stella, i, 42 n.; ii, 332 n.; rebuked by King, i, 42 n.; iii, 3 n.; Provost of Trinity College, i, 90 n., 362 n.; relations with Addison, i, 151, 158, 189; ii, 394; iii, 3; his character and attainments, i, 175; iii, 3 n.; wit and love of punning, i, 177, 178, 181-183, 374; and Mr. Smith, i, 178; dines at the Castle, i, 189; Secretary to Lord Paget at Vienna, i, 361; account of, i, 361 n.; mistake as to his Christian name, i, 362; and Swift's *testimonium*, i, 366; his *Dissertation on a Hare's Tooth*, i, 375 n.; conveys Pope's letter to Swift, ii, 282, 286, 287; promoted from Clogher to Derry, ii, 371, 375 n., 376; and Swift's intercepted correspondence, ii, 422, 423; politics, ii, 423 n.; death, iii, 3, 16, 102 n.; said to be ruled by his wife, iii, 3 n.; Berkeley tutor to his son, iii, 212 n.; and the borough of Clogher, iv, 401.
- Ashe, Mrs., wife of the Bishop, born St. George, i, 376 n.; iii, 3 n., 15.
- Ashe, Thomas (1), i, 375 n.
- Ashe, Mrs. Thomas (1), i, 375 n.
- Ashe, Captain Thomas (2), son of Thomas (1), of Ballygall, friendship with Swift, i, 90, 181 n., 274-280, 383; his puns, i, 155 n., 374, 380; entertains Stella at Ballygall, i, 181 n.; iv, 456; account of, i, 375 n.
- Ashe, The Dying Speech of Thomas*, i, 378-380.
- Ashe, Mrs. Thomas (2), i, 375 n.; iv, 456.
- Ashe, Will Vesey's rival, v, 194, 199.
- Ashefield, Dick and Nancy of, iv, 470.
- Ashenhurst, Mr. Ralph, i, 54, 55.
- Athanasius, iv, 40.
- Athenian Gazette, Mercury and Society, i, 6-8, 363.
- Athenry, Francis, 18th Lord, v, 370.
- Athlone, iii, 96.
- Athlone, Godart Ginkell, 1st Earl of, iii, 456.
- Athy, ii, 256, 271.
- Atterbury, Dr. Francis, disappointed of the post of Prolocutor to Convocation, i, 135; and Higgins, i, 202; his politics, i, 135 n.; ii, 170 n.; intimacy with Swift, i, 287 n., 288; ii, 21, 22, 300, 396, 397; iii, 168, 452, 453; iv, 6, 117; living at Chelsea, i, 287 n., 288; ii, 58; Dean of Carlisle, and of Christ Church, Oxford, i, 287, 288; ii, 68 n.; chaplain of Bridewell, i, 288; his influence and talents, i, 288 n.; ii, 306 n.; and the *Tale of a Tub*, ii, 22 n.; Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, ii, 57; relations with Dr. Freind, ii, 58; iii, 77 n.; expected to be Lord Privy Seal, ii, 170; relations with Oxford and Bolingbroke, ii, 228, 278, 312; iii, 77, 168; advises Swift, ii, 306-311; iii, 71, 72; has the gout, ii, 308; at Bromley, ii, 308; conflicts with his chapter, ii, 310; supposed to have written *English Advice to the Freeholders*, ii, 421 n.; impeached and committed to the Tower, iii, 137, 138, 141, 163; v, 215 n.; his dog, Harlequin, iii, 163 n.; exiled to the Continent, iii, 166, 168.
- Attilio. See Ariosti.
- Attorney-General for England. See Harcourt, Montagu, Northey, Ryder.
- Attorney-General for Ireland. See Brodrick, Domvile, Jocelyn, Levinge, Marlay, Rogerson, Tisdall.
- Augusta, Princess of Wales, marriage, v, 228, 229; visits Pope's Grotto, vi, 131 n.
- Augustus, Emperor, i, 68; iii, 175, 427; iv, 35, 229.
- Augustus II, King of Poland, i, 169.
- Augustus III, King of Poland, v, 233 n.
- Aumont, Duke d', ii, 6 n.; iii, 17.
- Aurora Borealis, ii, 381, 382.
- Austin, St., quoted, iv, 215, 237.
- Avicenna, iii, 349.
- Ay and No*, vi, 206, 207, 219.
- B . . . , probably P., i.e., Proudfoot, *q.v.*
- Babington, Richard, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Bacon, Francis, "Lord," iii, 41; v, 202.
- Bacon, Friar Roger, his *Cure of Old Age and Preservation of Youth*, iv, 215, 237.
- Bagshot Heath, iv, 451.
- Baker, Sir James, or Sir James of the Peak, iii, 102; vi, 244.
- Baker, Story of the*, ii, 407.
- Balaam, ii, 340.
- Balaguer, probably private secretary to Lord Carteret, iii, 269, 273, 275.
- Baldoyle, The Grange at, vi, 227; illustrated, v, 192.

- Baldwin, Dr. Richard, Provost of Trinity, ii, 384 n.; iii, 129 n.; vi, 117; and Stopford, iii, 289; Swift's dislike of, iii, 289 n.; v, 355, 380, 381; dispute with the Fellows, iii, 399; v, 112, 113; parentage, v, 112 n.; presents Address to George II, vi, 244.
- Ball, Right Hon. John T., quoted, i, 274 n.; iii, 244 n.
- Ballad, A Tory*, ii, 258, 265.
- Ballad on the English Dean, The*, iv, 483.
- Ballad upon Not-in-Game, A*, v, 39.
- Ballad to the Tune of the Cut-throat, A*, v, 187 n.
- Baller, Mrs. Katherine, Gay's sister, iv, 366, 393.
- Ballygall, Thomas Ashe's residence, i, 181 n., and see Ashe.
- Ballyspellan Spa, iv, 48; v, 202, 447; vi, 211.
- Balzac, Jean Louis, ii, 155; iv, 142; v, 251.
- Bandbox Plot, The, i, 350.
- Bangor, Bishop of. See Evans, Hoadly, Sherlock.
- Bangorian Controversy, The, ii, 387 n.
- Bank of England, ii, 238.
- Banks, A Letter to Sir Jacob*, i, 236, 237, and see Benson, Philalethes.
- Banks, Sir John, K. C. B., and the Commission on Swift's lunacy, vi, 181 n.
- Barber, Dr. Constantine, President of the Irish College of Physicians, son of Mary, iv, 22 n.; v, 389, 390.
- Barber, Alderman John, Swift's printer, ii, 139, 163, 214, 217, 418; iii, 21, 238; v, 39; vi, 204; goes to Windsor with Swift, i, 343, 344; acts as Swift's secretary, i, 343; acquaintance and transactions with Vanessa, i, 343, 344; ii, 209, 210; iii, 59, 63, 67; accompanies Swift to St. Albans, ii, 43, 45; forwards Swift's correspondence, ii, 43, 45, 201, 212, 229, 277, 314; vi, 161; prosecuted on account of *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, ii, 129-131, 138; and Harley, ii, 146; and Bolingbroke, ii, 146, 212, 277; v, 25, 385 n.; signs himself "Tyrant," ii, 146, 277; prints *Some Free Thoughts*, ii, 169, 175-177, 180, 181, 188, 192, 216, 231, 235; iii, 114; and Swift's financial affairs, ii, 172-174, 188; and Mrs. Rolt, ii, 172; and Mrs. Bradley, ii, 172; conveys wine from Bolingbroke to Swift, ii, 172; his intended visit to Letcombe, ii, 201, 205, 210; Swift's affection for, ii, 209; iii, 98 n.; v, 384, 385; vi, 91, 137, 160; urges Swift to return to town, ii, 213; called "Johannes Tonsor," ii, 229; his correspondence with Swift, ii, 283; iii, 452; vi, 204; publishes *Prior's Poems*, iii, 4 n.; his wealth and speculations, iii, 63, 67; v, 385; false rumour of his death, iv, 114; vi, 71; will, iv, 114 n.; v, 385 n.; goes abroad for his health, iv, 114 n., 350; v, 166; Sheriff, iv, 139; benefits by Colonel Charteris' conviction, iv, 139 n.; Lord Mayor of London, iv, 323, 333, 339, 349, 350, 354 n., 362, 422; v, 38; and Pilkington, iv, 323, 324, 327 n., 333, 334, 338, 339, 349, 350, 369, 384, 387; v, 24, 44-46, 67-69; his politics, iv, 350; and Barber the wool-draper, iv, 368; his name put to the *Royal Declaration in the Dunciad*, iv, 379; and Mary Barber, iv, 386, 387; v, 24, 204; profits of his place, iv, 386, 387; his ungrateful cousins, iv, 387; invitation to Swift, iv, 387; his house in Queen Square, iv, 387; v, 43; his house at Sheen, iv, 387; v, 385; meets the Duchess of Buckingham, iv, 387; and the Excise Bill, v, 8, 24; gives a dinner party, v, 25; stands for the City of London, v, 25, 38; retires into private life, v, 43; living at Goldsmiths' Hall, v, 43; sends Swift his portrait, v, 139; his kindness to Richardson, v, 140, 166, 384 n.; vi, 60, 69, 74, 75, 90, 113, 121; health, v, 140, 141, 166, 167, 204, 225, 226; vi, 26, 72, 89, 92, 113; strict regimen, v, 140, 166, 167; vi, 89; Governor of the Londonderry Society, v, 203, 204, 402, 429, 430; vi, 9, 25, 26, 60, 75; and Lord Tyrone, v, 203, 204; and Faulkner, v, 225; Lloyd recommended to, vi, 9, 15, 25; and Dunkin, vi, 60, 61, 70, 122-124, 131, 137; cheerful disposition, vi, 72; his credit in the City, vi, 87; losing his memory, vi, 88 n.; accident to, vi, 105, 106; and William Swift, vi, 112, 113, 123; presents Swift's portrait to the University of Oxford, vi, 119, 120; and Mrs. Whiteway, vi, 155.

- Barber, The Impartial History of Mr. John*, v, 385 n.
- Barber, The Life and Character of John*, v, 385 n.
- Barber, Jonathan, woollen draper of Dublin, iv, 22 n., 262, 263, 358 n., 368; v, 390.
- Barber, Mary, wife of Jonathan, her poems, iv, 22, 120, 121, 164, 264, 266, 403; v, 20 n., 21, 22, 27-29, 301, 388-391; and Gay, iv, 22, 211; account of, iv, 22 n.; her poverty, iv, 121; v, 301; and Mrs. Sican, iv, 121 n.; in England, iv, 149, 159 n., 243, 246; and Lady Betty Germain, iv, 164, 165, 188, 189, 200, 232, 262; solicits the Duke of Dorset for an employment, iv, 164, 165, 170; and Mrs. Pilkington, iv, 169 n.; v, 45, 46 n.; recommended to Arbuthnot, iv, 171; to contribute to *The Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 170; at Tunbridge, iv, 188; desires Pope to correct her verses, iv, 209, 214; canvasses for subscribers to her Poems, iv, 211, 232, 442; v, 175, 176, 443, 444; vi, 246; and Mrs. Dreincourt, iv, 221; and Lady Worsley, iv, 223, 332, 333, 355-357; and Mrs. Clayton, iv, 232, 243 n.; patronized by Dr. Delany, iv, 242, 243, 246 n.; v, 389; patronized by Lord Carteret, iv, 243; v, 68; and the forged letters to Queen Caroline, iv, 243, 246, 247, 356 n., 478; returns to Ireland, iv, 332; patronized by Mrs. Caesar, iv, 332, 358, 359; v, 19, 20; suffers from gout, iv, 358, 362; v, 8, 19, 21, 22, 45, 48, 175, 204, 215, 301, 318, 388, 389; recommended to Lord Mayor Barber, iv, 368, 386, 387; v, 24, 204; known to Lady Hertford, Lady Torrington and Lady Walpole, iv, 478; and Lord Orrery, v, 8, 27-29; her over-generosity, v, 9; returns to England, v, 19, 20, 22, 26, 45, 46 n.; recommended to Sir Andrew Fountaine, v, 21; and the Earl of Oxford, v, 22, 23, 443, 444; and the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, v, 41; and Mrs. Pratt, v, 42; and Edward Walpole, v, 44 n.; and Countess Granville, v, 46; and the Conduits, v, 47, 48; arrested and imprisoned on account of Swift's *Epistle to a Lady*, v, 58, 59 n., 214, 215, 297 n.; her verses on Mrs. John Spencer, v, 68 n.; to Lady E. Brownlow, v, 69 n.; to Mrs. Perceval, v, 127 n.; living at Bath, v, 297, 318, 388-390; and Mrs. Pendarves, v, 297, 301, 318; trying to sell Irish linen, v, 389; her children, v, 389-391; Dr. Mead's kindness to, v, 389; and Dr. Helsham, v, 390; Swift gives her his *Polite Conversation*, v, 390, 391; vi, 2 n., 39, 67 n., 158 n.; and John Temple, v, 391; and Dunkin, vi, 71.
- Barber, Rupert, painter, son of Mary, iv, 164; v, 389.
- Barclay, a young clergyman, iii, 54, 55, 142.
- "Bargains, Selling," iv, 352.
- Barlow, Alderman, Lord Mayor of Dublin, i, 260, 261.
- Barmby, Mrs. Grace, widow of Swift's gownmaker, iv, 384, 385.
- Barnard, Mrs., Swift's nurse tender, vi, 222 n.
- Barnevelt, Esdras, his *Key to the Lock*, iii, 357.
- Barnewall, Swift's tenant, ii, 351.
- Baron, engraver, iii, 4 n.
- Baron, Lord Chief. *See* Deane, Rochfort.
- Baronius, Caesar, his Works, iv, 77.
- Barrack, The. See Hamilton's Bawn.*
- Barrett's *Essay*, i, x, *et passim*.
- Barrington, Joshua, juryman on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 184, 185.
- Barrington, Viscount. *See* Shute.
- Barry, Clement, at Gaulstown with Swift, ii, 280; iii, 104; account of, ii, 280 n.; and the subscription to Prior's *Poems*, ii, 381.
- Barry, Sir James. *See* Santry.
- Barrymore, Earl of, vi, 243.
- Barton, Catherine, niece of Sir Isaac Newton, friendship with Swift, i, 143, 144, 384, 385; iv, 146; relations with Lord Halifax, i, 144 n.; incorrectly said to be married to Colonel Barton, i, 144 n.; married to John Conduitt, iv, 146; v, 47, 48; her changed appearance, iv, 146; and Mrs. Barber, v, 47, 48.
- Barton, Colonel, i, 144 n.
- Barton, Jeff, ii, 413.
- Barton, Rev. John, Vicar of Geddington, ii, 412.
- Bassiano, medallist of Padua, i, 154.
- Bateman, Lady, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, iv, 341.
- Bateman, Mrs., married to Erasmus

- Lewis, iii, 285; iv, 32, 94; and Knightley Chetwode, iv, 94; death, v, 364, 411; vi, 51.
- Bath, its waters, i, 136; iv, 32, 35, 37; v, 37, 389; society at, iv, 32; v, 318, 391.
- Bath, Earl of. *See* Granville, Pulteney.
- Bath, Marquis of, his MSS. at Longleat, i, ix.
- Bath, Order of the, iii, 361, 362.
- Bath and Wells, Bishop of. *See* Wynne.
- Bathurst, Allen, 1st Baron and Earl ii, 412; iii, 433; iv, 62, 72, 91, 114, 127, 128, 177, 196, 220, 417; v, 5, 466; vi, 75, 89, 171, 203, 204; at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball, i, 338 *n.*; Commissioner of the Treasury, ii, 193; one of Queen Anne's twelve peers, ii, 193 *n.*; lack of *sang froid*, iii, 32; a member of the Brothers' Club, iii, 45, 123 *n.*; love of gardening and farming, iii, 145 *n.*, 337; v, 252; vi, 31; and Arbuthnot, iii, 154; and Pope, iii, 283; iv, 3, 36 *n.*; v, 78, 117; and Gay, iii, 312; iv, 15; his house at Richings, iii, 312 *n.*; iv, 198, 216; his house at Oakley Wood, Cirencester, iii, 312, 353; iv, 155-157, 162-164, 168, 410-412; v, 14, 34, 252; vi, 13, 107, 132, 178; entertaining Bolingbroke, iii, 323; Swift's letters addressed to, iii, 403; ill, ii, 448; iv, 160, 162; hoping for employment, iv, 12; takes charge of Gay and Swift's money, iv, 32, 51, 71, 108, 112, 124, 133, 152, 174, 206, 210, 214, 233, 236; relationship to Shirley, iv, 94; friendship with Swift, iv, 123 *n.*, 162, 163, 166, 167, 411, 412; v, 305, 397; vi, 38, 65, 101; moral character, iv, 125 *n.*, and the *Modest Proposal*, iv, 124, 125; his large family, iv, 124, 125, 238; Swift sends him usquebaugh, iv, 134, 152; speaks on the Pension Bill, iv, 139; wit, iv, 166, 167; in St. James' Square, iv, 170; subscribes to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; dines with Tonsen at Barnes, iv, 206; jesting advice to Swift, iv, 214-216, 235-238; speaks for Kyves, iv, 302; attends Shaw's appeal to the House of Lords, iv, 410; asked to attend the case of *Dublin v. Vernon*, iv, 411; and Mrs. Pendarves, iv, 436; v, 14, 34, 89, 96; entertains Swift in his wood-house, v, 34, 35; riding, v, 67; youthfulness, v, 67; his sons, v, 346; and the Bill for the Relief of Quakers, v, 346, 351; attends the Delane case, v, 428; at Scarcliffe Farm, vi, 54; entertains the Prince of Wales at Cirencester, vi, 107; erecting statues to Queen Anne, vi, 178.
- Bathurst, Lady, iv, 124, 125, 168-170, 238; v, 34, 253.
- Bathurst, Lord Chancellor, son of Allen, Lord, iv, 125 *n.*
- Battle of the Books, The*, i, 183 *n.*; ii, 44 *n.*; v, 234.
- Bays, John Dryden, v, 213.
- Beach, Mary, Pope's nurse, iii, 259, 270; v, 161 *n.*
- Beach, Thomas, his *Eugenio*, v, 161-163; vi, 246.
- Bearskins, Sellers of, or Bears (of Stock Exchange), ii, 156.
- Beauclerk, Lord Vere, afterwards Baron Vere of Hanworth, son of the Duke of St. Albans, marries Miss Chambers, iv, 427 *n.*; v, 229 *n.*, 349, 353.
- Beauclerk, Lady Vere. *See* Chambers.
- Beaufort, Henry, 2nd Duke of, ii, 141; v, 466.
- Beaufort, Dr., v, 38, 363.
- Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, v, 258.
- Beaumont, Sir George, i, 153 *n.*, 384.
- Beaumont, Joe, linendraper of Trim, Swift's friendship with, i, 383, 385, 386; ii, 279, 282, 299, 332, 382; account of, ii, 54 *n.*; rallies Archdeacon Walls, ii, 64, 65; play upon his name, ii, 64; supposed grief for Wharton, ii, 276; and the longitude, ii, 276; goes mad, ii, 295, 367, 368, 380; iii, 129; unpopularity, ii, 344; Swift gives him money for a perwig, ii, 368; temporary recovery, iii, 11, 253; in London, iii, 129; borrows money from Swift, iii, 253; v, 72; sells Swift a horse and linen, iii, 266; death, v, 72; debts, v, 72; loan from Bishop Stearne, v, 72; and Turner, v, 99 *n.*
- Beaumont, Mrs., supposed to be jealous of Mrs. Walls, ii, 64.
- Beautiful Young Nymph going to Bed, A*, v, 51, 53.
- Beauvais, engraver, iii, 4 *n.*
- Bede, quoted, iii, 278.
- Bedford, John,; 4th Duke of, v, 319.
- Bedlam, iii, 129; iv, 68, 345, 346; vi, 244.

- Bedier, Miss, probably Mrs. Janssen's companion, iv, 13.
- Behold a Proof of Irish Sense*, vi, 219.
- Belcamp, the residence of the Grattans, ii, 262, 263 n.; vi, 227; illustrated, v, 295.
- Bellamont, Charles Coote, Earl of, i, 281 n.; v, 41 n.
- Bellamont, Richard Coote, Earl of, i, 281 n.; v, 271 n.
- Bellew, Lady, born Wentworth, wife of 2nd Lord, v, 7 n.; arrested with her son-in-law, Denis Kelly, iii, 140 n.
- Bellew, Lady, "Mira," wife of 3rd Lord, connection with Sir Thomas Smyth, and contest with his nephew, William King, v, 458-460.
- Bellew, Richard, 3rd Lord, v, 458.
- Bellew, Walter, 2nd Lord, v, 7 n., 38 n., 458.
- Belouunce, Bishop of Marseilles, v, 107, 177.
- Bennet, Alderman of Cork v, 452.
- Bennett, Sir Henry, afterwards Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, i, 371, 372.
- Bennet, Nelly, a beauty, taken to France by Arbuthnot, iii, 17, 24.
- Bennet's Bridge Fair, v, 82.
- Benson, Swift's tenant, ii, 282.
- Benson, Rev. Edward, married to Jane Winder, iv, 282 n.
- Benson, Robert, afterwards Lord Bingley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, i, 322, 323; ii, 216, 295; v, 466; account of, i, 323 n.
- Benson, William, his *History or Present State of Sweden in a Letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, i, 236, 237.
- Bentinck, Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Portland, vi, 83.
- Bentinck, Lady Henrietta Cavendish, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Portland, vi, 83.
- Bentinck, Lady Isabella or Bell, daughter of the 1st Duke of Portland, marries Lord Dorchester, ii, 193.
- Bentinck, Lord William Henry Cavendish, afterwards 3rd Duke of Portland, vi, 82.
- Beresford, Sir Marcus. *See* Tyrone.
- Beresford, Sir Tristram, vi, 52 n.
- Beresford Ghost Story, The, v, 203 n.
- Berghaine, Joseph de, Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, v, 236.
- Berkeley, Charles, 2nd Earl of, Lord Justice in Ireland, i, 5 n., 31 n., 36, 117 n.; iv, 283, 361, 377 n.; v, 351 n.; patronage of Swift, i, 31 n., 33 n., 36, 71, 151, 152, 383-385; iv, 361; v, 351 n., 466; contemplated mission to Vienna, i, 117, 131, 132; envoy to Madrid, i, 117 n.; envoy to Holland, i, 117 n.; failing health, i, 132; on the *Project for the Increase of Morality*, i, 151, 152; his place at Cranford, i, 152; iii, 341 n.; character, i, 152 n.; iv, 199; inscription for his monument, i, 237, 238, 389; death, i, 237 n.; expected to be Ambassador to the Porte, v, 457.
- Berkeley, Countess of, daughter of Baptist, Viscount Campden, i, 36, 237 n., 238 n.; her cat, i, 71; the *Project*, etc., dedicated to, i, 110 n.; and the *Meditation on a Broomstick*, i, 115 n.; friendship with Swift, i, 237 n., 385; asks Swift to write the inscription for her husband's monument, i, 238, 389; correspondence with Lady Hatton, i, 238 n.; her piety, iv, 199, 200; and Lady Betty's age, iv, 323.
- Berkeley, Lady Elizabeth or Betty. *See* Germain.
- Berkeley, Hon. George, son of the 2nd Earl, marries Lady Suffolk, v, 205, 228, 265, 353, 366, 414; account of, v, 205 n.
- Berkeley, Dr. George, friendship with Swift, i, 16 n.; iii, 212 n., 213; breakfast with Addison and Swift, ii, 16 n.; in Italy as chaplain to Lord Peterborough, ii, 129 n.; iii, 212; iv, 117; v, 122 n., 256; his fancies about his health, ii, 247; his philosophy and scholarship, ii, 247; iii, 262; returns to England, ii, 247 n.; iii, 145 n.; and Arbuthnot, ii, 247 n.; introduced to the Ormonds by Swift, ii, 277; in London, iii, 144, 145, 212; at Trinity College, Dublin, iii, 145 n.; his scheme for a University in the Bermudas, iii, 166, 213, 226 n., 259, 262, 283, 337, 358, 463; iv, 291 n.; v, 127 n.; Dean of Derry, iii, 212; recommended to Lord Carteret, iii, 212, 213; Dean of Dro-more, iii, 212 n.; his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, iii, 212 n.; tutor to young Ashe, iii, 212 n.; executor to Vanessa, iii, 213 n., 306 n., 462-466; v, 122 n.; and Bolingbroke,

- iii, 259; and Father Malebranche, iii, 259; and the Earl of Oxford, iii, 260, 262; and the Bishop of London, iii, 346; his *Alciphron*, iv, 291, 295, 302, 321; and Judge Wainwright, v, 102 n.; appointed Bishop of Cloyne, v, 255 n., 349; kindness to Donnellan, v, 255 n., 256.
- Berkeley, George Monck, his *Literary Relics*, i, 15 n.
- Berkeley, Hon. Henry, son of the 2nd Earl, iv, 188; death, v, 353.
- Berkeley, James, 3rd Earl of, in command of the Fleet, ii, 211, 213, 216; account of, ii, 211 n.; lets Cranford to Bolingbroke, iii, 341, 397; loses his post, iii, 397 n.; and Lord Bolingbroke's usquebaugh, iv, 47; in Walpole's administration, iv, 375; in France, v, 353.
- Berkeley, Lady Mary. *See* Chambers.
- Berkeley, Lady Penelope, daughter of 2nd Earl of, her monument, iv, 283, 284, 323, 377, 389.
- Berkeley, Lady Theophila, daughter of the 1st Earl, wife of Robert Nelson, i, 152 n.
- Berkeley of Stratton, John, 3rd Baron, i, 171 n.
- Berkeley of Stratton, wife of John, 3rd Baron. *See* Temple.
- Berkeley of Stratton, William, 4th Baron, i, 171; ii, 212 n., 230 n.
- Berkeley of Stratton, Lady, wife of 4th Baron. *See* Temple.
- Bermudas, Scheme for a University at the, iii, 213; *and see* Berkeley, George.
- Bernage, acquaintance with Swift and Stella, i, 382, 383; and George Arbuthnot, iv, 11 n.
- Bernard, Francis, Irish Judge, iii, 160, 161, 164 n., 187, 188; account of, iii, 160 n.
- Berri, Charles, Duc de, grandson of Louis XIV, i, 328, 333, 334.
- Bertie, Peregrine, i, 193 n.
- Berwick, Duke of, iii, 24.
- Berwick, Rev. Edward, his copy of the correspondence between Swift and Vanessa, iii, 466, 467; his Mezzotint of Bindon's portrait of Swift, vi, 119 n.
- Bethel, Hugh, M.P. for Pontefract, iii, 22, 23, 337.
- Bettesworth, Serjeant Richard, quarrel with Swift, iii, 465; v, 54-57, 120, 304 n., 326, 327, 446-448; vi, 115; account of, v, 53 n.; and Griffith, v, 304 n.; supposed love song, v, 461, 462.
- Boughem, Jean Ferdinand de, Bishop of Antwerp, v, 236.
- Bibury, in Gloucestershire, iii, 333, 347.
- "Bickerstaffe, Isaac." *See* Toller.
- Billington, Martha, daughter of Sir William, married to Abraham Swift (1), vi, 215.
- Billington, Sir William, vi, 215.
- Bindon, Charles, his portrait of Swift, v, 194, 201; vi, 57 n., 119, 156.
- Bindon, David, iv, 285.
- Bindon, Samuel, vi, 224.
- Bindon, Thomas, afterwards Dean of Limerick, ii, 316.
- Bingham, John, afterwards Sir John, iv, 25.
- Bingley, Lord. *See* Benson.
- Birch, Rev. John, Vicar of Wantage, ii, 211.
- Birch, Dr. Peter, Archdeacon of Westminster, iii, 431.
- Birch, Rev. William, of Roscrea, v, 129.
- Birkhead, Mr., of Leicester, i, 6.
- Birr, now Parsonstown, iii, 228.
- Birt, Mr., vi, 80.
- Birthday Ode, on how to write, a, iv, 52 n.
- Bishops' Lands*, iv, 484.
- Bishops' Leases, On*, iv, 484.
- Bisse, Dr. Philip, Bishop of St. David's, afterwards of Hereford, i, 187; iii, 102; v, 466.
- "Bites," i, 40, 70 n., 115 n.
- Blachford, Major, v, 114.
- Blachford, Rev. John, son of Major, iv, 212, 213; v, 114-116; account of, iv, 212 n.
- Blachford, Mrs., v, 115, 116.
- Blackall, Dr. Offspring, Bishop of Exeter, i, 163.
- Blackmore, Sir Richard, ii, 329 n.; iii, 22; v, 420.
- Black Swan, Holborn, the, ii, 407.
- Blandford, William, Marquess of, son of Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, vi, 30 n.
- Blandford, Lady, widow of the Marquess, married to Sir W. Wyndham, vi, 30, 38.
- Blayney, Cadwallader, 7th Lord, insults Swift, v, 4 n.; vi, 144 n.
- Blayney, Charles, 8th Lord, vi, 145.
- Blayney, Lady. *See* Touchet.
- Blenheim, Battle of, i, 113 n., 134 n., 143, 382 n.

- Blessington, Earl of. *See* Mountjoy.
- Blount, Edward, iv, 114.
- Blount, Martha, or Patty, and Pope, iii, 334, 448, 449; iv, 14, 102 *n.*; v, 243 *n.*; friendship with Swift, iii, 382, 433; iv, 5, 34, 91, 152, 196, 220, 333, 337, 417; v, 53, 397, 411; vi, 94, 101; and Gay, iii, 448; iv, 71, 72, 221; character, iv, 5, 62; v, 5; vi, 130; her clothes, iv, 13-15, 28, 333, 356, 357; in London, iv, 13; living at Petersham, iv, 13, 28; circle of acquaintance in Surrey, iv, 13; ill-health, iv, 14, 28, 29; relations with her mother and sister, iv, 14, 102, 357; v, 5; and Dr. Arbuthnot, iv, 29; and Mrs. Howard, iv, 29, 221; Pope's *Epistle* to, iv, 394, 396, 417.
- Blount, Mrs., mother of Martha and Teresa, iv, 13 *n.*, 14, 102, 357.
- Blount, Teresa, iv, 13 *n.*, 14, 102, 357.
- Blunderful Blunder of Blunders, The*, iii, 125 *n.*
- Boate, Mr. Justice, ii, 243 *n.*
- Boileau, his *Lutrin*, iv, 8 *n.*; his *Les Folies Humaines*, v, 268.
- Bolingbroke, Paulet, 3rd Earl of, ii, 412.
- Bolingbroke, Viscount. *See* St. John.
- Bolingbroke, Lady. *See* Villette, Winchcombe.
- Bolingbroke, Swift's horse, ii, 44, 45, 242, 263, 280-282, 305, 306.
- Bolton, Charles, 2nd Duke of, Lord Justice, i, 48 *n.*; his marriage to the Duke of Monmouth's daughter, i, 48 *n.*; Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, ii, 212, 216; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ii, 390; iii, 1 *n.*, 65 *n.*, 81 *n.*, 150 *n.*
- Bolton, Charles, 3rd Duke of, runs away with Lavinia Fenton, iv, 16 *n.*, 37.
- Bolton, Duchess of, i, 48 *n.*; *and see* Fenton.
- Bolton, Dr. John, Dean of Derry, Vicar of Laracor, i, 33, 50 *n.*; ii, 354, 372; account of, i, 33 *n.*; death, iii, 212 *n.*
- Bolton, Theophilus, Bishop of Elphin and Clonfert, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, i, 33 *n.*; ii, 72; iii, 388 *n.*; relations with Swift, ii, 72, 307, 392, 393; iii, 138, 162, 163, 165, 166, 173; v, 156-158; 172-174, 202; Chancellor to St. Patrick's Cathedral, ii, 257, 307, 315 *n.*; nominated to the Parishes of St. Nicholas Without and St. Werburgh, ii, 257, 258, 323; friendship with Cope, ii, 392, 393; iii, 138; made Bishop of Clonfert, iii, 138, 173; translated to Elphin, iii, 235; and Sheridan, iii, 235, 271; opposes Wood's Halfpence, iii, 335 *n.*; legacy from Vanessa, iii, 463; v, 156; and William Dunkin, v, 156; opposition to the Bills of Residence and Division, v, 156 *n.*; attempted restoration of Cashel Cathedral, v, 157, 158, 173, 174; his legal knowledge, v, 157 *n.*; inaugurates a water supply for Cashel, v, 173 *n.*; Faulkner recommended to, v, 221, 222.
- Bomford, Lawrence, of Clonmahon, ii, 54.
- Bond, Mr., v, 312.
- Bononcini, Giovanni Battista, composer, iii, 155; v, 181 *n.*
- Booth, Langham, son of Henry, 1st Earl of Warrington, i, 161.
- Bophin, John, Lord (Baron Bourke of Bophin), afterwards 9th Earl of Clanricarde, i, 177.
- "Borachio." *See* Higgins.
- Borough. *See* Bouhereau.
- Boston, New England, a newspaper from, iv, 17, 29.
- Bothmar, Hanoverian Envoy, ii, 208; his *Memorial*, i, 313.
- Bouch, John, an informer, ii, 416.
- Bouhereau, Elias, of La Rochelle, iii, 200 *n.*
- Bouhereau, or Borough, Rev. John, son of Elias, iii, 200.
- Boulter, Hugh, Archbishop of Armagh, iii, 203 *n.*, 278 *n.*; his Irish patronage, iii, 289 *n.*, 290, 308 *n.*, 309-311; his power in Ireland, iii, 290; relations with Swift, iii, 304 *n.*; v, 38 *n.*; vi, 46 *n.*, 206, 207; opposition to Delany, iii, 321 *n.*; and Archbishop King, iii, 378; and the Archbishopric of Cashel, iii, 388; and Baldwin's dispute with Trinity College, iii, 399 *n.*; and Thomas Wyndham, iv, 63 *n.*; on the scarcity in Ireland, iv, 67 *n.*; concern for lunatics, iv, 345; and Pilkington, v, 45; on Whitcombe's dispensation, v, 123 *n.*; on Dean Crosse, v, 232 *n.*; and the Irish Coinage, v, 432; vi, 54, 206, 207; refuses to dine with Lord Mayor Walker, vi, 206.
- Boulter, Mrs., v, 45, 380.
- Bourbon, Duke of, his stables at Chantilly, v, 268.
- Bourbon family, i, 328, 330, 346; ii, 2.

- Bourke, Michael, son of Lord Bophin, i, 77, 78, 81.
- Bourke of Bophin, Baron. *See* Bophin.
- Bourne, David, of Trim, iv, 459.
- Bowes, John, afterward Chancellor of Ireland, v, 460.
- Bowry, Tom, Pope's waterman, iii, 348, 382; waterman to Queen Caroline, iv, 9.
- Bowsman, George, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Bowyer, William, printer, and the copy-right of Swift's writings, iv, 286 *n.*, 342 *n.*, 365, 480-482; vi, 223.
- Boy, A Wild, iii, 304.
- Boy Patriots, The, v, 315, 316, 321, 410; vi, 100 *n.*
- Boyer, Abel, his *Political State of Great Britain*, ii, 79 *n.*
- Boyle, Bellingham, M.P., on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182-185.
- Boyle, Mrs. Bellingham. *See* Hoadly.
- Boyle, Henry, afterwards Lord Carleton, Secretary of State, i, 195; iv, 10 *n.*
- Boyle, Michael, Archbishop of Armagh, i, 36 *n.*, 103; iii, 391; and the First Fruits, i, 108, 383.
- Boyle, Mr., v, 456.
- Boyle, Hon. Robert, i, 115 *n.*
- Boyne, Battle of the, i, 26 *n.*, 36 *n.*, 41 *n.*, 227 *n.*, 299 *n.*
- Boyse, Rev. Joseph, his sermon burned, i, 301; ii, 338.
- Brabazon, Chaworth, Lord, afterwards 6th Earl of Meath, iv, 468.
- Brabazon Lodge, New Hall or Tara Hall, ii, 273; iv, 468.
- Brackenstown, Lord Molesworth's seat, iii, 2 *n.*
- Brackley or Bradley, Mrs., ii, 172.
- Bracton, Henry de, quoted, iv, 216.
- Bradley. *See* Brackley.
- Bradshaw, shopkeeper in Dublin, v, 323.
- Brampton Castle, ii, 198; iii, 178.
- Bramston, Rev. Joseph, his *Art of Politics*, iv, 331.
- Brandeth, toyman, ii, 210.
- Brandreth, Rev. John, chaplain to the Duke of Dorset, iv, 195, 232; recommended to Swift, iv, 195, 205, 218, 232, 314; his preferences, iv, 195 *n.*, 205, 311; and Harte's *Roman History*, iv, 209; appointed Dean of Armagh, iv, 311; his optimism, iv, 311-313; invited to dine at the Deanery, iv, 314.
- "Brat, The." *See* Tickell.
- Bray, Vicar of, v, 421.
- Brennan, Richard, Swift's footman, vi, 179.
- Brent, Anne, daughter of Mrs. *See* Ridgeway.
- Brent, Mrs., superintends Swift's household, ii, 149; iii, 253, 418; iv, 54, 57, 58, 236; looks after his wine, ii, 256, 257, 281, 282, 314, 346, 356, 405; iii, 100, 253; iv, 62, 236; buys his tobacco, ii, 368; looks after his clothes, ii, 380, 381; iii, 99; iv, 42, 43, 48; a presbyterian, iii, 11; iv, 58, 219; her interest on Swift's loans to tradespeople, iii, 98, 99; iv, 56; her silver comfit box, iii, 104; and Sheridan, iii, 146, 147; v, 83, 84; tells Swift of his name being coupled with Vanessa's, iii, 343; account of, iv, 30 *n.*; Mrs. Swift lodges with, iv, 30 *n.*; will, iv, 30 *n.*; gone into the country, iv, 47; her recipe for making mead, iv, 47; refuses to take medicine, iv, 48; nicknamed "Sir Robert Walpole," iv, 194, 236; v, 406 *n.*; message to Pope, iv, 219; and Lady Betty Germain, iv, 268, 269; impediment in her speech, v, 83; illness and death, v, 170 *n.*, 175.
- Brereton, iii, 318.
- Breton, Colonel William, i, 141 *n.*
- Bridewell, i, 288; iv, 22.
- Bridges, Gabriel, Vicar of Thorpe Mandeville, i, 372.
- Bridges, John, Northamptonshire historian, ii, 412.
- "Bridges, Samuel." *See* Ford.
- Bright, ii, 239.
- Brihuega, Battle of, i, 226.
- Brinsden, oculist to Prince Eugene, ii, 228, 278.
- Bristol, Bishop of. *See* Boulter, Robinson, Smalridge.
- Bristol Hot Wells, iv, 441, 442.
- Britannia's Tears*, etc., Ballad, ii, 265 *n.*
- Britannicus, iv, 471.
- "British Journalist, The," supposed to be William Arnall, iv, 9.
- Brodrick, Alan, afterwards Viscount Midleton, Irish Speaker, i, 83 *n.*; ii, 257 *n.*; and the Repeal of the Test Act, i, 83, 88; account of, i, 83 *n.*; iii, 65 *n.*; appointed Chief Justice, i, 185 *n.*, 229; removed from his office, ii, 81 *n.*; Irish Speaker a second time, ii, 81, 91, 117, 316 *n.*; Chancellor of Ireland, ii, 244 *n.*; iii, 65;

- 83; v, 412; created Lord Midleton, ii, 370 n.; iv, 469; a Lord Justice, ii, 370 n.; iii, 82, 164; and Waters, iii, 65; and Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use*, etc., iii, 115, 116; and Archbishop King, iii, 203 n.; a Drapier's Letter addressed to, iii, 224 n.; and Whitshed, iv, 227; and Chetwode, iv, 227; resigns the Chancellorship, iv, 227 n.; his wives, v, 412 n.
- Brodrick, Thomas, brother of Alan, i, 88, 148.
- Bromeston, Dorothy, wife of William Swift (1), vi, 215, 216.
- Bromley, Bishop of Rochester's Palace at, ii, 308.
- Bromley, William, Speaker, i, 117 n.; v, 466; Secretary of State, ii, 57, 67, 80, 116, 144, 189, 199, 202; his adherence to Oxford, ii, 170, 171; M.P. for Oxford University, iv, 286; death, iv, 286 n.
- Brooke, Henry, author of *The Fool of Quality*, iii, 147.
- Brooke, the Misses, of Cavan, v, 367.
- Brooke, Mrs., born Digby, mother of Henry, iii, 147 n.
- Brooke, Rev. R. S., author of "Recollections of the Irish Church," vi, 244.
- Brown, Sir John, his daughters, i, 188 n.
- Brooking, Richard, ii, 243 n., 250 n.
- Brothers' Club, The. *See* Society.
- Brown, Richard, translator of Roger Bacon's *Cure of Old Age*, iv, 215.
- Browne, clerk to Dawson, ii, 49, 50.
- Browne, John, afterwards Sir John, his conflict with the Irish House of Commons, iv, 24-27, 82 n.; account of, iv, 24 n.; obtains a seat in the Irish House of Commons, iv, 27 n.; his monument to Swift, iv, 27 n., 463, 464.
- Browne, Dr. Peter, Provost of Trinity, i, 83, 119; raised to the see of Cork, i, 83 n., 180, 188 n.; condemnation of drinking to the dead, i, 119 n.; iii, 246; relations with Swift, i, 119, 120; character and learning, i, 119 n.; iii, 244; friendship with Stella, i, 120 n.; iv, 453; his *Answer to Toland's Christianity not Mysterialous*, iii, 244; and Marsh, iii, 244 n.; and Sheridan, iii, 246; iv, 42; and Dr. Felton, iv, 313; death, v, 232 n.
- Brownlow, Lady Elizabeth or Betty. *See* Hamilton.
- Brownlow, John. *See* Tyrconnel.
- Brownlow, William, M.P. for Armagh, married to Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, ii, 45 n., 393; v, 182, 183.
- Brundusium, oysters of, i, 376.
- Brunswick, Duke of. *See* George.
- Brutus, iii, 220; iv, 20, 142, 460; v, 129.
- Bruyère, Jean de la, iv, 8.
- Brydges, James, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon and 1st Duke of Chandos, Paymaster of the Forces, i, 74, 253 n.; Commissioner to the Treasury, ii, 193; his musical establishment at Canons, iii, 23, 46; relations with Swift, iii, 194 n.; v, 87 n., 97, 138; "Timon" in Pope's *Essay on Taste*, iv, 110 n., 279; correspondence with Chetwode, iv, 472; and the Clarendon MSS., v, 87, 88, 97, 109, 110; vi, 64, 65; marries Lady Davall, v, 319.
- Bubb, George Dodington. *See* Dodington.
- Bubb, Jeremias, marries Miss Dodington, i, 102 n.
- Buccleuch, Duke of, supposed letters from Swift in his possession, ii, 409.
- Buccleuch, Duchess of. *See* Monmouth.
- Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, ii, 60; iii, 41; iv, 160, 161.
- Buckingham, or Buckinghamshire, John Sheffield, Duke of, Lord Steward, i, 239; relations with Swift, i, 239; iii, 74 n.; President of the Council, ii, 171, 213 n.; called "John of Bucks," ii, 171; death, iii, 74, 112; and Chetwode, iv, 96; builds Buckingham House, iv, 387 n.
- Buckingham, Duchess of, iv, 387; v, 152, 153; account of, iv, 387 n.
- Buckingham House, iv, 387 n.; vi, 51.
- Buckley, Samuel, publishes Dr. Mead's *History of Thuanus*, iv, 112, 132, 133, 148; v, 463.
- Bucknill, Dr., on Swift's malady, i, 129 n.; iii, 53 n., 414 n.
- Budgell, Eustace, on Swift's intercepted correspondence, ii, 422; Under Secretary of Ireland, ii, 422 n.; iii, 150, 198 n.; loses his appointment, iii, 150 n.; relationship to Addison, iii, 150 n.; desires Swift's interest, iv, 197; joins the Opposition and writes for *The Craftsman*, iv, 197 n.
- Buissiere, Paul, Harley's surgeon, i, 240.

- Bull-baiting, i, 29 n.
- Bullock, Isaac, candidate for the Blue Coat School, v, 131.
- Bumbastos. *See* Hohenheim.
- Bunyan, John, iii, 356.
- Burges, John, his *Essay on the Waters and Air of Ballyspellan*, iv, 48 n.
- Burghfield, the living of, iv, 320, 335, 352.
- Burgin, Archdeacon, bankrupt tradesman of Dublin, iii, 124.
- Burlington, Richard, 3rd Earl of, his patronage of Gay, iii, 145, 157; iv, 152, 280; v, 466; and Berkeley, iii, 212; in France, iii, 353; his ancestor's monument in St. Patrick's, iv, 82, 83, 112, 113, 128, 141, 143, 150, 177, 238, 280, 296, 310 n.; to subscribe to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; relations with Lady Catherine Jones, iv, 310, 311; selling his estates to pay his debts, vi, 72.
- Burlington, Countess of, iv, 141 n., 280 n.
- Burlington House, iii, 145, 353.
- Burne, Davy, ii, 381, 386-388.
- Burnet, Alexander, iv, 403, 415.
- Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, his speech against the Bill against Occasional Conformity, i, 39 n.; relations with Swift, i, 39 n.; ii, 129 n.; v, 466; vi, 234; on Sprat, ii, 58 n.; death, ii, 273 n., 275; called "Galloway," ii, 275; iv, 110; epitaph on, iv, 174 n.; his *History*, v, 371.
- Burnet, Thomas, son of Bishop, ii, 320.
- Burning glass, episode of the, ii, 185, 186, 197, 418, 419.
- Burscough, William, Bishop of Limerick, iii, 247, 251, 273.
- Burton, Benjamin, Lord Mayor of, and M.P. for Dublin, ii, 75, 101, 102.
- Burton, a Dublin banker, and Ford, iv, 370 n.
- Burton on the Hill, i, 158 n.
- Bury, Rev. Arthur, curate to Stopford, vi, 18, 23.
- Bury Street, Swift's lodgings in, iii, 303 n.
- Bushe, Arthur, i, 31 n., 33 n.
- Bushe, Charles Kendal, Chief Justice of Ireland, v, 81 n.
- Bussy, Roger de Rabutin, Count de, iii, 123; iv, 191.
- Butler, Brinsley, "Prince," afterwards 2nd Lord Newtown-Butler and 1st Viscount Lanesborough, quoted, ii, 242; iii, 49; account of, ii, 242 n.
- Butler, Colonel, son of Lord Lanesborough, iv, 93.
- Butler, Lady Elizabeth or Betty, daughter of the Duke of Ormond, her affection for Swift, ii, 141, 301, 305; health, ii, 331; visits the Vanhomrighs, iii, 459.
- Butler, Parson, frightens Swift's horse, v, 230, 232-234, 252, 253.
- Butler, Samuel, his *Hudibras*, i, 250.
- Butler, Sir Theobald, "Toby," iii, 48; his son, iii, 48, 52.
- Butler, Theophilus, "Ophy," afterwards 1st Baron Newtown-Butler, ii, 242 n.; iv, 93 n.; vi, 243; and Mrs. Ridgway's annuity, v, 336.
- Button's Coffee-house, ii, 154.
- Buys, Dutch Envoy at Utrecht, i, 315, 346, 347; ii, 2; vi, 78.
- Bysse. *See* Bisse.
- Cadmus and Vanessa*, i, 343 n.; ii, 142 n.; iii, 35, 59-62, 305-307, 313, 314, 459, 460, 464; iv, 201 n.; vi, 152.
- Cadogan, William, 1st Earl of, ii, 360, 391; iii, 48, 228.
- Caesar, Charles, iv, 177, 332, 359; v, 20, 344; account of, iv, 177 n., 332 n.; death, vi, 178.
- Caesar, Mrs., her spelling, iv, 332, 359; and Mrs. Barber, iv, 332, 359; v, 19, 20; grief for her husband, vi, 178.
- Caesar, Julius, Emperor, i, 153, 298; iii, 31, 32, 155; iv, 18, 99; v, 108, 268, 418; vi, 71.
- Calista. *See* Howard.
- Callaghan. *See* O'Callaghan.
- Cambridge, Charles, Duke of, son of James II, i, 371.
- Cambridge University, iv, 2.
- Campbell, Lord, his *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, ii, 31 n.; *Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*, iv, 72 n.
- Campden, Baptist, 3rd Viscount, i, 238 n.
- Campion, Henry, M.P. for Sussex, ii, 194, 202, 231, 232, 236.
- Cancerina, death, iv, 410.
- Canons, iii, 23 n.
- Canterbury, Archbishop of. *See* Her-ring, Sancroft, Tenison, Wake.
- Cantillon, M., banker of Paris, ii, 334, 335.
- Cape Clear, ii, 8.

- Capel, Arthur. *See* Essex.
- Capel, Henry, 1st Baron, Lord Justice, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland, i, 15 *n.*, 18; ii, 98 *n.*; account of, i, 18 *n.*
- Capitol saved by a goose, The, i, 338.
- Car, "Nably," probably Billy Carr, i, 258.
- Caradas, Alexander, a witness, v, 334.
- Carberiae Rupes*, iii, 173 *n.*
- Carbery, iii, 173.
- Carbery, George, 1st Baron of, iv, 256.
- Cardigan, George, 3rd Earl of, at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball, i, 338 *n.*
- Carey, Henry, his poem, *Namby Pamby*, iii, 292 *n.*
- Carey, Walter, "Umbra," Secretary to Lord Dorset, iv, 219, 226; v, 302; removed from his office, v, 416 *n.*
- Carhampton, Simon Luttrell, 1st Earl of, iii, 461.
- Carleton, Lord. *See* Boyle.
- Carlingford, iii, 426, 431.
- Carlisle, Charles, 3rd Earl of, First Lord of the Treasury, ii, 390.
- Carlisle, Dean of. *See* Atterbury.
- Carlisle, deanery of, ii, 307, 308, 310 *n.*
- Carmarthen, Peregrine, Marquess of, ii, 86 *n.*
- Carmarthen, Marchioness of, Elizabeth Harley, daughter of 1st Earl of Oxford, death, ii, 86-88, 92-94.
- Carnarvon, Lord. *See* Brydges.
- Caroline, Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen, iii, 447; her treatment of Gay, ii, 233, 247; iii, 426, 427, 431; iv, 2, 69, 71, 181-183, 244, 245, 354, 374, 375; lands in England, ii, 247 *n.*; and Arbuthnot, iii, 303, 343; iv, 171, 266; her gracious reception of Swift, iii, 303, 304 *n.*, 315, 321, 343, 353 *n.*, 389, 411, 412, 420, 433, 435; iv, 113, 152, 181-183, 247-249, 266, 267, 337, 342, 354, 374; sends for the wild boy from Germany, iii, 304; iv, 374; at Richmond, iii, 352, 353 *n.*, 374, 410; Swift sends her some Irish poplin, iii, 354, 357, 360, 364, 371, 374; iv, 62, 146, 176, 375; and Archbishop King, iii, 357; and *Gulliver*, iii, 357, 360, 362, 366, 375, 389; becomes Queen, iii, 399, 400, 402; iv, 375; coronation, iii, 424; her waterman, iv, 9; taste in literature, iv, 9; breaks her promise of sending Swift a medal, iv, 62, 115, 127, 146, 176, 179, 181-184, 194, 233, 282, 375; her gift from Knight, iv, 118; and Pope, iv, 122; v, 226, 306, 375; entertained by Walpole at Chelsea, iv, 124 *n.*; Swift demands her portrait by Jervas, iv, 182; her character and abilities, iv, 184, 249, 478; and Cibber, iv, 200; and the Duchess of Queensberry, iv, 233; counterfeit letters to, iv, 242-247, 264, 265, 267, 356 *n.*, 477, 478; vi, 200, 201; and the Duke of Schomberg's monument, iv, 243, 244, 247; pretended interest in Ireland, iv, 248, 266, 478; and the repeal of the Test Act, iv, 371; and Fontaine, v, 21 *n.*; and Lady Suffolk, v, 133, 153; death, vi, 51, 54, 55; and the Prince of Wales, vi, 51; her Grotto at Richmond, vi, 115.
- Carr, Dr. Charles, Rector of Castlehaven, afterwards Bishop of Killaloe, ii, 312, 315 *n.*, 317.
- Carr, Mrs., of Dublin, vi, 227.
- Carr, William or Billy, groom of the Bedchamber, i, 258.
- Carrington, Francis, 2nd Viscount, iv, 135.
- Carshore, of Trim, debt to Swift, vi, 86 *n.*
- Carte, Rev. Samuel, his paper on the Leicester pavement, i, 154 *n.*
- Carte, Thomas, son of Samuel, his *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, i, 86 *n.*; v, 177 *n.*, 371, 462, 463; and the *History of Thuanus*, iv, 112; v, 463; friendship with Sheridan, v, 355, 371 *n.*; account of, v, 355 *n.*; his *History of England*, and subscription for, v, 372; takes Thomas Sheridan (2) to England, v, 445, 462; character, v, 462, 463.
- Carter, —, his bond, v, 200.
- Carter, Thomas (1), of Robertstown, married to Lady Roscommon, ii, 26 *n.*
- Carter, Thomas (2), son of Thomas (1), v, 314.
- Carteret, Hon. Frances, fourth daughter of the 2nd Lord Carteret, afterwards Marchioness of Tweeddale, v, 319.
- Carteret, George, 1st Lord, v, 46 *n.*
- Carteret, Hon. Georgiana, third daughter of 2nd Lord Carteret, Ambrose Philips' verses to, iii, 233 *n.*, 278, 279, 292; v, 68 *n.*; a Dublin blacksmith's verses to, iii, 279; marries

- the Hon. John Spencer, v, 68; Mrs. Barber's verses to, v, 68 n.; at Bath, v, 391.
- Carteret, Hon. Grace, eldest daughter of 2nd Lord Carteret, married to 4th Earl of Dysart, v, 89.
- Carteret, John, 2nd Lord, afterwards Earl Granville, v, 46 n., 47; marries Miss Worsley, i, 144 n.; politics, ii, 41; v, 346, 351, 420; Lord Lieutenant, iii, 191, 203 n., 290; iv, 148, 179, 446; v, 178, 479; relations with Swift, iii, 191-195, 206, 211, 219, 220, 224, 226, 228, 234, 237 n., 263, 321, 346; iv, 1 n., 2, 172, 179, 282, 343 n., 357; v, 25, 64, 91, 146, 405, 429, 433, 466; vi, 75, 203, 204; account of, iii, 191 n.; and Wood's Halfpence, iii, 192-195, 214, 216, 219 n., 220, 224, 234 n., 266, 288; v, 64 n.; appoints Tickell Under-Secretary, iii, 198 n.; Berkeley recommended to, iii, 212, 213; and Captain Proby, iii, 213, 214; arrival in Dublin, iii, 219, 220; prosecutes Harding, iii, 224 n.; his rumoured recall, iii, 229; iv, 58; Swift's lines on a card addressed to, iii, 230; and Sheridan, iii, 234, 235, 244, 247, 263, 265-269, 271-275, 280, 346; Stopford recommended to, iii, 239, 240, 255, 256, 276, 289, 290, 346; iv, 179; and Pratt's accounts, iii, 241 n.; his Irish patronage, iii, 247-251, 388; at Christ Church, Oxford, with the 2nd Lord Oxford, iii, 265, 286; his patronage of learning and scholarship, iii, 280; v, 428; his copies of Swift's poems, iii, 306; iv, 292 n., 360; v, 142; invited to dine with Swift at Lord Peterborough's, iii, 307; and Delany, iii, 321 n.; iv, 1 n., 179, 407, 408; v, 69; mentioned in the French edition of *Gulliver*, iii, 398; and Dublin University, iv, 1, 2; absent in England, iv, 1 n.; returns to Ireland, iv, 1 n., 107; and the *Beggar's Opera*, iv, 29; his patronage of Buckley, iv, 112, 132, 133; and Pope, iv, 117, 128; Mrs. Grierson's *Tacitus* dedicated to, iv, 120, 170, 223; and Lord Burlington, iv, 143; leaves Ireland, iv, 143 n., 144, 148; and Robert Grattan, iv, 144, 145; offered the post of Lord Steward, iv, 148 n.; and Mrs. Barber, iv, 163, 243; v, 68; visits Amesbury and the Isle of Wight, iv, 172; and Gay, iv, 172; at Bath, iv, 172; and Pilkington, iv, 256 n., 257, 407; asked to attend the case of Dublin v. Vernon, iv, 406; relationship to Mrs. Pendarves, iv, 435 n.; his grammar, iv, 436 n.; his family, v, 7 n., 14, 68, 319, 428; dines with Barber, v, 25; his birthday, v, 69; at Haynes, v, 89; his prosperity, v, 96, 142; and McLorinan's Appeal, v, 141, 142; character, v, 420; attends the Delane Appeal, v, 428; and Synge, vi, 98.
- Carteret, A Defence of Lord*, iv, 308.
- Carteret and Dr. Delany, A Libel on Lord*. See *Libel*.
- Carteret, Lady. See Worsley.
- Carteret, Honble. Louisa, second daughter of 2nd Lord Carteret, married to 2nd Viscount Weymouth, v, 7, 35, 89.
- Carthage, expedition against, vi, 163, 178.
- Carthy, Charles, vi, 203.
- Cashel, Archbishop of. See Bolton.
- Godwin, Nicolson, Palliser, Whitcombe.
- Cashel Cathedral, v, 157, 158.
- Cassandra, ii, 102.
- Cassel, Richard, architect, v, 459.
- Cassius and Peter*, v, 51, 53.
- Cassius, iv, 20; v, 129.
- Castel, Père Louis Bertrand, iv, 463.
- Castilian Trifles, origin of the name, i, 374; iii, 177 n.
- Castle-Durrow, Lord. See Flower.
- Castlehaven, ii, 317, 319.
- Castlehaven, Mervyn, 4th Earl of, vi, 145 n.
- Castleknock, ii, 306, 323, 340.
- Castlerickard, iv, 419; vi, 226.
- Cathcart, Charles, 8th Lord, his expedition to Carthage, vi, 163.
- Catherall, Mrs., possessor of some of Swift's letters, i, 366, 368.
- Catherine. See Lloyd.
- Cato, iii, 91, 110; iv, 99, 142, 460; v, 5, 129, 316, 317.
- Cato the Second, iii, 91, 92.
- Cats, i, 71; ii, 244, 420.
- Caudres, Mrs. de, Stella's landlady, i, 383; iv, 454.
- Caulfield, Archdeacon, v, 242.
- Caulfield, Hon. Charles, son of William, 2nd Viscount Charlemont, Rector of Tartaraghan, iii, 54.
- Caulfield, James. See Charlemont.

- Cavan, carrier of, v, 120; illustrated, v, 272; Swift's reception in, v, 274 n.
- Cavan, Richard, 4th Earl of, iii, 290.
- Cavino, medallist of Padua, i, 154 n.
- Celbridge, Vanessa's house at, ii, 252, and see Vanhomrigh; illustrated, iii, 60, 444; Swift exhibition at, vi, 229.
- "Cellarius." See Lloyd.
- Certain Lady at Court, On a*, iv, 360 n.
- Cervantes, Miguel de, his *Don Quixote*, i, 99; ii, 11; iii, 77, 267, 295; iv, 163; v, 233, 272.
- Chaigneau, David, vi, 181.
- Chamberlain, Rev. Philip, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, ii, 279, 315, 317-319, 322-324; character, ii, 322; iv, 231; elected to the parish of St. Nicholas, ii, 336; criticises the epitaph on the Duke of Schomberg, iv, 230, 231; his daughter marries Thomas Sheridan the younger, iv, 230 n.
- Chamberlayne, a man midwife, iii, 345.
- Chambers, Lady Mary, daughter of the Earl of Berkeley, iv, 427; v, 205 n.; 457, 458.
- Chambers, Miss Mary, daughter of Lady Mary, Lady Betty Germain's "saucy niece," iv, 427; v, 154, 184, 187, 205 n., 264; and Miss Kelly, iv, 443; relations with her father, v, 229; marriage to Lord Vere Beauclerk, v, 229 n., 349, 353; her age, v, 305; inherits a fortune from her father, v, 305, 306; meets Swift in Dublin, v, 306 n.
- Chambers, Thomas, iv, 427 n.; v, 229 n., 306.
- Chamillard, Michel de, Minister of War to Louis XIV, i, 69 n., 133.
- Champagne, Lady Jenny. See Forbes.
- Champagne, Major Josiah, ii, 248 n., 292, 296, 299; correspondence with Mrs. Chetwode, iv, 472.
- Champion, Alderman, v, 45.
- Chancellor, Lord. See Cowper, Harcourt, Talbot.
- Chancellor of Ireland, Lord. See Bowes, Freeman, Jocelyn, Phipps, Wyndham.
- Chancellor of the Exchequer. See Harley, Smith.
- Chandos, Duke of. See Brydges.
- Chandos, Lydia, Duchess of, formerly Lady Davall, born Van Hattan, v, 319.
- Chantilly, v, 268.
- Chapelizod, The Lodge at, the Lord Lieutenant's country residence, i, 36, 159.
- Character of an Irish Squire, The*, iv, 119 n.
- Character of Sheridan, The*, vi, 219.
- Chardin, Mr., son of the traveller, iv, 297.
- Charlemagne, iv, 142; v, 236.
- Charlemont, James Caulfield, 3rd Viscount, iii, 54 n.; iv, 472; v, 242 n.; his meeting with Swift at Sir Arthur Acheson's, v, 455; his confinement in the Round House, v, 455.
- Charlemont, James, 1st Earl of, son of Viscount, iv, 472; v, 455 n.
- Charles I of England, King, v, 363; vi, 126; his execution, i, 42 n., 108, 138; iv, 387 n.; libelled in Stoughton's sermon, i, 138, 300 n.; and Dr. Meyricke, i, 370; portrait of, iii, 287, 320; at Paradise, v, 301.
- Charles II, i, 224, 354 n., 392; ii, 342; vi, 193, 194; and Temple, i, 172 n.; and Lord Ranelagh, i, 315 n.; his Restoration, i, 362 n., 369; and Lord Fitzwilliam, iv, 149; poets of his reign, v, 162.
- Charles II, of Spain, death, iv, 253.
- Charles, Archduke, afterwards King of Spain and Emperor Charles VI, i, 44, 265 n., 347; ii, 3, 14; iii, 370, 389 n.; v, 343.
- Charles XII of Sweden, ii, 128; iii, 240 n.
- Charleton, Rev. Andrew, Chancellor of Armagh Cathedral, iii, 366 n.; v, 149 n.
- Charleton, Rev. Arthur, son of Andrew, Chaplain to the Duchess of Ormond, and Swift's intercepted correspondence, ii, 276 n., 283, 421-423; iii, 262; staying with Swift at Trim, ii, 366, 368, 370; account of, ii, 366 n.; and Lewis, ii, 389, 391; refuses the benefice of Donoughmore, iii, 54; chaplain to Lord Arran, iii, 262, 265; v, 149 n.; vi, 246.
- Charleton, Chiverton, Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard, ii, 139-141, 276 n., 366 n.
- Charleton, Francis, son of Andrew, iii, 54.
- Charleville, Baron. See Tyrconnel.

- "Charlot, M.," Bolingbroke's *alias* in Paris, ii, 334.
- Charlton, Parson, v, 291.
- Charteris, Colonel Francis, insults Harley, ii, 228; trial for rape and sentence, iii, 63; iv, 139, 162; v, 6, 321; his *Epitaph*, iii, 63 n.; vi, 56 n.; his character reproduced in Clancy's *The Sharper*, vi, 56 n., 208; lashed in Swift's *Lines on his Own Death*, vi, 115.
- Chatham, William, 1st Earl of, iv, 235 n.; v, 42 n., 316 n.
- Chaucer, iii, 33; iv, 112 n.
- Chawdry, ii, 164.
- Chaworth, Dr., afterwards Sir Richard, Vicar General, i, 370.
- "Cheddar Letter, A," iii, 343-345, 347-352.
- Chelsea, i, 255; Hospital, ii, 246; iii, 295; v, 128.
- Chéron, Louis, illustrates Prior's *Poems*, iii, 4 n.
- Cheselden, William, Pope's surgeon, v, 304, 315, 320.
- Chester, Abbey Court, iii, 363; the Yacht Inn, iii, 363 n.
- Chester, Bishop of. *See* Dawes, Gas-
tre, Wilkins.
- Chesterfield, Philip, 4th Earl of, iii, 303 n., 348, 353; iv, 191, 192, 196, 267; his wife, i, 145 n.; account of, iii, 348 n.; his part in the *Ballad on Lady Hervey*, iii, 357; and Lancelot, iv, 177, 178, 185, 191, 192, 196; his employments, iv, 177 n.; on Faulkner, iv, 286 n.; Lord Lieutenant, v, 157 n.; patronage of Dunkin, v, 157 n.; contributes to *Common Sense*, vi, 25 n.; lines attributed to, vi, 88.
- Chetwode, Benjamin, son of Valentine (1), ii, 290; iii, 304 n.
- Chetwode, Crewe, son of Knightley (2), ii, 265 n.
- Chetwode, Hester, wife of Knightley (2), daughter of Richard Brooking, iii, 79, 82, 127, 157; her family connections, ii, 243 n.; iii, 217 n.; iv, 88 n.; friendship with Swift, ii, 250, 254, 261; iii, 227-229; iv, 88; called "Dame Pliant," ii, 258, 260, 261, 266, 271, 272, 274, 276, 283, 296; Swift sends her snuff, ii, 259, 260, 291; her hardness, ii, 284; her walking, ii, 289; her long green legs, ii, 289, 292; sends Swift gingerbread, ii, 291; her cherry brandy, ii, 295, 299; goes to see her boys, ii, 295; anxiety about her husband, ii, 300, 303, 344; living at Trim, iii, 10; separation from her husband, iii, 217-219, 227-231; iv, 88; death, iv, 87, 88; Ludlow's opinion of, iv, 468.
- Chetwode, Rev. John (1), Rector of Ardrbraccan, son of Valentine (1), ii, 261 n., 290 n.
- Chetwode, John (2), son of Knightley (2), ii, 265 n.
- Chetwode, Knightley (1), Dean of Gloucester, son of Valentine (1), ii, 290, 292, 304; account of, ii, 290 n.; iv, 472-474.
- Chetwode, Knightley (2), son of John (1), friendship with Swift, ii, 241, 273, 274; iii, 160, 161; correspondence with Swift, ii, 241 n., 420; iii, 453; iv, 466, 467, 475; his Jacobitism, ii, 241 n., 250, 273 n., 275; iii, 10 n.; iv, 225, 228, 472, 476; account of, ii, 241 n.; hospitality to Swift, ii, 242-244, 248, 252-254, 256, 265, 270-273, 275, 280, 281, 283; and Jourdain, ii, 243, 282; and Lady Jenny Champagne, ii, 248, 249, 298; and Sir Edward Seymour, ii, 250; his residence at Martry, ii, 250, 261, 262, 264, 271-273, 295; intercourse with Bolingbroke, ii, 250; iv, 95 n.; intimacy with the Rochforts, ii, 257-261, 265, 279 n., 280, 299, 303; introduces Baron Rochfort to Swift, ii, 257 n.; accompanies Swift part of the way back to Dublin, ii, 260, 261; removed from the Commission of Peace, ii, 261, 265; his improvements at Woodbrooke, ii, 261 n., 264, 272, 273, 284, 289; iii, 83, 97, 109, 124, 127, 157, 201, 238, 355, 356, 378, 430; iv, 65, 94, 153; his children, ii, 265, 295; iii, 217, 218, 225, 437; iv, 89; visits Dean Cox and Rowland Singleton, ii, 272; his horses, ii, 272; iii, 441; wishes to take New Hall, ii, 273; iv, 468, 469; and Ormond, ii, 273 n., 293, 296, 298, 300-302; suggests to Dr. Travers to print *Henry the Eighth*, ii, 273, 274; relations with Dr. Raymond, ii, 275, 276, 279, 282, 295; iv, 227; and Warburton, ii, 275, 284, 389; rallies Swift and gossips about Vanessa, ii, 276; iii, 305-307, 355 n., 465; iv, 65, 66; health, ii, 284, 289; in London, ii, 302-304;

- iii, 9, 20, 21; breach with Swift, ii, 303; iii, 355 *n.*; iv, 200, 201, 292, 293, 472-477; vi, 204; his *Advice to a Young Lady*, ii, 406; his exile, iii, 9, 10 *n.*; iv, 470, 476; lets Martry and Woodbrooke, iii, 10; character, iii, 10, 20, 81, 238; iv, 96, 153, 224-227, 467, 472, 475, 476; staying with Tooke, iii, 11, 21; returns to Woodbrooke, iii, 78, 79; takes the Oaths, iii, 78, 80; challenged by Pigott, iii, 78, 80-82, 96, 97, 123; vi, 244; and Sandes, iii, 81; and King, iii, 83, 84, 159, 160, 186, 187; threatened prosecution, iii, 84, 156, 157, 159, 160, 164, 166, 167, 186-189, 200 *n.*, 201; and Jervas, iii, 97, 106; iv, 94; his petition to the Government, iii, 159, 164, 188, 189; and Francis Bernard, iii, 160, 161, 187, 188; his reading and attainments, iii, 161; iv, 225, 228, 467, 472, 477; separates from his wife, iii, 167, 217-219, 227, 231, 355 *n.*; iv, 88 *n.*, 468; and Dr. Coghill, iii, 186; and Secretary Hopkins, iii, 188; sends Swift fruit and cherry brandy, iii, 215, 216; his use of perfumed paper, iii, 216, 218; relations with Stopford, iii, 217, 218, 225, 229, 230, 238; iv, 89, 95, 229, 230; discouraged from going to Quilca, iii, 238; staying with Delany at Delville, iii, 239; suggests joining Swift in London, iii, 306, 307, 356; in Dublin, iii, 355; iv, 200, 201, 292, 293; wishes Swift to lend him money, iv, 81, 82; difficulties in connection with Jackman, iv, 87-89, 91, 92, 94-97, 103, 122, 123; death of his wife, iv, 87, 88; attempts to marry again, iv, 91, 92, 103, 122, 123, 154, 201, 225, 228; advised to leave Ireland, iv, 89, 92; and Mrs. Bateman, iv, 94; obligations to Shirley, iv, 94, 95; acquaintance with the Duke of Buckingham, iv, 96; and Lord Oxford, iv, 96; and the Mountraths, iv, 96; embroilments with Cusack, iv, 153; love of women, iv, 201; going to England, iv, 225, 229; his revenge upon Whited, iv, 226, 227; quarrel with Brodrick, iv, 227; at Ashfield, iv, 470; his rats, iv, 468, 470; at the Meath Assizes, iv, 469; his pocket book, iv, 470; preserves *Nero the Second* and *A Second Barabbas*, iv, 470, 471; quarrel with George Jeffreys, iv, 472; his dagger, iv, 472; his Correspondence, iv, 472; his claim to the Barony of Wuhall, iv, 473-475.
- Chetwode, Sir Richard, iv, 473, 474.
- Chetwode, Richard, son of Sir Richard, iv, 473.
- Chetwode, Valentine (1), ii, 241 *n.*; iv, 473.
- Chetwode, Valentine (2), son of Knightley (2), ii, 265 *n.*; iii, 217 *n.*, 218, 225-227, 230.
- Chetwode family, The, ii, 241 *n.*
- Chetwynd, John, 2nd Viscount, iv, 148.
- Chetwynd, Walter, 1st Viscount, i, 144 *n.*; iii, 338; iv, 138 *n.*
- Chetwynd, Viscountess, wife of 1st Viscount, daughter of Viscount Hardinge, a beauty, i, 144; iii, 338 *n.*
- Chicken, recipe for cooking, iii, 350, 352.
- Child, Sir Caesar, ii, 411.
- China, great wall of, iv, 156.
- Chiron, iii, 367.
- Cholmondely, Hugh, 1st Earl of, Treasurer of the Household, i, 195, 310.
- Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. *See* Dublin.
- Christ Church, Oxford, a Canon of, ii, 142 *n.*
- Christ Church, Oxford, Dean of. *See* Atterbury, Moreton, Smalridge.
- Christ Church, Oxford, deanery of, ii, 307, 310 *n.*
- Christyn, Chancellor, his *Histoire General des Pais Bas*, v, 236.
- Church, John Vicar choral at St. Patrick's, vi, 221.
- Churchill, Lady Anne. *See* Sunderland.
- Churchill, Lady Henrietta. *See* Marlborough.
- Cibber, Colley, laureate, iii, 283; iv, 9, 187, 200, 220, 353.
- Cicero, i, 169; iii, 29, 30, 110, 370; iv, 142, 199; v, 251; vi, 50; quoted, iii, 25, 26, 111, 119, 297; iv, 31, 260; v, 227, 316; vi, 244; misquoted, iv, 18.
- Cirencester, iii, 333.
- Circumcelliones, iv, 73.
- City Cries, The*, iv, 484.
- City Shower, Description of a*, v, 162.
- Clackston, wine merchant, iv, 465.
- Clancarty, Donogh, 4th Earl of, attainted, v, 206 *n.*

- Clancarty, Robert, designated 5th Earl of, his suit to recover his ancestral estate, v, 206, 266; drinking himself to death, v, 266; staying with Lady Mountcashel, vi, 23, 24.
- Clancy, Michael, blind author of *The Sharper*, vi, 56-58, 208, 209, 425 n.
- Clanmaurice, Lord. *See* Fitzmaurice.
- Clanricarde, Earls of, i, 3 n., 77 n., and *see* Bophin.
- Clarendon, Edward, 1st Earl of, iii, 41.
- Clarendon, Edward, 3rd Earl of, envoy to Hanover, ii, 144, 151, 220; appoints Gay as his secretary, ii, 144, 146; account of, ii, 144 n.; his daughters, iv, 134 n.
- Clarendon, Henry, 2nd Earl of, his collection of MSS., v, 88, 97.
- Clarendon, Henry, 4th Earl of. *See* Rochester.
- Clark, Johnny, Portreeve of Trim, ii, 54, 64.
- Clarke, Edward, M.P. for Taunton, iii, 91.
- Clarke, George, Fellow of Brasenose, Oxford, ii, 178.
- Clarke, Rev. Henry, Fellow of Trinity, v, 112-114.
- Clarke, Mr., and the *Miscellany*, iv, 486.
- Clavering, Robert, Bishop of Peterborough, iv, 472-474; and Lady E. Germain, v, 10, 11.
- Clavering, Miss, married to Lord Dunkerron, v, 43 n.
- Clayton, Rev. John, Prebendary of Christ Church, Dublin, i, 48, 49, 51; account of, i, 48 n.
- Clayton, Dr. Robert, son of John, Fellow of Trinity, afterwards Bishop of Killala, Cork and Clogher, iii, 260 n.; iv, 481; v, 242; on usquebaugh, iv, 20 n.; on the Duke and Duchess of Dorset, iv, 263 n.; his *Question about Eating of Blood*, etc., iv, 107; entertaining Mrs. Pendarves, iv, 435 n., 436 n.; appointed Bishop of Cork, v, 294 n.
- Clayton, Mrs., wife of the Bishop, born Donnellan, iv, 437 n.
- Clayton, Mr., related to the Bishop, conveys Lord Oxford's letters to Swift, iii, 260, 286, 424, 428; iv, 40, 45, 159.
- Clayton, Mrs., afterwards Lady Sundon, and Mrs. Barber, iv, 232, 243 n., 246, 247, 295 n.
- Cleland, Colonel William, iv, 196; v, 6 n., 7; account of, iv, 196 n.
- Cleland, Mrs., v, 6, 390.
- Clement XI, Pope, ii, 128, 129.
- Clements, Henry, Mayor of Carrickfergus, i, 29; vi, 241.
- Clements, Mrs., v, 367.
- Clements, Miss, v, 367.
- Clergy of the Church of England, A Letter to the*, iii, 141.
- Clergy of Ireland, their condition, i, 64, 66, 67, 95, 140, 200-203, and *see* First Fruits.
- Cleveland Row, iii, 137.
- Clogher, residence of the Ashes, iii, 467, 468; iv, 454.
- Clogher, Archdeacon of. *See* Ashe, Parnell.
- Clogher, Bishop of. *See* Ashe, Clayton, Stearne.
- Cloncurry, iii, 104.
- Clonfert, iii, 173, 468; illustrated, iii, 174.
- Clonfert, Bishop of. *See* Bolton.
- Clommel, tithes of, vi, 193-195.
- Clontarf, i, 68, 163 n.; oyster beds of, iv, 396 n.
- Cloyne, Bishop of. *See* Berkeley, Crowe, Maule.
- Club for cards at Dublin, ii, 67.
- Clubs. *See* Drapier's, Hell-Fire, Kitkat, October, Society, Swan.
- Cobbe, Charles, Bishop of Dromore, marries Lady Rawdon, iv, 23 n.
- Cobbe, Frances Power, her *Relic of Swift and Stella*, iii, 241.
- Cobham, Richard, 1st Viscount, entertains Pope at Stowe, iii, 332; v, 78; vi, 132; and the *Beggar's Opera*, iv, 10; Congreve's verses on, iv, 77.
- Cockpit, The, i, 145, 204; iv, 26.
- Cocoa Tree coffee-house, ii, 399; vi, 52, 72, 89.
- Coffee, i, 340, 344; ii, 418; and *see* Vanhomrigh.
- Coffee-houses. *See* Button's, Cocoa Tree, St. James', Wills'.
- Coghill, Dr. Marmaduke, Judge of the Prerogative Court, ii, 324, 414; iv, 406 n.; v, 324 n.; and Pratt, ii, 342, 343, 371, 375; and Percival's lease, ii, 349, 405; and Chetwode's case, iii, 186, 188; influence with Archbishop King, iii, 186, 203; intimacy with the Vanhomrighs, iii, 458; death, vi, 116, 128, 134, 182 n.
- Coinage. *See* Drapier, Ireland, Wood.

- Coins, foreign, in use in Great Britain, vi, 195.
- Coins, Irish, iii, 428; iv, 51.
- Coke, Edward, upon Littleton, iv, 216.
- Coke, Thomas, Vice-Chamberlain, i, 74.
- Coke, Thomas, 1st Earl of Leicester, i, 74 n.; iii, 278.
- Colchester, Lord, *i.e.*, Rivers, *q.v.*
- Colchester Oysters, i, 376.
- Cole, Mr., ii, 412.
- Cole, Mrs., iii, 404.
- Cole of the Oaks, ii, 303.
- Colemine, the lease of, iv, 466.
- Coleraine and the Irish Society, v, 429-431; vi, 8, 9, 25, 227.
- Colgan, James, Vicar choral, vi, 168.
- Colley, Richard, afterwards Wesley, Lord Mornington, i, 180 n.
- Collier, Mr., i, 114, 382 n.
- Collins' Discourse of Freethinking abstracted, for the Use of the Poor*, v, 39.
- Colyear, General, i, 110 n.; v, 325.
- Commines, Philippe de, iii, 31.
- Common Sense, or the Englishman's Journal*, vi, 25, 29.
- Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation. See Polite.*
- Comprehension Scheme, The, i, 108, 117, 118.
- Compton, Lady Alethea, i, 238 n.
- Compton, Sir Spencer, Speaker of the House of Commons, iii, 402, 403, 415; iv, 13; v, 108; promises Swift some fruit, iii, 433.
- Concanen, Matthew, poet, iv, 180, 255.
- Concordatum fund, The, v, 310, 313.
- "Condé, The," Peterborough so called, ii, 246, and see Peterborough.
- Conduct of the Allies, The*, i, 38 n., 304, 309 n.; iii, 458; v, 39.
- Conduct of the Duke of Ormond, The*, ii, 421-423.
- Conduct of the Purse in Ireland, The*, ii, 108 n.
- Conduitt, John, Master of the Mint, married to Catherine Barton, iv, 146 n.; v, 21 n., 47.
- Conduitt, Mrs. See Barton.
- Confucius, v, 78, 233.
- Congreve, William, i, 113; friendship with Swift, i, 368 n.; ii, 288; iii, 149, 153, 176; iv, 37, 58; v, 396, 466; vi, 171; his *Double Dealer*, i, 368; his *Love for Love*, iii, 28; Swift appeals to Harley on his behalf, iii, 117, 118; his ill-health and afflictions, iii, 153, 334, 337, 340, 343, 350, 423; iv, 32; and Gay, iii, 153; iv, 5; at Bath, iii, 153; iv, 16, 32, 37; relations with Pope, iii, 313; connection with the Duchess of Marlborough, iii, 337, 340, 343; iv, 16; v, 319 n.; his riddle upon Quadrille, iii, 357; attacked by Mrs. Barber, iv, 22; fatal accident, iv, 58 n.; his verses on Lord Cobham, iv, 77.
- Coningsby, Thomas, 1st Earl of, his part in the impeachment of Oxford, ii, 391; iii, 74 n.; litigation with Lord Macclesfield, iii, 74, 76 n.; and the Irish Peerage Bill, iii, 76 n.; a Privy Councillor, vi, 243.
- Coningsby, Countess of, wife of 1st Earl and sister of Lady Catherine Jones, iv, 310 n.
- Coningsby, Frances or Fanny, daughter of the 1st Earl of, iv, 310.
- Connell, Patrick, ii, 346, 357.
- Connellan, Major, Swift's chair in his possession, vi, 229.
- Conolly, William, Speaker of the Irish Parliament, and Lord Justice, ii, 370; account of, ii, 370 n.; and the Vanhomrighs, iii, 34; and Chetwode, iii, 164; and the Duke of Grafton, iii, 189; and King, iii, 203 n.; his origin and abilities, iv, 259; death, iv, 259, 401 n.; his portrait by Jervas, v, 111; relations with Swift, v, 111 n.
- Conringius, Hermannus, physician, v, 237.
- Considerations about Maintaining the Poor*, i, 58 n.; v, 65 n.
- Considerations on the Bishops' Bills*, iv, 484.
- Considerations upon the Consequences*, etc., ii, 231, 239.
- Constantine, Emperor, iii, 102.
- Constantine, Alderman, his election as Lord Mayor of Dublin, i, 259-261, 281, 282.
- Constantine, Mrs., i, 261 n.
- Constantini, Antonio, v, 199.
- Contests of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, The*, i, 39 n., 155 n.
- Convocation, English, i, 134, 201, 203, 206 n.
- Convocation, Irish, i, 269, 283, 289, 294-296, 302, 303.

- Cooke, Barbara, wife of Thomas Erick, i, 37 *n.*
- Cooke, H., corresponds with Swift, i, 385.
- Cooke, John, jurymen on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 184, 185.
- Cooke, Rev. Peter, vi, 148, 246.
- Cooke, Thomas, iv, 110 *n.*
- Cooper, Anthony. *See* Shaftesbury.
- Cooper, Joseph, his child's conversation with Nuttall, ii, 119, 120.
- Cooper, Dr. William, M.P., on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- Cooper's Hill, iv, 95.
- Coote, Charles, son of the Judge, v, 40, 41, 49, 50, 271 *n.*
- Coote, Richard, 1st Baron, i, 281 *n.*
- Coote, Hon. Thomas, Judge, son of the Baron, i, 281; v, 41 *n.*, 330, 340; account of, i, 281 *n.*
- Coote, Mrs., v, 367.
- Cope, Erasmus, jurymen on Swift's lunacy, vi, 184, 185.
- Cope, Dr. Henry, his daughter's elopement, v, 194, 199, 357.
- Cope, Robert, entertains Swift at Loughgall, ii, 392, 393; iii, 53, 131 *n.*, 161-163, 165; subscribes for Prior's *Poems*, ii, 392; account of, ii, 392 *n.*; his mother and brother, ii, 393 *n.*; solicits Swift's influence on behalf of Berkeley, iii, 54, 55; his children, iii, 55; travelling in Connaught, iii, 138; imprisonment, iii, 140; and Chetwode, iii, 160; in Dublin, iii, 161; his neighbours, iii, 162, 163; and Tisdall, iii, 163; iv, 305 *n.*; relations with Swift, iii, 464; vi, 47, 48; streets named after him in Dublin, iv, 343 *n.*; invited to Cashel, v, 174; pays Swift's interest on a loan to Sir W. Fownes, vi, 47.
- Cope, Mrs. Robert, daughter of Sir W. Fownes, ii, 393; iii, 54 *n.*; Swift sends her snuff, ii, 393; her good nature, iii, 53, 55; her kindness to Swift, iii, 142, 162, 163, 165; at Bath, v, 105.
- Copeland, Beauty, v, 367.
- Copeland, Hieronymus, v, 237.
- Copernicus, i, 58.
- Corbet, Rev. Francis, afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's, recommended to Carteret, iii, 248; Stella's executor, iv, 462; v, 37 *n.*; his copy of *Gul-liver*, v, 37; at Delgany, v, 116.
- Corbridge, James, and the export of Irish wool to France, vi, 140-144.
- Corelli, musician, v, 412; vi, 223.
- Cork, Swift entertained by the Corporation, iii, 173 *n.*; its trade, iv, 312; election of Mayor at, v, 244, 245; bestows its Freedom upon Swift, v, 433; vi, 42, 43.
- Cork, Archdeacon of, and Sheridan, iii, 274.
- Cork, Bishop of. *See* Brown, Clayton, Downes.
- Cork, Richard, 1st Earl of, his monument to his wife in St. Patrick's, iv, 82-84, 231, 310, 311.
- Cork Street, iii, 386; iv, 21.
- Cormac, King, v, 158.
- Corn Bill, The. *See* Tillage.
- Cornbury, Henry, Viscount, son of the 3rd Earl of Clarendon, iv, 139; refuses a pension, iv, 285, 294; M.P. for Oxford University, iv, 285, 286, 294; living with the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, iv, 286; character, iv, 286; vi, 131.
- Correy, Bolingbroke's agent in Berkshire, iv, 320.
- Cosby, Pole, of Queen's County, his *Autobiography*, iii, 21, 80 *n.*, 81 *n.*, 97 *n.*
- Cosmo, Duke of Tuscany, ii, 267 *n.*, 268; iii, 386.
- Cotta, Pope, iii, 297.
- Cotterell, Ann, marries Adam Swift, vi, 217.
- Cotterell, Sir Clement, iv, 196, 285; v, 2, 443.
- Cotterell, Miss, v, 20, 23.
- Cotterell, William, brother of Sir Clement, Carteret's English chaplain, made Dean of Raphoe, afterwards Bishop of Ferns, iii, 247, 251; v, 2, 20, 23.
- Cotton, Charles, his translation of Montaigne, i, 41 *n.*, 384 *n.*; his *Scarronides*, v, 193.
- Cotton, Sir Robert, i, 1 *n.*
- Cotton Library, the, v, 371.
- Coudres, Mrs. de. *See* Caudres.
- Country Life, The*, ii, 257 *n.*; iii, 103 *n.*, 104 *n.*, 215 *n.*; iv, 483, 484; vi, 244.
- Court of Requests, The, i, 77; iii, 38.
- Courtown, James, 1st Earl of, iii, 218 *n.*
- Cowley, Abraham, i, 364, 366.
- Cowper, William, 1st Earl of, on Lord Strafford, i, 326 *n.*; and Oxford, ii,

- 235; Lord Chancellor, ii, 235 *n.*, 360.
- Cox, Rev. Thomas, Dean of Ferns, ii, 272.
- Crabbeels, Clement, Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, v, 236.
- Craftsman, The*, iii, 379 *n.*, 392-394; iv, 73, 197 *n.*, 255, 260; v, 177 *n.*
- Craggs, James, entertained by Bolingbroke, ii, 202; sent to Hanover to announce Anne's death, ii, 234; Secretary of State, iii, 2 *n.*, 3; and Pope, iv, 117.
- Cranford, Lord Berkeley's place at, i, 151, 152.
- Crassus, iv, 99.
- Craven, Mr. Walls's neighbour, ii, 148, 382.
- Creech, Thomas, his translation of Horace, iv, 68.
- Creighton, Captain John, iv, 57.
- Crew, Nathaniel, 3rd Baron, Bishop of Durham, i, 111.
- Croker, Edward, Mrs. Whiteway's apothecary, vi, 148.
- Cromer, Mrs., v, 367.
- Cromwell, Oliver, i, 108; iii, 84, 431; iv, 31; v, 162; and Ireland, i, 126 *n.*; iii, 119; and Lord Fitzwilliam and Ludlow, iv, 149 *n.*; his portrait at Castle-Durrow, v, 398 *n.*; and *Killing no Murder*, vi, 50 *n.*; persecutes Thomas Swift, vi, 127.
- Cromwell, Richard, iii, 84.
- Crosse, Silvester, iii, 55, 158.
- Crosse, William, Dean of Lismore, iii, 55 *n.*; v, 232, 236; account of, v, 232 *n.*
- Crosskeys in Temple Bar, The, i, 388.
- Crosthwaite, Mr., Ford's Irish agent, v, 38, 352, 363.
- Crow, Charles, Bishop of Cloyne, i, 386; ii, 408; and the First Fruits, i, 49, 50, 200; death, iii, 319, 321.
- Crow, otherwise Cooper (*q.v.*), his evidence against Nuttall, ii, 119, 120.
- Crowe, William, Recorder of Blessington, i, 382.
- Crown and Cushion, The, New Bond Street, iii, 416.
- Crown Rents in Ireland, i, 203, 206 *n.*, 220, 275.
- Crowther, Major-General Thomas, i, 134, 161; account of, i, 134 *n.*; death, iv, 322 *n.*
- Crowther, Mrs., iv, 322, 323.
- Cullenswood, Stella's property at, iv, 459.
- Cumberland, Duke of, v, 21 *n.*
- Cummin, John, juryman on Swift's lunacy, vi, 184, 185.
- Curl, Edmund, bookseller, iii, 449; iv, 114, 396; v, 263; vi, 65, 174; his *Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub*, i, 184, 186; his *Miscellanies of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, i, 298 *n.*; ii, 329; iv, 485; and Pope's correspondence, ii, 329; iii, 427, 435; v, 185, 186, 196, 217, 224, 226, 229, 251, 252, 404, 422-424; vi, 202; wishes to write Gay's Memoirs, iv, 378; his *Letters Amorous, Satyrical, and Gallant, Poems and Tales*, v, 184, 185, 187, 205, 229, 457, 458.
- Curragh Races, v, 380.
- Currey, Mr., ii, 391.
- Curry, Swift's landlord in Dublin, i, 183; iv, 454, 455.
- Curtis, William, afterwards Archdeacon of Ferns, his rooms in Trinity College, iii, 297-301.
- Cusack, Christopher, Swift's neighbour, iv, 153, 154; death, iv, 192, 193.
- Cusack, Miss, granddaughter of Christopher, iv, 192 *n.*
- Cutler, Sir John, iv, 206.
- Cutting down the Thorn at Market Hill*, iv, 215.
- Cutts, John, Lord, i, 119 *n.*
- Cyrus, v, 376.
- Czarina. *See* Anne.
- Daffy's Elixir, i, 378.
- Dahl, Michael, portraits by, iii, 44.
- Dalkey, iii, 100.
- Dalton, Charles, his *Blenheim Roll*, i, 134 *n.*; his *English Army Lists*, i, 141 *n.*
- Dalton, John, marries Mrs. Swanton's daughter, v, 12 *n.*
- Dalton's Impartial News Letter*, v, 449.
- Daly, Peter, Counsellor, v, 460.
- Dandridge, Bartholomew, his portrait of Barber, v, 139 *n.*
- Dangan, i, 180 *n.*
- Daniel, Richard, Dean of Armagh, iv, 46, 60.
- Danvers, Mrs., ii, 222 *n.*
- Dapples, Petrus, v, 237.
- D'Arblay, Madame, destroys Mrs. Delany's Correspondence, v, 13 *n.*
- Darcey, Mrs., at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball, i, 338 *n.*
- Darcy, Sir Conyers, iv, 85, 144.

- Darien or Panama Colony, The, i, 68.
- Darius, v, 332.
- Darley, Mr. F. D., i, 56 n.
- Dartmouth, William Legge, 2nd Baron, 1st Earl of, Secretary of State, i, 212, 213, 248, 309, 335 n.; character, i, 212 n.; ii, 66; asked to sign a pass for Lady Oglethorpe's daughter and maid, i, 354, 355; appointed Lord Privy Seal, ii, 57, 66; and Swift, ii, 65; iv, 397; v, 466; at Harley's Saturday dinners, ii, 65; at Sandwell, ii, 65; his age, ii, 66; at Windsor, ii, 66; his part in the Harley administration, ii, 170; iv, 397 n.; expected dismissal, ii, 170, 192; on the Council of Regency, ii, 213; to subscribe to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; asked to attend the appeal of Dublin *v.* Vernon, iv, 397, 398.
- Dauphin. See Louis.
- Davall, Sir Thomas, v, 319 n.
- Davall, Lady. See Chandos.
- Davenant, Dr. Charles, son of Sir William, i, 367 n., 368; ii, 82, 83.
- Davenant, Henry Molins, son of Dr., ii, 82, 83, 415; iii, 240; account of, ii, 82 n.; and the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 83; his mistress, ii, 83.
- Davenant, Sir William, his daughter married to Thomas Swift (2), i, 59 n., 362 n., 369 n.; vi, 215.
- David, iii, 335; iv, 216, 237; typifying George II, v, 421.
- David, *Psalms of*, i, 123; paraphrased by Wogan, iv, 327 n., 328.
- Davila, Henrico Caterino, his *Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia*, ii, 44.
- Davis, Mr., of Dublin, ii, 265.
- Davis, Ferdinand, v, 11 n.
- Davis, John, of Carrickfergus, i, 29.
- Davys, Hon. Margaret, afterwards Countess of Barrymore, vi, 15.
- Davys or Davis, Mrs. Mary, wife of Peter, correspondence with Swift, i, 382, 383; iv, 361, 383, 384; vi, 245; account of, i, 382 n.; iv, 361 n.; her sister, iv, 361, 362; death and will, iv, 361, 383.
- Davys, Rev. Peter, iv, 361, 383, 384; account of, iv, 361 n.
- Dawes, Sir William, Bishop of Chester, translated to York, ii, 162; on the Council of Regency, ii, 217 n.
- Dawley, Bolingbroke's place near Uxbridge, iii, 303 n., and see St. John.
- Dawson, Joshua, Under-Secretary of Dublin Castle, i, 178; ii, 126, 131, 261 n.; account of, i, 178 n.; correspondence with Brinsley Butler, ii, 242 n.; correspondence with Sir W. Robinson, iii, 456; a street named after him, i, 178 n.; iv, 24; and Mrs. Vanhomrigh, i, 389, 390; iii, 456, 457; and Raymond's presentation to Moymet, ii, 49; and the Cathedral School, ii, 95; and Swift's leave of absence, ii, 203-205, 214; announces to Swift Lord Godolphin's retirement in 1710, ii, 204; out of office, ii, 312 n., 422 n.; in the Irish Parliament, iii, 272 n.; his family connections, ii, 312 n.; v, 122 n., 142.
- Deacon, tenant of Kilberry, ii, 380, 386, 387, 419.
- Dean Smedley gone to Seek his Fortune, iv, 54 n.
- Deane, Anne or Hannah, daughter of Major Richard, marries Godwin Swift (1), i, 10 n.; vi, 214.
- Deane, Joseph, Chief Baron of Ireland, ii, 286 n.
- Deane, Richard, Admiral or Major, the regicide, i, 10 n.; vi, 126, 214.
- "Deanery puddings," v, 407, 411.
- Death, the fear of, iv, 135.
- Death of Dr. Swift, On the, iv, 273.
- Decree for Concluding the Treaty between Dr. Swift and Mrs. Long, The, i, 143 n.; iii, 457, 459.
- Defence of the King, A, ii, 421, 422.
- Defoe, Daniel, his *Robinson Crusoe* foreshadowed, i, 164; his *Secret History of the White Staff*, ii, 246; and Mist, iii, 12 n.
- Degenfeld, Christoph von, marries Lady Mary Schomberg, iv, 244.
- Delafaye, Christopher, Secretary to the Earl of Sunderland, ii, 423, 424.
- Delamar, recommended by Robert Arbuthnot, iv, 370, 377.
- Delany, Patrick, his *Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks*, i, x, et passim; chaplain to Sir C. Phipps, ii, 108; iv, 23 n.; supposed to have written *A Long History of a Short Session*, etc., ii, 108 n.; verses by, ii, 208 n.; iii, 205 n.; and Arbuthnot, iii, 434; iv, 171; relations with Sheridan, iii, 18; iv, 409 n.; v, 50, 51, 207 n., 208, 210; Swift complains to him of *The Funeral*, iii, 19; in-

- introduced by Sheridan to Swift, iii, 19 *n.*; friendship with Swift, iii, 79, 80, 256, 316, 433; and Trinity College, iii, 129, 399, 403; his politics, iii, 129 *n.*, 321 *n.*; iv, 1 *n.*; acquaintance with Stopford, iii, 239; his country house, Delville, iii, 239; iv, 152, 205; v, 34 *n.*, 35, 89, 137, 176, 181, 212, 258, 301; relations with Carteret, iii, 248, 249; iv, 1 *n.*; v, 14, 69, 142, 429; appointed Dean of Down, iii, 248 *n.*; his poetical judgement, iii, 251; "a perfect courtier," iii, 289; refused a dispensation to hold a prebend in St. Patrick's, iii, 321 *n.*; Professor of Oratory and History, iv, 1 *n.*; resigns his fellowship, iv, 1 *n.*, 12 *n.*, 59 *n.*; v, 105 *n.*; made Chancellor of Christ Church, Dublin, iv, 1 *n.*, 12 *n.*, 179; and Pope, iv, 3, 4, 6, 60, 205, 210, 396, 414; his visits to London, iv, 3, 12, 14, 15, 21-23, 481; vi, 244; and Gay, iv, 11, 15, 72, 173, 302; receives the living of Derryvullen, iv, 12 *n.*; patronage of Mrs. Barber, iv, 22, 121, 242, 243, 246 *n.*, 266; v, 29 *n.*, 389; his marriage to Mrs. Tennyson, iv, 23, 336, 341, 381, 416; v, 105; vi, 245; returns to Ireland, iv, 32-34; patronage of Mrs. Grierson and Mrs. Sican, iv, 121; libelled in verses, iv, 152, and see *Libel*; character, iv, 152; at Belcamp, iv, 194 *n.*; and Lord Bathurst, iv, 214; and the Duke of Schomberg's Epitaph, iv, 230 *n.*; his *Revelation examined with Candour*, written against eating blood, iv, 236, 237, 250-252, 289-291, 295, 302, 321, 407, 408; v, 69; frolic with Mrs. Pilkington in Swift's cellar, iv, 236 *n.*; and Mrs. Clayton, iv, 246 *n.*, 295 *n.*; patronage of the Pilkingtons, iv, 256 *n.*, 257, 309, 333, 334, 338, 481, 482; vi, 68, 69; and Mrs. Howard, iv, 266; sermons, iv, 295; inscribes a poem to one of the Princesses, iv, 295; and Bolingbroke, iv, 295; and John Barber, iv, 333, 334, 338, 339; sends Swift a standish, iv, 371 *n.*; his hospitality, iv, 381, 416, 435 *n.*, 437 *n.*; v, 2, 5, 9, 34, 39, 96, 110, 181, 258; acquaintance with Mrs. Pendarves, his second wife, iv, 435 *n.*, 437 *n.*; v, 319; at Bath, iv, 481; and Bowyer, iv, 481, 482; and Swift's microscope, iv, 482; and Anne Donnellan, v, 128, 176; and the Duke of Dorset, v, 164; and Lord Orrery, v, 213; kindness to Throp, v, 263; his curate, v, 284; and John Lyon, v, 383, 384; Vicar of St. Werburgh's, v, 383 *n.*; vi, 76, 98 *n.*; and Pope's Correspondence, vi, 32, 33; Chancellor of St. Patrick's, vi, 76; gives Swift some medals found in the churchyard, vi, 76; his *Historical Account of David*, vi, 151; his reading, vi, 167; complains of being kept away from Swift, vi, 221, 223-225; his mother's snuff-box, vi, 229.
- Delany, on the Libels written against him, To Dr.*, iv, 152 *n.*, 308, 484.
- Delany, Mrs. See Pendarves, Tennyson.
- Delany, Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs.*, ii, 67 *n.*, et passim.
- Delgany, iv, 288.
- Delgarno, Rev. Alexander, vi, 214.
- Delgarno, Frances, daughter of Alexander, wife of Meade Swift, vi, 214.
- Delville. See Delany.
- Democritus, iv, 251.
- Demosthenes, iv, 199.
- Dennis, Frances, daughter of John, marries Thomas Swift (5), vi, 214.
- Dennis, George, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Dennis, John (1), the critic, i, 142; iii, 427.
- Dennis, John (2), vi, 214.
- Denoue, Professor, his anatomical models, vi, 138 *n.*
- Derby, James, 10th Earl of, ii, 230.
- Derham, William, his *Physico-Theology*, v, 258.
- Dering, Sir Cholmondeley, killed in a duel, i, 257.
- Dering, Deputy Clerk of the Council, v, 171.
- Dermot and Sheelah, Dialogue between*, iv, 360.
- Derry, Bishop of. See Ashe, Downes, Hartstonge, King, Nicolson, Syngé.
- Derry, bishopric of, ii, 104, 124, 132, 163.
- Derry, Dean of. See Berkeley, Bolton, Ormsby.
- Derry, deanery of, ii, 371, 372, 374.
- Desaulnais, Henry, known as Duke Disney, *q.v.*
- Deucalion, vi, 144.
- Devaux, M., Pulteney's cook, his recipe for veal, iii, 351, 352.

- Devenish, Edward, ii, 45 *n.*
 Devenish, Mrs., daughter of Sir Charles Porter, afterwards the wife of the Hon. John Moore, ii, 45; loss of her daughter, iii, 435, 436.
 Devil Tavern, The, Temple Bar, ii, 278.
 Devonshire, William, 2nd Duke of, ii, 360.
 Devonshire, William, 3rd Duke of, Lord Lieutenant, v, 416, 419; vi, 117, 118, 140, 144; at Sir James Somerville's farewell feast, vi, 46 *n.*, 206, 207.
 Dewes, John, marries Miss Granville, v, 175 *n.*
 Diana, ii, 64.
 Diaper, Rev. William, poet, ii, 24, 25, 414; account of, ii, 24 *n.*
 "Dick, Tumble down," i, 21.
 Digby, Lord, 2nd Earl of Bristol, iii, 111; iv, 76.
 Digby, Robert, the friend of Pope, nephew of Lady Scudamore, iv, 37 *n.*, 114.
 Diggle, Vicar of Thorpe Mandeville, i, 372.
 Dilke, Sir Charles, his *Papers of a Critic*, vi, 197 *n.*
 Dilke, Mr. C. Wentworth, his *Search into the History of the Publication of Pope's Letters*, vi, 197 *n.*, *et seq.*
 Dingle, Parson, iv, 68.
 Dingley, Charles (1), of Newport, vi, 205.
 Dingley, Charles (2), son of Henry, vi, 205.
 Dingley, Henry, son of Charles (1), vi, 205.
 Dingley, Sir John, vi, 204.
 Dingley, John (2), vi, 204.
 Dingley, Rebecca (1), living with Stella in Dublin, i, 40-42, *and see* Johnson; her blunders, i, 42; account of, i, 42 *n.*; vi, 204-206; her connection with the Temples, i, 42 *n.*; vi, 204; correspondence with Swift, i, 119, 385; ii, 358, 387; iii, 403; her money transactions with Swift, ii, 94, 363; iii, 419; vi, 40, 47, 205, 206; friendship with the Walls', ii, 365; iii, 251; dislike of the country, iii, 264; and the stamped linen, iii, 265; disguises the state of Stella's health from Swift, iii, 317, 322; character, iii, 417; vi, 205; relations with Swift after Stella's death, iv, 43, 57; v, 29, 121, 416, 417; and Mrs. Brent, iv, 48; witness to deeds, iv, 459; legacy from Stella, iv, 462; lodging with Mrs. Ridgeway, v, 29, 416, 417; and John Temple, v, 416, 417; her financial position, v, 417; vi, 205; her age, vi, 204, 205; probable parentage, vi, 204, 205; position in Lady Giffard's service, vi, 205; will, vi, 206.
 Dingley, Rebecca (2), daughter of Robert, vi, 206 *n.*
 Dingley, Robert, brother of Rebecca (1), vi, 204, 206.
 Dingley, Thomas, the antiquary, i, 42 *n.*
 Dingley, Rev. William, son of Charles (1), cousin of Sir William Temple, i, 42 *n.*, 59 *n.*; vi, 205.
 Diogenes, iii, 91, 112, 113 *n.*; iv, 181.
 Diogenes Laertius, iii, 90, 348.
 Dion Cassius, iii, 110.
 Dionysius the elder, iii, 90, 113.
 Dionysius the younger, iii, 90.
Directions to Servants or Advice to Servants, iv, 258, 259, 309; v, 100; vi, 96, 145, 146, 161, 223, 224.
Discourse of the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit, i, 183 *n.*
 Disney (Henry Desaulnais), Duke, a member of the Brothers' Club, ii, 235; iii, 145, 153; recovered from a serious illness, iii, 283, 284; death and will, iv, 276.
 Dissenters, candidates for orders in the Church, i, 103.
 Dissenting Ministers and the *Regium Donum*, i, 301.
 Division, Bill of, v, 15 *n.*, 17, 18.
 Dixon, Mrs., marries Will Vesey, v, 194, 199.
 Dobbs, Richard, a Fellow of Trinity, iii, 249.
 Dobbs, a surgeon, iii, 125.
 Dobbs, Mr., iii, 318, 319.
 Dobbs, Mr. A. S., of Castle Dobbs, i, 28 *n.*
 Dobbs, Richard, High Sheriff of Antrim, i, 28.
 Dobbs, Castle, i, 28 *n.*
 Dobson, Austin, on Gay's comedies, iv, 301 *n.*
 Dobson, bookseller of Dublin, vi, 238.
 Dobson, "Goody," iv, 338, 342.
 Dodd, A., publisher of the *Dunciad*, iv, 35 *n.*

- Dodington, George, Secretary to Lord Pembroke, i, 102; and the First Fruits, i, 102, 104, 108, 116; account of, i, 102 n.; and the Presbyterian Ministers of Drogheda, i, 126 n.
- Dodington, George Bubb, son of Jeremias Bubb, nephew of George Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, i, 102 n.; vi, 243; and Pope, iv, 116, 128; v, 52; relations with Swift, iv, 116; v, 52; Clerk of the Pells, v, 52.
- Dodington, John, Secretary to Thurlow, i, 102 n.
- Dodsley, publisher, vi, 224.
- Dodwell, non-juror, ii, 340, 354.
- Dolabella, iii, 26, 91.
- Dolaeus, Johann, ii, 159.
- Dolben, Sir Gilbert, an Irish judge, son of John, ii, 105, 106; iii, 14 n.; account of, ii, 105 n.
- Dolben, John, Archbishop of York, ii, 105.
- Dolben, Lady, born Mulso, ii, 106.
- Dollan, Nicholas, Swift's tenant at Knockbeg, ii, 346.
- Dollan, Patrick, of Clondoogan, ii, 54.
- Domitian, iv, 31.
- Domvile, Sir Compton, grandson of Sir William, v, 438; vi, 183.
- Domvile, Sir William, Attorney-General for Ireland, i, 145.
- Domvile, William, i, 145, 382, 383, 385; v, 437 n.; account of, i, 145 n.
- Donaldson, John, v, 209.
- Donaldson, Mrs., innkeeper at Cavan, v, 209 n., 285, 313; her thread, v, 286, 287, 338; gifts to Swift, v, 311, 333; conveys Sheridan's letters and parcels to Swift, v, 316 n., 365, 366; vi, 84.
- Donegal, Arthur, 3rd Earl of, i, 17 n.
- Donegal, Countess of, daughter of 1st Earl of Granard, i, 17, 18.
- Donnellan, Anne, "Phil" or "Philomel," daughter of the Chief Baron, friendship with Mrs. Pendarves, iv, 435, 437, 441 n.; v, 14, 31 n., 89, 98, 110, 175, 181, 182, 301, 319; friendship with Miss Kelly, iv, 441 n.; v, 31-33; called "the Syren," v, 14; her fine voice, v, 14 n.; returns to Ireland, v, 127, 128, 174, 175, 181, 182, 258, 259, 319; her mother, v, 127; her domestic talents, v, 175; going with her brother to Inniscarra, v, 357.
- Donnellan, Rev. Christopher, "Kit," son of the Chief Baron, dines with Dr. Delany, iv, 435 n.; character, v, 14, 15, 176; account of, v, 15 n.; recommended to the Duke of Dorset, v, 242, 255, 256; resigns his fellowship, v, 242 n.; presented to the living of Inniscarra, v, 242 n., 255 n.; stays with Berkeley at Cloyne, v, 255; and Dunkin, v, 356, 357; his house at Inniscarra, v, 357.
- Donnellan, James, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, iv, 437 n.; v, 127 n.
- Donnellan, Mrs., married to Mr. Percival, v, 127 n.
- Donnellan Lectureship, The, v, 15 n.
- Donnybrook, residence of the Stoytes at, iv, 454.
- Donovan, Robert, jurymen on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 184, 185.
- Dopping, Anthony (1), Bishop of Meath, iii, 37 n.; vi, 83 n.
- Dopping, Mrs., wife of the Bishop of Meath, iii, 99.
- Dopping, Rev. Anthony (2), son of the Bishop of Meath, his preferences, ii, 315, 316, 319, 322-324, 373, 374, 378; character, ii, 322; Bishop of Ossory, vi, 84 n.
- Dopping, Lucy, daughter of Anthony (1), married to John Hamilton, vi, 53 n.
- Dopping, Samuel, son of Anthony (1), i, 91, 246; ii, 315 n., 316; vi, 83 n.; account of, i, 91 n.; ii, 316 n.; death, iii, 99 n.
- Dorchester, Marquis of, afterwards Duke of Kingston, ii, 193.
- Dorinda dreams of dress a-bed*, iii, 57.
- Dormer, General James, iv, 158, 285.
- Dormer, Colonel Robert, entertains Pope at Rousham, iv, 285 n.; v, 78; vi, 245.
- Dorset, Lionel Cranfield Sackville, 7th Earl, afterwards Duke of, his patronage of Ambrose Philips, i, 110, 143, 169; his connection with Sir John and Lady Betty Germain, i, 110 n.; iv, 151, 164, 165, 278, 363; v, 353; his marriage, i, 110 n.; connection with Lord Halifax, i, 110 n.; unpopularity, i, 135; relations with Hunter, i, 135; patronage of Prior, i, 135; iii, 8 n.; chosen to compliment George I, ii, 211, 212; Lord Lieutenant, iv, 151, 218, 263 n., 266; v, 57, 169, 170, 178,

- 305, 351, 404, 413; relations with Swift, iv, 151, 171, 282, 293, 320; v, 133, 172, 178, 187, 204, 228, 242, 348, 365, 387, 388, 407, 408, 413, 414, 428, 429; vi, 204; connection with Lady Allen, iv, 151, 279 n.; created Duke, iv, 151 n.; Lord Steward, iv, 151 n., 177 n.; v, 416 n.; and Mrs. Barber, iv, 165, 170; at Windsor, iv, 165; and Lancelot, iv, 178; and Pilkington's Poems, iv, 189; and Mr. Fox, iv, 189, 190; his Irish Church patronage, iv, 195; v, 294-296, 324-326, 365, 366, 419; patronage of Brandreth, iv, 195, 232, 311 n.; his sons, iv, 195 n.; vi, 206; employs Barber to make his liveries, iv, 262, 263; character, iv, 263; v, 412, 414; his magnificence, iv, 263 n.; v, 313, 412; at the Birthday ball in Dublin, iv, 269 n.; correspondence with Lady Suffolk, iv, 269 n.; suffers from gout, iv, 283; v, 184; his perilous journey to England, iv, 291, 296; visiting Lady Betty Germain, iv, 296, 297, 322; v, 108; and Lightburne, iv, 427, 443; v, 348, 382; his daughter married to Viscount Weymouth, v, 7 n.; and the Repeal of the Test Act, v, 38 n., 53; and the *Essay on Man*, v, 102; at Knole, v, 109; acquaintance with the Duke of Chandos, v, 109; and Dr. Whitcombe's dispensation, v, 123-126; and Sheridan, v, 150, 151, 155, 156 n., 170, 299, 300; Swift takes him to dine with Dr. Delany, v, 164; and Dr. Helsham, v, 164; Michael Aldrich recommended to, v, 164-166; and Stopford, v, 169, 403; returns to Dublin, v, 228, 264; at the Dublin Mayoral dinners, v, 240; and Donnellan, v, 256; and Jackson, v, 294-296, 348, 349, 382, 383, 387, 388; his scholarship, v, 300; Marmaduke Phillips recommended to, v, 324-326; and Hort's treatment of Faulkner, v, 327; leaves Ireland, v, 331, 337; and the lowering of the gold, v, 331, 332, 336; and Lord Orrery, v, 365; and Lord Castle-Durrow, v, 398, 399, 407; his portrait, v, 398.
- Dorset, Lady, afterwards Duchess of, daughter of General Colyear, i, 110 n.; iv, 189, 262; v, 126, 228, 264, 331; character, iv, 263; Mistress of the Robes, iv, 268 n.; v, 153; dresses in Irish stuffs at the Birthday ball, iv, 269; receives company in the morning, iv, 284; inquires after Swift, iv, 291; perilous journey to England, iv, 291, 296; and Lady Betty Germain, iv, 297, 322; v, 108; ill-health, v, 57, 109; at Bath with Lady Lambert, v, 154, 166, 184; and Biddy Floyd, v, 229; at Castle Durrow, v, 398 n.; her portrait, v, 398 n.
- Dougatt, Robert, Archdeacon of Dublin, ii, 323, 338 n.
- Douglas, Mr. James, merchant, ii, 42.
- Douglas, Sir Robert, his *Scottish Peerage*, i, 100 n.
- Dowden, Professor, his prayer book belonging to Swift, vi, 229.
- Dowling, his almshouses, iv, 346.
- Down and Connor, Bishop of. See Foley, Hackett, Hutchinson, Mant, Smith, Warrington.
- Down, deanery of, ii, 372, 375, 379.
- Downes, Dives, Bishop of Cork, i, 176 n.
- Downes, Henry, Bishop of Killala, Meath, and Derry, iii, 66, 193 n., 198 n., 201 n., 385 n.; account of, iii, 193 n.
- Doyle, J. A., his *English in America*, ii, 10 n.; iii, 104, 105; his *The Colonies under the House of Hanover*, ii, 11 n.
- "Dragon, The." See Granville, Harley.
- Drapier's Club at Cavan, The, v, 121.
- Drapier's Head, The, as a sign, iv, 331.
- Drapier's Hill, Swift's proposed purchase, iv, 95, 100, 101, 106, 109.
- Drapier's Letters, The*, iii, 191 n., 192 n., 211 n., 216, 219 n., 220, 226, 229, 266, 389, 403, 407; iv, 22 n., 24 n., 26, 27, 68, 103 n., 118, 214, 227 n., 264, 266, 269, 304, 331, 428 n.; v, 122 n.; vi, 27, and see Wood.
- Drayton, iv, 296.
- Drelincourt, Peter, Dean of Armagh, iii, 408 n.
- Drelincourt, Mrs., and the Rev. M. Earberry, iii, 408, 409; account of, iii, 408 n.; and Gay, iv, 159, 221, 233, 234; vi, 245; interest in Mrs. Barber, iv, 221; her fortune, iv, 234.
- Drelincourt, Miss, afterwards Viscountess Primrose, iii, 408, 409.
- Dressingroom, The*. See *Lady's*.
- Drift, Adrian, Secretary to Matthew Prior, vi, 234-238.

- Drogheda, ii, 386; persecution of two Presbyterian ministers of, i, 126; coins of, iii, 286; iv, 31.
- Drogheda, Henry, 3rd Earl of, ii, 45 n.; vi, 243.
- Dromore, ii, 345; Bishop's house at, ii, 103.
- Dromore, Archdeacon of. *See* Waring.
- Dromore, Bishop of. *See* Cobbe, Lambert, Marlay, Maule, Stearne, Taylor.
- Dromore, bishopric of, ii, 21 n., 375.
- Dromore, Dean of. *See* Berkeley.
- Drumlanrig, Henry, Earl of, son of the 3rd Duke of Queensberry, iv, 286 n., 302, 316, 326.
- Drummond, John, Oxford's financial agent, ii, 297.
- Drury, Dr. Edward, master of the Cathedral School, afterwards Prebendary of Tassagert and Malahidert, ii, 94 n., 373; death, vi, 18.
- Drury Lane Theatre, vi, 224.
- Dryden, Elizabeth, supposed to be daughter of Nicholas, wife of Thomas Swift (1), v, 452; vi, 212.
- Dryden, Sir Erasmus, grandfather of the poet, v, 452.
- Dryden, Godwin, son of Nicholas, v, 452.
- Dryden, John (1), the poet, iv, 22, 163; his opinion of Swift's poetry, i, 8 n.; quoted, i, 98 n.; v, 40; vi, 180 n.; his *Aeneid*, i, 365 n., 366 n.; his religion, ii, 97; imitated by Harley, ii, 199; and Dean Chetwode, ii, 290 n.; his metre, v, 162; relationship to Swift, v, 162, 452, 453; circumstances, v, 162; his lines on Lord Ossory, v, 177 n., 452.
- Dryden, Jonathan (1), son of Nicholas, v, 452.
- Dryden, Jonathan (2), son of Jonathan (1), v, 452, 453.
- Dryden, Jonathan (3), son of Jonathan (2), v, 452, 453.
- Dryden, Nicholas, brother of Sir Erasmus, v, 452.
- Dryden, Mrs. Nicholas. *See* Emeley.
- Dryden, Susanna, daughter of Nicholas, v, 452.
- Dryden family, v, 452, 453.
- Dublin, King's Inns, i, 8 n.; Phoenix Park, i, 36 n.; iii, 101 n.; iv, 343 n.; vi, 219; William Street, i, 41, 171 n.; iv, 346, 453; v, 149; vi, 227; St. Michaels-le-Pole, i, 45 n.; Marsh's Library, i, 56 n.; St. Sepulchre's or St. Pulcher's, the Archbishop's Palace, i, 60; ii, 27, 81; iii, 200; iv, 175 n.; St. Mary's, i, 71; iii, 215; iv, 453, 454; Capel Street, i, 71, 183; ii, 420 n.; v, 57, 454; Cavan or Kevin Street, i, 72, 180, 181; St. Nicholas Without, i, 72, 73, 79; ii, 51, 257, 270 n., 281, 315, 319, 323, 324, 336, 339, 340; St. Luke's, i, 72; ii, 51, 315, 319, 323, 324; Address from the City, i, 81, 83, 86, 282, 288; Deanery House, i, 82; ii, 53 n.; iv, 175; vi, 230; Dun's Hospital, i, 137 n.; the Tholsel, i, 164, 300 n.; ii, 102; Dawson Street, i, 178; iv, 24, 93; its mayoralty, i, 259-261, 281, 282, 288, 293; ii, 70, 72; its mayoral Collar, i, 299; St. Andrew's, i, 299; iii, 35, 456; iv, 283; King's or Blue Coat Hospital, i, 299 n.; ii, 67, 102 n., 257, 258, 315, 357; iii, 158 n.; iv, 347; v, 131; vi, 36, 37; Castle, i, 374, 380; iii, 314; iv, 269 n.; Christ Church Cathedral, ii, 21, 28, 73, 74; iii, 98; iv, 1 n., 22, 344 n.; Catherine's, ii, 45 n.; Queen Street, ii, 67, 257, 281, 315, 357; iv, 458; Blackhall Place, ii, 67 n.; Donnybrook Green, ii, 67 n.; Parliamentary elections in, ii, 74, 75, 109, 112, 118, 120; iv, 103 n.; St. Patrick's Cathedral School, ii, 94, 95; dispute between the City and Castle, ii, 99-103, 189, 228, 230; Turnstile Alley, afterwards Parliament Row, ii, 253; College Green, ii, 253; St. Werburgh's, ii, 258; iii, 138; Theatres, ii, 283; v, 240; Abbey Street, ii, 316; v, 379; St. Mary's Abbey, ii, 316 n.; Smithfield Market, ii, 357; Corn-market, ii, 357; St. Bridget's or St. Bride's, ii, 373, 378, 386; iii, 138, 157; vi, 216; Dorset Street or Drumcondra Lane, ii, 420; Dame's Street, iii, 29; Mansion House, iii, 139 n.; Essex or Grattan Bridge, iii, 139 n.; Angier Street, iii, 139 n.; iv, 346; v, 240 n.; Rogerson's Quay, iii, 164 n.; Steevens's Hospital, iii, 200; vi, 217, and *see* Steevens; Big Sheep or Ship Street, iii, 319; the Two Bibles in Essex Street, iii, 402 n.; coins of, iv, 31; the River Poddle, iv, 44; Molesworth Court, iv, 56; Fishamble Street, iv, 56; vi, 220; the Pied Horse, iv, 57; Strand Street, iv, 74; Newgate

- Prison, iv, 74; St. Mary's Street, iv, 74; St. Stephen's Green, iv, 123; vi, 2; Houses of Parliament, iv, 269 n., 343; Workhouse, iv, 344, 345, 347; York Street, iv, 346; King Street, iv, 346; almshouses, iv, 346; College of Physicians, iv, 348; The King's Arms and Two Bishops, iv, 384; Vernon's action against, iv, 396-398, 406, 407, 411, 417, 437; election of the Recorder, iv, 406, 407; the Ram, iv, 454; St. Patrick's Street, iv, 459; St. Michan's, iv, 475; vi, 215, 216; Bay, v, 3; Grafton Street, v, 29 n.; the Shovel in Francis Street, v, 51; the Kevin Bail, v, 120, 121, 448; Ostmantown or Oxmantown Green, v, 136 n.; Stafford Street, v, 181; Dick Street, v, 230 n.; Great Butter Lane, v, 230 n.; Smock Alley, v, 240 n.; High Street, v, 289; Drumcondra, v, 324 n.; Marshalsea, v, 380; Idler's Corner, v, 447; St. Patrick's Cathedral, *see* St. Patrick's; Trinity College, *see* Trinity.
- Dublin, Archbishop of. *See* Hoadly, King, Jones, Marsh, Walton.
- Dublin, Archdeacon of. *See* Dougatt, Reader.
- Dublin, Lord Mayor of. *See* Barlow, Eccles, Forrest, Fownes, French, Gore, Kane, Pearson, Quail, Somervell, Stoyte, Vanhomrigh.
- Dublin, Recorder of. *See* Donnellan, Forster, Grattan, Rogerson, Stannard, Stoyte.
- Dublin Gazette, The*, i, 61 n., 164 n.
- Dublin Intelligence*, iv, 44 n., 103 n., 218 n.
- Dublin Journal*. *See* Faulkner.
- Dublin Lady, The Journal of a*, iv, 54, 61, 168, 170, 308, 483, 484.
- Dublin Miscellany, The*, iv, 168.
- Dublin University. *See* Trinity College.
- Dubois, Mr., i, 383.
- Duck, Stephen, poet, iv, 173, 180, 353.
- Dudley, Sir Matthew, i, 383; ii, 411, 413.
- Duels, i, 257; iv, 277 n.; v, 202 n.
- Dugdale, Sir William, i, 376.
- Duke, Mrs., marries Robert Arbuthnot, iii, 320 n.
- Dun, Sir Patrick, physician, i, 136, 377; account of, i, 137 n.
- Dun, Lady, widow of Sir Patrick, her house burnt down, iv, 44.
- Dunbar, Dr., a blind clergyman, ii, 50 n.
- Dunboyne, ii, 306.
- Duncan, Rev. James, Vicar of St. Bride's, ii, 373, 374, 378, 383; ii, 373 n., 383, 384.
- Duncan, Mrs., ii, 384 n.
- Duncombe, Sir Charles, Lord Mayor of London, i, 163.
- Duncombe, W., publishes Hughes' Poems, v, 212; vi, 246.
- Dunkerron, James, Viscount, son of Henry, Earl of Shelburne, v, 43.
- Dunkerron, Lady. *See* Clavering.
- Dunkin, William, and the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; his *Poems* and *Verses*, iv, 169 n.; v, 157 n., 273, 395; vi, 156; recommended to Archbishop Bolton, v, 156; his ordination, v, 156; account of, v, 157 n., 356 n.; part in Miss Cope's elopement, v, 194, 357; his petition to Trinity College, v, 356, 357, 359, 360; his annuity, v, 356 n.; vi, 18, 70; his imprudent marriage, v, 357; vi, 18, 123; and Mrs. Whiteway, v, 395; recommended to Stopford, vi, 18, 23; recommended to Barber, vi, 60, 61, 70, 71, 92; and the living of Coleraine, vi, 60, 61, 70, 71, 75, 76, 87, 89, 106, 122-126, 135-137; genius and character, vi, 61, 70; obligations to Richardson, vi, 97; his school, vi, 122; rivalry with Carthy, vi, 203.
- Dunkirk, i, 330, 333, 336 n., 337, 351; demolition of, ii, 3.
- Dunkirk, Dialogue upon*, i, 337 n.
- Dunleary, iii, 99.
- Dunn, Morris, and Jervas, iii, 124.
- Dunsany, Lord, litigation with Shaw, iv, 372, 373.
- Dunsloughlin, Lines written at*, Swift's *Answer to*, iv, 479.
- Dunstable, i, 153 n.; ii, 43-45.
- Dunton, John, his *Athenian Gazette* and Society, i, 7 n., 8 n., 368 n.; his *Dublin Scuffle*, i, 175 n.; iii, 205 n.; his *Neck or Nothing*, ii, 107.
- Dupplin, Abigail, Viscountess, afterwards Countess of Kinnoul, daughter of 1st Earl of Oxford, ii, 270; gives Swift one of her drawings, iii, 7; unhappy married life, v, 196, 223; dependent on her brother, vi, 31; her children's legacies from Thomas Harley, vi, 83.

- Dupplin, George, Viscount, afterwards 7th Earl of Kinnoull, son-in-law to 1st Earl of Oxford, ii, 270; a Member of the Brothers' Club, ii, 270 n.; his extravagance and profligacy, ii, 270 n.; v, 196 n., 223; vi, 31, 38, 83; Ambassador to Constantinople, v, 196 n.
- Dupplin, Thomas, Viscount, son of 7th Earl of Kinnoull, v, 196, 223, 224.
- Durfee, Tom, iii, 22.
- Durham, Bishop of. *See* Crew, Talbot.
- Duty of Servants at Inns, The*, ii, 263 n.
- Duty on Wine, Silk, Hops, China, etc., Bill for, v, 287.
- Dying Farmer, Anecdote of a, i, 115.
- Dysart, Lionel, 4th Earl of, married to Hon. Grace Carteret, iv, 357 n.
- Dysart, Lady, iv, 357; birth of her son, v, 89.
- Earberry, Rev. Matthias, iii, 408, 409.
- East India Company, ii, 238; iv, 443.
- Eaton, Rev. Richard, i, 46.
- Eccles, Sir John, Lord Mayor of Dublin, i, 260.
- Echlin, Rev. John, iii, 248; iv, 249; account of, iii, 248 n.
- Eclipse of the Sun, ii, 286.
- Economy, iv, 75.
- Edinburgh, v, 393.
- Editors and Editions of Swift's Works, i, vi, vii.
- Edward I, iv, 473.
- Edward III, coin of, iv, 148.
- Edward IV, vi, 10.
- Eede, Albert van den, Bishop of Antwerp, v, 236.
- Egmont, John, 1st Earl of, v, 127 n.
- Elegy on Demar*, iv, 460.
- Elford, a chorister, iii, 130.
- "Eliza," possibly Betty Jones, *q.v.*, i, 29.
- Elizabeth, Queen, i, 170 n.; iv, 78 n., 86 n.; v, 218 n.; and the Irish Church, i, 302; ii, 74, 308, 320 n.; founds Dublin University, iii, 309.
- Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, wife of Philip V, vi, 144.
- Ellis, and Naboth's Vineyard, iii, 252.
- Ellis, Mr., sent by Orrery for Swift's Letters, vi, 173, 174.
- Ellis, John, his *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, i, 31 n.
- Ellis, Welbore, Bishop of Kildare, i, 83; iv, 414; and the First Fruits, i, 191, 192, 216-220; and Garenquieres, ii, 73, 74; executor to Primate Lindsay, iii, 199; Bishop of Meath, v, 9 n.
- Elphin, Bishop of. *See* Bolton, Howard.
- Elphin, bishopric of, ii, 104 n.
- Elwin, Rev. Whitwell, his edition of Pope, i, ix, *et passim*.
- Elwood, John, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, i, 56, 57; ii, 171, 187, 205; account of, i, 56 n.; his rooms at Trinity College, iii, 298, 299.
- Ely, Bishop of. *See* Turner.
- Ely, deanery of, ii, 4 n.
- Elzevir Virgil, An, vi, 245.
- Emerson, Mrs., ii, 46.
- Emly, Dean of. *See* Reader.
- Emperor. *See* Charles, Joseph.
- Emyley, Mary, married to Nicholas Dryden, v, 452.
- Encouragement of Learning, Bill for the, v, 169.
- English, Dr. *See* Inglis.
- English Advice to the Freeholders*, supposed to be written by Atterbury, ii, 421, 422.
- English Bubbles, Essay on*, iii, 75 n.
- Enquiry into the Behaviour of Queen Anne's Last Ministry*, An, i, 50 n., 265 n.; ii, 80 n., 294; iii, 31, 114, 115; iv, 43, 44; v, 392, 401.
- Epicurus, iv, 251.
- Epilogue to Mr. Hoppy's Benefit Night in Smock Alley*, iii, 152 n.
- Epistle to Mr. Gay*, An, iv, 202, 203.
- Epistle to a Lady who desired Verses in a Heroic Style*, An, v, 51, 59 n., 91.
- Epistle to Two Friends*, An, iv, 288 n.
- Epping Forest, iii, 290 n.
- Epsom, i, 116, 124.
- Erasmus, i, 298; iv, 117.
- Erick the Forester, i, 37 n.
- Erick or Herrick, Abigail, daughter of Thomas (1), wife of Jonathan Swift (1). *See* Swift.
- Erick, Adam, son of Thomas (1), i, 37 n.; vi, 241.
- Erick, Anne, daughter of Thomas (1), i, 37 n.; vi, 241.
- Erick or Herrick, Robert, son of Thomas (1), i, 37 n.
- Erick, Thomas (1), supposed to be Swift's grandfather, i, 37 n.
- Erick, Rev. Thomas (2), Vicar of Frisby, son of Thomas (1), i, 3 n., 37 n.
- Erick, William, son of Thomas (1), i, 37 n.
- Espernon, Duke of, iii, 161.

- Espin, Joseph, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, ii, 36.
- Essay on Polite Conversation, An. See Polite.*
- Essay upon the Taste and Writings of the Present Time, etc., An, iv, 45.*
- Essex, Algernon Capel, 2nd Earl of, son of Arthur, i, 166.
- Essex, Arthur Capel, 1st Earl of, his suicide in the Tower, i, 166 n., 172 n.; vi, 241; Viceroy of Ireland, I, 183 n., 339 n.; iv, 57 n.
- Essex, Countess of, wife of Arthur, vi, 241.
- Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, iv, 88 n.
- Essex, William Capel, 3rd Earl of, entertains Gay and Pulteney at Cassiobury, iv, 15; v, 404; and Lord Cornbury, iv, 285 n.; named for Lord Lieutenant, v, 404; account of, v, 404 n.
- Essex, Countess of, Lady Jane Hyde, wife of William, iv, 15 n.
- Eugene, Prince, his visit to England, i, 314; supposed plot to assassinate Oxford, i, 223 n.; vi, 78; and Ormond, ii, 236.
- Euripides, iii, 40.
- Eusden, Laurance, Poet Laureate, iii, 22 n.; iv, 180, 187 n.
- Eusebius, his *History of the Christian Church*, iv, 251, 252.
- Eustace, Sir Maurice, iii, 304 n.; iv, 458.
- Eustace, Clotilda, Lady, an intimate at the Deanery, iii, 304 n.; death and will, vi, 225.
- Eustace, Miss. *See* Tickell.
- Evans, John, Bishop of Meath, iii, 66 n.; relations with Swift, iii, 9 n., 36-38, 82, 86, 87; account of, iii, 9 n.; his politics, iii, 37; correspondence with Wake, iii, 37 n., 48 n., 65 n., 87 n., 102 n.; on Pratt, iii, 108 n.; account of Vanessa's death, iii, 57 n.; attacked in the press by "Thomas Strangways," iii, 87 n.; his own account of his life, iii, 87 n.; on Atterbury, iii, 166; death, iii, 193 n.
- Evelyn, John, his *Diary*, i, 18 n., 22 n., 110 n.
- Eversfield, Charles, M.P. for Horsham, ii, 231, 232.
- Evreux, Comte d', vi, 50.
- Ewin, Thomas, a grocer of Cambridge, threatens to publish Swift's correspondence with the Davys', iv, 361, 362, 383, 384; v, 217.
- Examiner, The*, i, 43 n., 237, 274 n.; ii, 44 n.; Swift's connection with, i, 213 n., 228, 229 n., 268 n.; ii, 26, 27, 30, 34, 35 n., 37-39; and Marlborough, i, 231 n.; and Wharton, i, 233 n.; and the Duke of Buckingham, i, 239 n.; attack on Lord Nottingham's daughter, ii, 26 n.; and Bolingbroke, iii, 31 n.
- Excellent New Song, An*, i, 309 n.
- Exchange Alley, ii, 210.
- Excise Bill, *The*, iv, 378, 379, 384, 402, 403, 411, 422, 423, 438; v, 8; vi, 27, 28.
- Exeter, Bishop of. *See* Blackall.
- Exhortation to the Chapter of St. Patrick's, An*, vi, 219-221.
- Eyles, Sir Joseph, vi, 154.
- Faber, John, mezzotint by, v, 139 n.
- Fabricius, iv, 99.
- "Fad, Mr.," *i.e.*, MacFadden, *q.v.*
- Faeneus, Rufus, i, 243.
- Fagan, John, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Fagot, The*, i, 240 n.; ii, 31 n.; 133 n.
- Fairbrother, supposed to be Worrall's heir, iii, 99; v, 317.
- Fairbrother, Samuel, "Fowlbrother," publisher, v, 317, 318, 322, 328, 330, 332; his wife, v, 318.
- Fairfax, Charles, Dean of Down, iii, 151.
- Falkiner, Caesar Litton, i, v; quoted, ii, 114 n., *et passim*.
- Farely, John, his sister, iii, 242.
- Farinelli, singer, v, 318.
- Farnham, Lord. *See* Maxwell.
- Farren, Thomas, Mayor of Cork, sends Swift the Freedom of the City, vi, 43, 44.
- Farrington, The Crown at, ii, 135.
- Fates of Clergymen, An Essay on the*, iv, 308.
- Faulkner, George, publisher, his edition of Swift's Works, i, vi, viii; iv, 390, 431; v, 81, 85, 142, 179, 180, 216, 224, 257, 338-340, 380, 449-452; vi, 158, 241; and Pope, iii, 343; v, 297, 298, 425; his wager about the *Infallible Scheme*, iv, 286, 287; account of, iv, 286 n.; relations with Swift, iv, 286 n.; v, 339; vi, 42, 43, 86, 137, 204; his property in Swift's *Poems*, iv, 360; "the Prince of Dublin Printers," iv,

- 389; recommended to Lord Oxford, iv, 389, 390; v, 224; vi, 4, 77; and the *Letter from a Member of Parliament concerning the Duties on Wine and Tobacco*, iv, 403 n.; refuses to print the verses addressed to an *Imitator of Horace*, iv, 415; reprints *Gulliver*, iv, 444; and Pilkington, iv, 480-482; correspondence with Bowyer, iv, 480; vi, 223, 224, 245; and the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 485; and Lord Orrery, v, 206, 420; vi, 104, 166-168, 177; recommended to Archbishop Bolton, v, 221, 222; recommended to Lord Howth, v, 222; and Barber, v, 225; recommended to Pulteney, v, 280; and Bishop Hort's skit upon Quadrille, v, 307, 326-328; imprisoned for libelling Bettsworth, v, 326-328; and Sheridan, v, 394; called before the Council for printing Swift's pamphlet against Wood's Halfpence, v, 432; and *Pickle Herring's Defence of Bettsworth*, v, 446; his loss of a leg, v, 448; and Richardson, vi, 97; and Macaulay's *Thoughts upon the Tillage*, vi, 55, 56, 207, 208; and the Memoir of French, vi, 58, 59; and *Polite Conversation*, vi, 67, 68; and *Directions to Servants*, vi, 96, 145, 146; his unexpurgated edition of Swift's *Lines on his Own Death*, vi, 114; and the publication of Swift's Correspondence, vi, 166-168, 172; and the Prefaces to Swift's *Works*, vi, 224.
- Fausset, Robert, Precentor of Achonry, proposes to Mrs. Pendarves, iv, 436; v, 182.
- Fay, John, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Felton, Dr. Henry, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, his works, iv, 313, 318, 319.
- Female Faction or the Gay Subscribers*, *The*, iv, 39 n., 70, 71 n.
- Fen Court, Fenchurch Street, ii, 42.
- Fenton, Elijah, iv, 72 n.; death, iv, 196 n.
- Fenton, Jane. *See* Swift.
- Fenton, Joseph, married to Jane Swift, i, 30 n.; vi, 216, 241.
- Fenton, Junior, son of Joseph, v, 244, 254.
- Fenton, Lavinia, "Polly Peachum," afterwards Duchess of Bolton, iv, 16, 21, 37.
- Fenton, Sir William, i, 120 n.
- Ferns, Bishop of. *See* Cotterell, Hort.
- Ferns, deanery of, v, 294-296.
- Ferrers, Robert, 1st Earl, iv, 88 n., 93.
- Ferris, Mr., iv, 284.
- Fetherston, Rev. Thomas, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, corresponds with Swift, i, 386; and Baron Scrope, ii, 70, 72, 73, 157, 167; preaches for Swift, ii, 149; Vicar of Crumlin, ii, 203 n.; his accounts with Swift, ii, 203, 227.
- Fettiplace, George, v, 335.
- Fiddes, Rev. Richard, ii, 68, 106, 107; account of, ii, 68 n.; his book on the Duke of Bucks, iii, 112.
- Fielding, Henry, his *Joseph Andrews*, iii, 423 n.; his *Pasquin*, v, 318, 319.
- Filby, Stella's brother-in-law, i, 21 n.; vi, 241.
- Filby or Kilby, Mrs., i, 21; vi, 241.
- Finch, Daniel, 3rd Earl of Nottingham and 8th Earl of Winchilsea, ii, 413; v, 25.
- Finch, Mrs., afterwards Countess of Winchilsea, i, 135.
- Finedon, ii, 105.
- Fines in the City of Dublin, Bill against, i, 300.
- Finglas, i, 42; *and see* Ashe.
- Finny, Mrs. Warburton's uncle, ii, 366.
- Fires, i, 281 n., 383; ii, 179, 180.
- First Fruits, of England, remitted, i, 193, 201.
- First Fruits and Twentieth Parts of the Irish Church, Swift's part in their remission, i, 50, 52, 61, 64, 67, 72, 73, 76-78, 81, 86-88, 98, 104, 105, 108, 116, 126, 129, 130, 137, 139, 146-150, 191, 192, 199-203, 208-231, 233, 267, 269-271, 273, 289, 293; ii, 76, 89 n., 117, 118, 336; *Memorial concerning the*, i, 196, 197, 200-203, 218; vi, 242; Board of, ii, 333, 336, 349, 352.
- "Fisher, Jack." *See* Flower.
- Fitzgerald, Thomas, alias Don Geraldino, Spanish envoy, vi, 144.
- Fitzhardinge, John Berkeley, Viscount, i, 144, 307.
- Fitzherbert, Andrew, son of William, v, 148-150, 158, 159.
- Fitzherbert, William, of Shercock, iii, 243; his treatment of his son, v, 148-150, 159.
- Fitzherbert, Mrs. William, born Charleston, iii, 243; v, 367; treatment of her son, v, 148-150, 158, 159.
- Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond, his *Life*

- of *Petty*, iv, 400 n.; his *Life of Shelburne*, v, 171 n.
- Fitzmaurice, John, second son of the 1st Earl of Kerry, afterwards Earl of Shelburne, at Westminster School, ii, 299, 300; character, ii, 299, 300; iv, 400; v, 171; High Sheriff of Kerry, iv, 400 n.; seeks election for the Borough of Clogher, iv, 401; seeks the post of Deputy Clerk of the Council, v, 171, 184, 185.
- Fitzmaurice, Mrs. John, daughter of Colonel William Fitzmaurice, v, 171 n.
- Fitzmaurice or Clanmaurice, William, Viscount, afterwards 2nd Earl of Kerry, his marriages, iv, 400 n.; v, 171.
- Fitzmaurice, Colonel William, iii, 231 n., 333; v, 171 n.
- Fitzmaurice, Mrs. William, sister of Mrs. Pratt, friendship with Swift, iii, 2, 231; v, 367; her card parties, iii, 233; friendship with Lady Carteret, iii, 233.
- Fitzwalter, Benjamin Mildmay, 1st Earl of, husband of Lady Holderness, iv, 85 n., 144.
- Fitzwalter, Lady. *See* Schomberg.
- Fitzwilliam, Hon. Mary, a Maid of Honour, marries the 9th Earl of Pembroke, v, 22 n.
- Fitzwilliam, Oliver, 2nd Viscount, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, iv, 149.
- Fitzwilliam, Richard, 5th Viscount, v, 22 n.
- Fleming, Christopher, Baron Slane, reversal of his outlawry, i, 140, 141.
- Fleming, Squire, v, 291, 340.
- Fletcher, John, v, 258.
- Fletcher, Mr., i, 20.
- Fletcher, Rev. W. Dimock, his *On Dean Swift's Mother*, i, 37 n.; vi, 241.
- Fletcher the Schoolmaster, and Jackman, iv, 96.
- Fleury, Cardinal, v, 440.
- "Flora," one of Swift's pensioners, iv, 410 n.
- Flower, "The grave Mr.," uncle of William, called "Jack Fisher," iv, 68.
- Flower, William, 1st Lord Castle-Durrow, his friendship with Swift, iv, 66; v, 62, 63, 398 n., 399, 407; vi, 151, 203; account of, iv, 66 n.; relationship to the Temples, iv, 66 n.; v, 407 n.; sends a sovereign to Mrs. Harding, iv, 67, 68; and the *Intelligencer* and *Drapier's Letters*, iv, 67; his jaunt on the Thames, iv, 68; created Lord Castle-Durrow, v, 62, 63; his seat at Durrow, v, 398 n.; at Christ Church, Oxford, v, 399; his scholarship, v, 399, 400, 407; friendship with the Duke of Dorset, v, 399, 407; makes the grand tour, v, 412 n.; carries Swift's letters to England, v, 417, 427 n.; and Delany, vi, 151; invites Swift to drive with him to Delville, vi, 152; his son, vi, 153.
- Floyd, Biddy, companion to Lady Betty Germain, i, 134, 162; her beauty, i, 134; v, 57; Swift's verses on, i, 134 n., 237 n.; called "The Happy Composition," or "Mrs. Composition," iv, 165; v, 57, 265; her silence, iv, 200, 279; her delicate health, iv, 200, 279, 297, 322, 323, 363, 427, 443; v, 11, 57, 153, 154, 184, 229, 265, 306; loves a joke, iv, 297; abstemiousness, iv, 363.
- Fludd, Dr., v, 291.
- Flying Post, The*, ii, 150; vi, 234.
- Fohu, the Indian, iii, 171.
- Foley, Samuel, Bishop of Down and Connor, i, 25 n., 27; will, i, 332 n.
- Foley, son of the Bishop, i, 332.
- Foley, Thomas, 1st Lord, i, 332 n.
- Foley, Thomas, Harley's father-in-law, i, 232 n.; vi, 242.
- Fontaines, Abbé des, his translation of *Gulliver*, iii, 397, 398, 406, 407.
- Fontenelle, his *Dialogues des Morts*, ii, 48.
- Footmen of the House of Commons, iii, 24.
- Fop, Mrs. Howard's dog, iii, 405.
- Forbes, Alexander, London merchant, iii, 347.
- Forbes, Edward, a Dublin undergraduate, insults the memory of William III, i, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108; his expulsion, i, 102 n., 271 n.
- Forbes, George, Viscount, afterwards 3rd Earl of Granard, iii, 198.
- Forbes, Lady Jenny, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Granard, married to Major Champagne, ii, 248, 249, 292, 299.
- Forbes, John, an Alderman's son, candidate for the Recordship, iv, 406 n.
- Forbes, Rev. Thomas, Rector of Dunboyne, manages Swift's affairs, ii, 67, 164, 166, 203, 227; hospitality to

- Swift, ii, 282, 305, 306, 369; iii, 166; his preferment, ii, 386; chaplain to the Duke of Shrewsbury, vi, 234.
- Ford, Charles, "the Sprightly," of Woodpark, grandson of Sir Henry, i, 161; intimacy with the Vanhomrighs, i, 339; ii, 48; iii, 59, 61, 63, 67, 68, 458, 462; at Windsor with Swift, i, 339; appointed Gazetteer, i, 339 *n.*; ii, 73 *n.*; friendship with Stella, i, 339 *n.*; iii, 59 *n.*, 165, 176; iv, 461; account of, i, 339 *n.*; friendship with Swift, i, 339 *n.*, 383, 384; ii, 53, 145 *n.*; iii, 52, 74, 136, 452; v, 374 *n.*; vi, 38, 70, 203, 204; in Ireland, ii, 53; iii, 18, 59, 67, 68, 151, 155, 258, 260, 350; iv, 176; and Gay, ii, 144, 145; iii, 155, 353, 383; manages the publication of *Free Thoughts*, as "Samuel Bridges," ii, 169, 170, 175-181, 188, 189, 192, 209, 231; pays bills for Swift, ii, 189; takes charge of Swift's correspondence, ii, 203, 325, 328, 331, 333-335; at Kensington, ii, 206; and Swift's leave of absence, ii, 214, 215; his Gazette upon the Queen's death, ii, 216; character, ii, 254; iv, 176 *n.*; loses the Gazette, ii, 254; in France with Bolingbroke, ii, 254, 277, 285, 291; separates from Bolingbroke, ii, 325; comes to Ireland with Jervas, ii, 325; visit to Rome, ii, 328 *n.*, 335; iv, 176 *n.*; in Paris, ii, 333, 335; introduces Cope to Swift, ii, 392 *n.*; Swift's verses on, iii, 11 *n.*; called Glassheel, iii, 59, *et seq.*; his residence at Woodpark, iii, 61, 161; tired of Ireland, iii, 173; in Swift's confidence as to Vanessa, iii, 165 *n.*; sociable disposition, iii, 176; v, 362; and Stopford, iii, 240; v, 146; brings Berkeley to Bolingbroke, iii, 259; and Lord Oxford, iii, 262, 265; arrested on his return from France, iii, 262; and Sheridan, iii, 274; and Pope, iii, 277; his mistake between the Duchess of Queensberry and Mrs. Howard, iii, 292, 296; and the publication of *Gulliver*, iii, 350 *n.*, 364 *n.*, 373, 374; iv, 444; v, 26, 37; and Queen Anne, iii, 373; his handwriting mistaken for Pope's, iv, 59, 62, 63; his kindness to Whaley, iv, 60; and Shirley, iv, 94, 95; inherits money from his mother, iv, 176; described by Mrs. Pilkington, iv, 176 *n.*; his dispute with Burton, iv, 370; and Lady Acheson, iv, 371; his anxiety for a complete edition of Swift's Works, v, 37-39; vi, 50; in Derbyshire, v, 37; his lawsuit with an Irish chairman, v, 344, 345; his legs swelling, v, 351, 363; intemperance, v, 351; vi, 42; his agent Crosthwaite, v, 352, 363; his house in Little Cleveland Court, vi, 51, 52; his prints of Swift, vi, 51; his way of life, vi, 72, 89, 92.
- Ford, Sir Henry, i, 339 *n.*
- Ford, Miss Letitia, sister of Charles, iv, 371; v, 351, 363, 364.
- Forrest, Charles, Lord Mayor of Dublin, i, 259.
- Forster, John, his Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, i, viii, *et passim*; his *Life of Swift*, i, x, *et passim*; correspondence with Wilmot Chetwode, iv, 466-473.
- Forster, John, Recorder of Dublin, afterwards Chief Justice, i, 261 *n.*; ii, 75, 101; connection with Mrs. William Swift, ii, 364 *n.*; death, iii, 201 *n.*
- Forster, Dr. Nicholas, Bishop of Killaloe and Raphoe, ii, 336, 372.
- Fortescue, Mrs. Joanna, Gay's sister, iv, 366, 393.
- Fortescue, William, afterwards Master of the Rolls, iv, 29.
- Fortune, iii, 278; iv, 76.
- Fortune, Fable of*, i, 109.
- Foster, timber merchant, v, 197.
- Fountain tavern, i, 221.
- Fountaine, Sir Andrew, friendship with Lord Pembroke, i, 61, 70, 147, 155, 374; iii, 286; his house at Narford, i, 61, 70 *n.*, 185, 186; account of, i, 61 *n.*; sale of his collections, i, 61 *n.*; Usher of the Black Rod, i, 61 *n.*, 379, 380; attacked in *The Dunciad*, i, 61 *n.*; v, 21 *n.*; friendship with Swift, i, 63, 65, 70, 90, 141, 143 *n.*, 155, 171, 182, 183, 384, 385; ii, 12, 13; iii, 457; v, 21 *n.*, 466; his house in Leicester Fields, i, 63, 65, 141, 143 *n.*; iii, 157; his learning and knowledge of books, i, 84, 89; ii, 13; iv, 78; at Oxford, i, 89; his friends in Dublin, i, 90; his collection of coins, i, 154, 379; iii, 286; his love of puns, i, 155, 374-377; and the illustrations to *The Tale of a*

- Tub*, i, 185, 186; intimacy with the Vanhomrighs, ii, 12, 13; iii, 458, 462; living in St. James's Place, ii, 13; and the Tuscan Court, iii, 336 n.; and Mrs. Barber, v, 21; offices at the Court of George II, v, 21 n.
- Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign, History of the*, i, 278 n., 323 n., 330 n., 343 n., 347 n., 352 n.; ii, 2-4, 16, 30 n., 53, 60, 170, 409 n.; iii, 31 n., 114, 223; iv, 43; v, 100, 392, 393; vi, 2 n., 19-22, 26, 27, 29, 34-39, 41, 64, 73 n., 74, 77-81, 83, 110, 130, 161.
- Fownes, Sir William, M.P. for the Borough of Wicklow, ii, 74, 75, 101, 102; v, 98 n., 444, 445; Lord Mayor of Dublin, ii, 74 n., 343 n., 344; in Wicklow, iii, 54; father-in-law of Cope, iii, 54 n.; v, 105; his answer to Swift's *Lines on a Card*, iii, 230; financial transactions with Swift, iii, 252; vi, 47, 86 n.; his Villa at Island Bridge, iv, 343, 345 n.; account of, iv, 343 n.; his scheme for an Asylum in Dublin, iv, 344-349; v, 98; his humorous project for economy, v, 98, 99; his scheme for the encouragement of Irish manufactures, v, 98 n.; death, v, 161, 163; character and talents, v, 161.
- Fox, William, a member of Swift's choir, borrows money from Arbuthnot, iv, 16, 21; and the Duke of Dorset, iv, 189; v, 366.
- Foxcroft, Mr., conveys letters, etc., between Swift and the Chetwodes, ii, 291.
- France and the Peace, ii, 1-3, 14, 16; treaty with, ii, 47; description of, v, 267-269.
- Francken-Sierstorff, P. J., Bishop of Antwerp, v, 236.
- Frankland, Will, i, 384.
- Freckleton, corresponds with Swift, i, 383.
- Frederick, Duke of Saxe Gotha, v, 228 n.
- Frederick, Prince of Wales, Chancellor of Dublin University, iii, 401, 403; expected in England, iv, 52; marriage, v, 228, 229, 319; and Pope, v, 375; vi, 131; quarrel with his parents, v, 421; vi, 51; birth of his son, v, 421 n.; and Lyttelton, vi, 100 n.; and Macaulay, vi, 128, 131, 133-135, 137, 162, 192; and the Op-
position, vi, 131; Swift's respect for, vi, 134, 135, 137, 138.
- Frederick Augustus, King of Sweden, ii, 418.
- Frederick William I of Prussia, iv, 244, 247; v, 253.
- Free Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs, Some*, ii, 143 n., 153, 160, 188, 189, 192, 194, 209, 224, 231, 235, 239; iii, 114; v, 39.
- Freeman, Richard, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, i, 138, 214; account of, i, 214 n.
- Freeman, Elegy on the much Lamented Death of the Right Hon. Richard*, i, 214 n.
- Freethinkers, iii, 208-210.
- Freind, Dr. John, editor of *The Examiner*, i, 229 n., 257 n.; ii, 300; v, 466.
- Freind, Dr. Robert, brother of John, Head Master of Westminster School, i, 257 n.; ii, 58, 299, 300, 313; v, 171 n.; said to have written the pre-amble to Harley's patent, i, 257 n.; resigns the Mastership of Westminster, v, 462; Canon of Christ Church, vi, 107; resigns his living and prebend of Westminster to his son, vi, 107.
- French, Humphrey, Lord Mayor of Dublin, iv, 87, 311; v, 25, 45, 98 n.; vi, 59; M.P. for the City of Dublin, v, 25, 45; Swift's projected Memoir of, vi, 59; character, vi, 59; friendship with William Maple, vi, 59.
- French Ambassador. *See* Aumont.
- French piracy in the Irish Channel, i, 158.
- French Protestants in Dublin, iii, 107.
- Frewen, Dr. Accepted, Archbishop of York, i, 163.
- Frier Unmask'd, or a Brief Account of the Late Pretended Plot in Westmeath, etc.*, *The*, i, 224 n.
- "Fritterilla," iv, 410 n.
- Frogs in Ireland, i, 58.
- Frosts, Great, i, 134; iv, 53, 147, 150-153.
- Froude, James Anthony, his *English in Ireland*, i, 67 n., *et passim*.
- Frowde, Colonel Philip, i, 79, 80, 101, 134; account of, i, 80 n., 101 n.; probably "P-r-de," i, 161 n.
- Gaillie. *See* Galy.

- Gallas, Count von, Imperial Ambassador, i, 313 *n.*
- "Galloway," *i.e.*, Burnet, *q.v.*, ii, 275.
- Galtrim, ii, 343.
- Galway, Henry, Earl of, reported death, i, 73; vote of censure on, i, 235 *n.*; Lord Justice of Ireland, ii, 318 *n.*
- Galy or Gaillie, offers for sale a piratical copy of *On his Own Death*, vi, 112.
- Gambadoes, iv, 313, 315, 336, 340.
- Gardiner, Right Hon. Luke, Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 181-185.
- Gardner, Richard, and the living of Thorpe Mandeville, i, 369, 370.
- Garencieres, John, Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's, ii, 73, 74.
- Garnett, John, Master of Tipperary Grammar School, v, 370.
- Garstin, James, landowner near Laracor, v, 129-132, 135, 136.
- Garstin, Mr. John Ribton, iii, 139 *n.*
- Garter, Order of the, iii, 361, 362.
- Garth, Sir Samuel, his *Prologue to Tamerlane*, ii, 8 *n.*, 112, 193 *n.*; v, 466; and Marlborough's health, ii, 193; and Shadwell, ii, 246; and Arbuthnot, ii, 246; and Pope, iv, 117; his death-bed saying, v, 167.
- Gascon, story of a, iii, 342.
- Gascon housekeeping, verses on, iii, 51.
- Gastrell, Dr. Francis, Bishop of Chester, v, 466.
- Gaulstown, George Rochfort's house at, ii, 280, *and see* Rochfort; illustrated, iii, 96.
- Gaultier, Abbé, French envoy for the Peace, i, 290.
- Gavan, Luke, Dublin shipowner, his son's marriage, iv, 47, 48.
- Gavan, Thomas, of Cullenswood, iv, 459.
- Gay, John, his *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*, i, 101 *n.*; iii, 325 *n.*; his *Pastorals*, ii, 98; his friendship with Swift, ii, 98 *n.*, 144 *n.*, 155, 288, 360; iii, 144, 145, 176, 179, 293, 325, 341 *n.*, 348, 387, 393, 418, 423, 453; iv, 14, 73, 152, 270, 272, 277, 315, 336, 337, 343, 365; v, 466; vi, 158, 171, 173, 203, 204; his *Eclogues* or *Shepherd's Week*, ii, 98; iii, 149; Secretary to Lord Clarendon, ii, 144, 146, 149-151; his *Shepherd's Petition* addressed to Oxford, ii, 144, 150, 151; his *State of Wit*, ii, 144 *n.*; in the employ of the Duchess of Monmouth, ii, 144, 151, 247; iv, 275 *n.*; member of the Scriblerus Club, ii, 146, 163, 417; introduced by Swift to Thomas Harley, ii, 149; friendship with Arbuthnot, ii, 149, 150, 152; iii, 154, 382; iv, 71, 72, 280 *n.*, 378; and Lewis, ii, 149, 150, 176, 360; iv, 32; his grant of £100 from the Treasury, ii, 151, 152, 158; in Hanover, ii, 154, 158, 214, 218-220; friendship with Pope, ii, 155, 214; iii, 222, 312, 313, 333, 340, 341, 352, 448; iv, 11, 17, 70, 71, 111, 159, 172, 173, 202, 205, 210, 211, 270, 280, 325, 342, 364; at the Hague, ii, 176, 233; and Ford, ii, 176; his *Dialogue on Politics*, ii, 219, 220; relations with Queen Caroline and the Court, ii, 233, 247; iii, 278, 337; iv, 16, 71, 108, 315, 353, 354, 376, 378; and the Countess of Picburgh, ii, 247; his *Beggar's Opera*, ii, 330; iii, 427, 432; iv, 5, 9, 10, 12-16, 18, 20-23, 29, 31, 33, 327 *n.*, 330, 378; v, 220 *n.*, 319; vi, 224; his health, iii, 144 *n.*, 149, 352, 357, 382; iv, 11, 32, 51, 60-62, 69, 71, 72, 129, 173, 195, 295, 302, 316, 341, 353; his financial affairs, iii, 144 *n.*, 431; iv, 10, 12, 16, 18, 21, 29, 61, 91, 102, 108, 124, 129, 137, 138, 206, 210, 222, 234, 260, 275, 301, 336, 340, 341, 352, 364; at Bath, iii, 145, 153; iv, 16, 21, 29, 32, 36-39; relations with Lord Burlington, iii, 145, 150; iv, 280; relations with Bolingbroke, iii, 149, 323, 340, 357; iv, 249, 270, 302; his habits and temperament, iii, 151, 382, 383, 431, 432, 449; iv, 3, 4, 39, 91, 214, 216, 241, 242, 285, 293, 294, 301, 309, 316, 325, 326, 335, 337, 353, 366, 376; vi, 130; sends his Works to Swift, iii, 153; and Congreve, iii, 153; iv, 16; Commissioner of the Lottery, iii, 155, 341, 352; iv, 206, 210, 375; and Stopford, iii, 240, 257, 326, 348, 352, 353, 382; v, 404; his relations with the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, iii, 292, 296, 340, 341, 352; iv, 10, 21, 69-72, 102, 107-109, 113, 129, 135, 137, 158, 176, 202, 206, 234, 240, 259, 284-286, 337, 341, 342, 378, 381, 398, 420; his

Fables, iii, 295, 341, 352, 368, 382, 439 *n.*, 440; iv, 22, 183, 275, 301, 314, 325, 331, 374, 393, 403; his tour with Swift and Pope, iii, 312, 313; v, 252; vi, 132; and Lord Bathurst, iii, 312, 313; iv, 12, 15, 32, 51, 71, 108, 112, 124, 129, 133, 206, 210, 213, 214, 235, 336; his *Molly Mogg*, iii, 312 *n.*, 357, 405; his lodgings at Whitehall, iii, 325 *n.*, 334, 387, 393, 418; iv, 108, 113, 315; his part in the Cheddar letters, iii, 334-336, 344, 345, 347-351; and *Gulliver*, iii, 341, 351, 352; borrows sheets from Jervas, iii, 341; iv, 17; his buttons eaten by mice, iii, 348, 353; and Mrs. Pratt, iii, 404; and Mrs. Drelincourt, iii, 409; iv, 159, 221, 233, 234; knowledge of the details of Swift's journey to Ireland, iii, 424-426, 430-433; offered and refuses the post of Usher to Princess Louisa, iii, 426, 427, 431; iv, 2, 335 *n.*, 337, 375; relations with Walpole, iii, 431; iv, 2 *n.*, 182, 183, 245, 374; his age, iii, 431; tries to buy a place in the Customs, iii, 434; his part in the Miscellany, iii, 440; iv, 7; v, 216 *n.*; and Patty Blount, iii, 448; iv, 221; visits the Earl of Essex at Cassiobury, iv, 15; v, 404 *n.*, and the Pulteneys, iv, 15, 71, 73; 260; and the Duchess, iv, 16, 21, 52, 70; visits Sir W. Wyndham, iv, 16, 17; his wine cellar, iv, 17, 128, and Joe Taylor, iv, 22, 138, 139; 211; plays backgammon, iv, 32, 211, 341; Swift's money in his charge, iv, 32, 51, 71, 108, 112, 124, 129, 133, 139, 158, 173, 180, 206, 210, 213, 214, 219, 221, 235, 236, 240, 281, 285, 293, 301, 315, 316, 324, 325, 335, 340, 351, 364, 398, 421; v, 41; his works preached against by Dr. Herring, iv, 33; going to stay with Lady Scudamore, iv, 37; his portrait, iv, 37, 38; his obesity, iv, 39, 216; his *Polly*, iv, 51, 52, 59, 61, 69-73, 80, 86, 108 *n.*, 403; his abstemiousness, iv, 60, 129, 134, 138, 141, 150, 158, 205, 206, 210, 315, 325, 326; at Hampstead, iv, 69; his fame, iv, 71-73; attended by Dr. Hollings, iv, 71; the Duchess of Queensberry banished from Court on his account, iv, 69, 70, 73; his desire for a quiet life, iv, 73 *n.*; in Scot-

land, iv, 80, 86, 111, 174; lawsuits with piratical booksellers, iv, 80, 275, 276; at Middleton Stoney, iv, 107-109; his play, *The Wife of Bath*, iv, 108, 112, 129, 133, 134; takes to riding, iv, 134, 173; dines with Barber, iv, 139; life at Amesbury, iv, 158, 159, 172-174, 179, 181, 186, 187, 210-212, 218, 233, 270, 337, 338; and the Dublin Miscellany, iv, 168; and Lord Carteret, iv, 172; shoots partridges, iv, 173, 341; his heelless shoe, iv, 203; dines with Tonson at Barnes, iv, 206; in London, iv, 206, 220, 284-286, 301, 364; calls upon Mrs. Barber, iv, 211; dines with Lord Oxford, iv, 220; hand-writing, iv, 258-260; "an arrant cockney," iv, 272; his luggage, iv, 272; eats his poultice, iv, 280 *n.*; going to Rousham, iv, 285; his play, *Achilles*, iv, 301, 314, 315, 325, 371, 378, 393, 396, 403, 413; last illness and death, iv, 301 *n.*, 365, 366, 371, 373 *n.*, 378, 380, 393, 398, 411, 425, 427; v, 93 *n.*, 176; vi, 38; assists Ryves, iv, 302; promises to meet Swift at Bristol, iv, 302; and Pilkington, iv, 323, 334; introduced in the *Libel on Dr. Delany*, iv, 335; and Mr. Hoare, iv, 340, 364; his sisters, iv, 365, 366, 413, 414, 421, 430; v, 41; intestate, iv, 366, 393, 413; buried in Westminster Abbey, iv, 378; his monument and epitaph, iv, 393, 403, 412, 413, 425, 430; his monotony of subject, iv, 413, 414; his posthumous writings, iv, 413, 414, 425, 430, 431; his letters, v, 41; vi, 169; his *Distrest Wife*, v, 58; his metre, v, 162; and Lord Gower, vi, 209; his chair, vi, 229.

Gazette, *The*, i, 106.

Gazetteer. See Ford, King, Steele.

Geddes, William, Swift's servant, ii, 48, 347, 349, 350, 355; gets drunk, ii, 263, 264; witness to Percival's lease, ii, 349-351.

Genius less successful than mediocrity, iii, 41.

Gentle and Ingenious Conversation. See *Polite*.

Gentleman's Magazine, *The*, article on Stella in, iv, 450-453.

Geogheghan, Francis, sends Swift an account of the Stewart lawsuit, iv, 63, 64.

- George, Bolingbroke's butler, ii, 172.
- George, Electoral Prince of Hanover and Duke of Brunswick, afterwards George I of England, i, 110*n.*; ii, 372, 375, 387*n.*, 421, 423; iii, 70, 238, 281, 344*n.*; iv, 46*n.*, 259; vi, 25; his accession, i, 79*n.*, 135*n.*; ii, 205, 208, 211-213, 215, 216, 228, 232, 294; iii, 64*n.*, 201*n.*, 266*n.*; iv, 38*n.*, 74; vi, 110; and Shute, i, 128*n.*; and Bothmar's *Memorial*, i, 313*n.*; and Harley, i, 324; ii, 246, 391; as Duke of Cambridge, ii, 137, 143; and Lord Dorchester, ii, 193*n.*; his list of Regents, ii, 230, 231; dislike of Marlborough, ii, 230*n.*; and the Civil List, ii, 231; relations with Bolingbroke, ii, 237, 327; iii, 27, 30, 396, 397; arrives in England, ii, 243, 244, 394*n.*; dismissal of the Tories, ii, 244, 245, 265; and Peterborough, ii, 246; iii, 168*n.*; his Coronation, ii, 248; limits the preaching of the Clergy, ii, 265, 266; and Lady Harley, ii, 269*n.*; and Dean Chetwode, ii, 290*n.*; and the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 292, 295; and Ormond, ii, 295; his first Irish Parliament, ii, 301; and Lady Bolingbroke, ii, 331; Jacobite plots against, ii, 340-342; and the Non-jurors, ii, 340-342, 354; in Hanover, ii, 360, 363; iii, 166, 288, 289; removes Lord Townshend, ii, 360, 361; relations with his son, ii, 361; iii, 50; compared with Philippe of Orleans, ii, 389; creates the Earl of Wharton a Marquis, iii, 1*n.*; makes Robert Molesworth a Viscount, iii, 1*n.*; and the South Sea Company, iii, 49, 50, 84*n.*; and the Duchess of Kendall, iii, 50; and Swift's *Proposal*, iii, 65*n.*; and Prior, iii, 103; and Swift, iii, 116, 117; his statue in Dublin, iii, 138, 139; and Arbuthnot, iii, 181; and Chetwode, iii, 200*n.*; iv, 470, 471; health, iii, 289, 375; and the Wild Boy, iii, 304; Irish loyalty to, iii, 309-311; death, iii, 396, 397, 399, 402; iv, 60, 247, 248*n.*, 375; and Walpole, iii, 402*n.*; mourning for, iv, 28; and the Earl of Sussex, iv, 37*n.*; and Lord Dorset, iv, 151*n.*; and Lord Kerry, iv, 401*n.*
- George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, i, 112*n.*, 171*n.*, 306*n.*; ii, 26*n.*; iii, 358*n.*, 388, 427; iv, 146, 196, 375; v, 21*n.*, 22*n.*, 35*n.*, 211, 225*n.*, 245, 325, 375; vi, 56; arrival in England, ii, 243*n.*; Chancellor of Dublin University, ii, 338, 342, 376, 399, 401, 403; relations with his father, ii, 361; iii, 49; at Richmond, iii, 352, 410; iv, 29; and Gulliver, iii, 375, 389; as "Prince Efroggo" supposed to write to Stella, iii, 383, 384; relations with Bolingbroke, iii, 383*n.*, 397; his accession, iii, 396, 397, 399-402; iv, 12*n.*, 60, 76, 182; his moderate politics, iii, 400; coronation, iii, 423, 424; and Schultz, iv, 13*n.*; and Mrs. Howard, iv, 15*n.*, 133, 153; at Hampton Court, iv, 29; at Windsor, iv, 29; and Gay's *Polly*, iv, 69, 71; banishes the Duchess of Queensberry from Court, iv, 69; his physician, iv, 71*n.*; and Pope, iv, 73; in Hanover, iv, 80; v, 404, 405; vi, 163; and Lord Chesterfield, iv, 177*n.*; his displeasure with Swift on account of the Duke of Schomberg's monument, iv, 243, 244, 247, 248, 282; v, 253; his birthday celebrations, iv, 269; v, 266; and Chetwode, iv, 473; his unpopularity, v, 280; his speech in proroguing Parliament, v, 343; his mistresses, v, 405; vi, 90; at Helvoetsluys, v, 420; quarrel with his son, v, 421; called "our little Captain," vi, 31; and Walpole, vi, 31; and Queen Caroline's death, vi, 51; and the writ for Swift's lunacy, vi, 181, 184; Address to, vi, 244.
- George III, v, 171*n.*, 225*n.*, 228*n.*; birth, v, 421*n.*
- George of Denmark, Prince, Lord High Admiral, i, 68*n.*, 116; dislike of Somers, i, 85*n.*; death, i, 85*n.*, 116, 117, 120, 147, 163*n.*; and the Act of Succession, ii, 235.
- George, The, Pall Mall, i, 80.
- Georgian Society's Records, The*, i, 41*n.*
- Geraldino, Don. See Fitzgerald.
- Geree, Rev. John, Rector of Letcombe Bassett, Berkshire, afterwards Canon of Hereford, i, 386; Swift sends him wine, ii, 134, 143; friendship with Swift, ii, 134; v, 334, 335; his school, ii, 134, 135; account of, ii, 134*n.*; v, 334*n.*; Swift stays with at Letcombe Bassett, ii, 142-189, 203-227; vi, 37; his melancholy disposition, ii, 142; acquaintance with

- Stella, iv, 451; recommends Captain Scroggs to Swift, v, 334, 335; his translations of Horace, v, 335.
- Geree, Mrs., ii, 134, 135, 143, 418.
- Geree, Mary, sister of John, iv, 451.
- Germain, Lady Elizabeth or Betty, wife of Sir John, daughter of the Earl of Berkeley, quoted, i, 71 n.; her interest in Philips, i, 110; account of, i, 110 n.; relations with Swift, i, 110 n.; iv, 171, 189, 269; v, 348, 413; vi, 203, 204; scandal about, i, 110 n.; her marriage, i, 110 n.; v, 457; her connection and friendship with the Duke and Duchess of Dorset, i, 110 n.; v, 108, 132, 133, 264, 265; affection for Biddy Floyd, i, 134 n.; iv, 322, 323; visits the Vanhomrighs, iii, 458, 459; and Mrs. Barber, iv, 164, 188, 189, 200, 230, 262; love of play, iv, 164, 297; her good offices between Swift and the Duke of Dorset, iv, 165, 189, 190; v, 126, 151, 153, 170, 171, 183, 184, 204, 228, 348, 349, 365, 366, 387, 388, 413, 419; character, iv, 165 n.; her title, iv, 188; health, iv, 188, 232, 262, 280; v, 228, 305, 365, 388, 414; at Tunbridge, iv, 188; and Lieutenant Head, iv, 200; and Pope, iv, 200, 232, 278, 487; v, 306; and Brandreth, iv, 232, 314; at Knoles, iv, 262, 363; v, 108, 228, 353; her residences, iv, 262, 269; v, 228, 265; her horsemanship, iv, 262, 268, 269; v, 265; her hardy upbringing, iv, 262; and Lord Peterborough, iv, 262; v, 264, 265; recommends Barber to the Duke of Dorset, iv, 262, 263; at Whitchurch, iv, 263; her footboy, iv, 268; in Ireland, iv, 269, 283; at the Birthday, iv, 269; and Mrs. Brent, iv, 269; her Latin, iv, 278, 283; and Miss Kelly, iv, 279, 385 n., 443; and her sister's monument, iv, 283; v, 11; company in her dressing room, iv, 284; handwriting, iv, 296; v, 205; her method of passing her time, iv, 296, 297; and Lord George Sackville, iv, 297; her party at Drayton, iv, 322, 323; does not know her own age, iv, 323; her championship of Lady Suffolk, iv, 363, 373, 374, 388, 389, 416, 427; v, 153, 204, 205; her politics, iv, 377, 389; v, 305; her dispute with the Bishop of Peterborough and another clergyman, iv, 443; v, 10, 11; staying with Lord Wilmington, v, 108; Swift asks her for a seal, v, 165, 166; acquaintance with Lady Kerry, v, 184, 185; her correspondence with Swift published by Curll, v, 184-186, 205, 229; and the *Ballad to the tune of Cut-throat*, v, 187 n.; Verses on, v, 229, 457, 458; her antique ring, v, 264, 265; her weak eyesight, v, 305; advises Swift to wear oilcloth next to the skin, v, 305; death of her brother Henry, v, 353, 365; with the Vere Beauclerks, v, 353; at Bath, v, 366, 388, 414; her "saucy niece," see Chambers.
- Germain, Sir John, married to Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, i, 110 n.; his first wife, i, 110 n.; iv, 262 n.; account of, i, 110 n.; lawsuit with Lord Peterborough, iv, 262 n.
- Geronstere Water. See Spa.
- Gerrard, Samuel, account of, iv, 192 n.; introduced to Swift by Mr. Cusack, iv, 193; business proposals to Swift, iv, 418, 419; v, 129-132, 135, 136; brings the volume of Pope's Correspondence from Bath, vi, 157 n., 166 n., 172.
- Gerrie. See Geree.
- Gertruydenberg, Treaty of, ii, 2, 9, 16.
- Gibraltar, ii, 3.
- Gibson (1), a friend of the Ludlows, iv, 468.
- Gibson (2), runs away with Miss Cope, v, 194.
- Gibson (3), a friend of Richardson's, v, 426.
- Gibson, Edmund, Bishop of London, iii, 203 n., 346.
- Giffard, Martha, Lady, wife of Sir Thomas, sister of Sir William Temple, i, 15, 54 n., 170 n.; her bird, i, 21; vi, 241; staying in London, i, 21 n.; and Stella, i, 40; iv, 452; relations with Swift, i, 150 n., 170-174, 384, 385; iii, 297 n.; vi, 241, 242; account of, i, 170 n.; and Swift's translation of Virgil, i, 365; her puddings, v, 407; her portrait by Lely, v, 417; and Rebecca Dingley, vi, 205; and the Countess of Essex, vi, 241.
- Giffard, Sir Thomas, i, 170 n.
- Gilbert, Sir John, his *History of Dublin*, iii, 139 n.; iv, 400 n.
- Gildon, Charles, ii, 329; iii, 283, 293, 294.

- Giles, Mr., iv, 481.
 Giles, Mrs. *See* Perkins.
 Gillespy, Swift's steward, ii, 264, 271, 279-282, 314, 332, 347; his unsatisfactory behaviour, ii, 316, 355-359, 400, 401; dismissed, ii, 344, 345, 350, 351; his horse, ii, 346, 365.
 Gilliver, Lawton, bookseller, and the *Miscellany*, iv, 484-486; arrested for publishing Swift's *Epistle to a Lady*, etc., v, 59 n., 214, 215; his edition of Pope's *Works*, v, 298.
 Giralaldi, M., Secretary to the Duke of Tuscany, ii, 267, 268; iii, 240; account of, ii, 267 n.
 Glanville, Joseph, his *Sepsis Scientifica*, i, 28.
 Glascheel. *See* Ford.
 Glenawly, Baron, v, 203 n.
 Glorious. *See* William III.
 Glover, Richard, his *Leonidas*, vi, 17.
God's Revenge against Punning, iv, 360 n.
 Goddard's Drops, i, 379.
 Godolphin, Francis, 2nd Earl, vi, 30 n.
 Godolphin, Sydney, 1st Earl, Lord Treasurer, i, 61; vi, 78; his enmity towards Harley, i, 75; leaves the Council with Marlborough, i, 75; and the First Fruits, i, 87, 88, 92-95, 104, 105, 108, 116, 122, 148; and the Test, i, 105, 108; his oracular saying, i, 105, 108; bestowal of patronage, i, 109; and Lord Wharton's chaplain, i, 126; dismissal, i, 189, 191 n., 193-196, 198; ii, 204; his reception of Swift, i, 194; age, i, 198; death, i, 198 n.; and Sir John Holland, i, 199 n.
 Godwin, Timothy, Bishop of Kilmore, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, iii, 66, 388 n.
 Gold, Bill for lowering the, v, 324, 358; vi, 27, 28, 47, 48, 54, 206, 207.
 Golden, editor of *Dublin Intelligence*, iv, 67 n., 68 n.
 Golden Farmer, The, iv, 451.
 Goldsmith's Hall, v, 43.
 Gonzato, Jacobus, v, 237.
 Goodere, Mr., Mrs. Vanhomrigh's landlord, i, 390.
 Goodrich, residence of the Swift family, iii, 386 n.; iv, 37; its apples and cider, iii, 426; iv, 17, 22.
 Goodwin, Timothy, printer, ii, 285 n.
 Gordon, Mr., corresponds with Swift, i, 383.
 Gordon, Thomas, his *Dedication to a Great Man*, iii, 116.
 Gore, Sir Ralph, Speaker of the Irish Parliament, married to Miss Ashe, iii, 15; iv, 401, 406 n.; v, 18; account of, iii, 15 n.
 Gorey, iv, 64; vi, 226.
 Gorges, Doll, wife of Richard (1), i, 310 n.; v, 59 n.
 Gorges, Hamilton, son of Richard (1), his duel with St. Lawrence, v, 202 n.
 Gorges, General Richard (1), i, 310 n.; v, 60 n.
 Gorges, Richard (2), son of Richard (1), v, 60, 202 n.
 Gormanston, Viscount, ii, 365 n.
 Gorman, an Irish physician, v, 38.
 Gosford, Viscount. *See* Acheson.
 Gosford Castle, illustrated, iv, 224, 320; and *see* Market Hill.
 Goulding, Mr. R. W., ii, 160 n.; v, 1 n.
 Govaerts, Pierre, v, 236.
 Gower, John, 1st Baron, ii, 208.
 Gower, John, 2nd Baron, afterwards Earl, friendship with Gay, iv, 72; v, 25, 209; marries Lady Harold, iv, 341 n.; dines with Barber, v, 25; writes to Swift on behalf of Johnson, vi, 209, 210.
 Graaf, Regenerus de, v, 237.
 Graevius, iv, 78.
 Grafton, Charles, 2nd Duke of, Lord Justice in Ireland, ii, 318; Lord Lieutenant, iii, 66, 81 n., 82; iv, 282; stepson to Sir Thomas Hanmer, iii, 66, 151 n.; and Waters, iii, 66, 69, 116; old acquaintance with Swift, iii, 66, 151 n.; iv, 282; in London, iii, 69; at Euston, iii, 69 n.; and Archbishop King, iii, 81 n., 101, 203 n.; and Lightburne, iii, 151, 152; opens the Irish Parliament, iii, 173 n., 186, 189; and Conolly, iii, 189, 200 n.; recalled from Ireland, iii, 191 n.; makes Berkeley Dean of Derry, iii, 212; and the *Quaker's Verbal Speech*, iii, 220 n.; Lord Chamberlain, iv, 51, 200; suppresses *Polly*, iv, 51; and Mrs. Lancelot's lease, iv, 178; and Cibber, iv, 200, 220.
 Grafton, Duchess of, married to Sir Thomas Hanmer, iii, 66 n.; vi, 242.
 Graham, Right Hon. William (1), iii, 238 n.
 Graham, Right Hon. William (2), son of William (1), travels with Stopford,

- iii, 238, 239, 287 *n.*, 288; marries Lord Lansdowne's daughter, iv, 238 *n.*; extravagance, v, 138; debt to the Chapter of St. Patrick's, vi, 12; a pupil of Sheridan, vi, 12; M.P. for Drogheda and Privy Councillor, vi, 12, 13.
- Graham, Mrs. William (2), daughter of Lord Lansdowne, iv, 238 *n.*; v, 138; death, vi, 12.
- Graham, William (3), Dean of Wells, i, 335 *n.*; ii, 4.
- Granard, Arthur, 1st Earl of, i, 17 *n.*
- Granard, Arthur, 2nd Earl of, ii, 248 *n.*; iii, 198 *n.*; iv, 472.
- Granard, George, 3rd Earl of. *See* Forbes.
- Grand Question Debated, The.* *See* Hamilton's *Bawn*.
- Grange, The. *See* Baldoyle.
- Grant, Francis, and the Irish Fisheries, v, 60-66.
- Grant, Sarah, afterwards Jaeven, i, 370.
- Grants, Bill to inquire into the, etc., i, 326, 329, 331.
- Granville, Miss Anne, afterwards Mrs. D'Ewes, sister to Mrs. Pendarves, v, 34, 35, 175, 377; health, v, 181, 318; at Bath, v, 296 *n.*, 297, 300, 318.
- Granville, Bernard, brother to Mrs. Pendarves, v, 175.
- Granville, Countess, and Mrs. Barber, v, 46; account of, v, 46 *n.*; friendship with Swift, v, 69, 142, 146, 429; vi, 75.
- Granville, Earl. *See* Carteret.
- Granville, George, Lord Lansdowne. *See* Lansdowne.
- Granville, John, 1st Earl of Bath, v, 46 *n.*
- Granville, Mrs., v, 14, 15, 35, 318.
- Grattan, Charles, son of Patrick, his fellowship, ii, 19 *n.*, Head Master of Portora School, ii, 262 *n.*; v, 157 *n.*; on Swift's hay, iii, 252; "governing the North," v, 165; on the Commission on Swift's lunacy, vi, 182.
- Grattan, Henry (1), son of Patrick, ii, 262 *n.*; death, v, 165 *n.*
- Grattan, Henry (2), grandson of Henry (1), ii, 262 *n.*; iii, 189 *n.*
- Grattan, Dr. James, son of Patrick, ii, 262 *n.*; v, 165, 237; ill, v, 193; and Lord Howth, v, 201; and Clancy, vi, 208.
- Grattan, Rev. John, son of Patrick, ii, 262 *n.*; iii, 11, 79; iv, 479; has the gout, ii, 365; visits Swift at Quilca, iii, 263 *n.*, 264; and the *Address to both Houses of Parliament*, iii, 264, 266; one of Swift's prebendaries, iv, 213; v, 165, 348; Stella's executor, iv, 462; Rector of Raheny, v, 104 *n.*; on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182, 225; and Clancy's play, vi, 208, 209.
- Grattan, Rev. Patrick, ii, 262 *n.*
- Grattan, Mrs. Patrick, of Belcamp, ii, 262 *n.*
- Grattan, Richard, son of Patrick, Lord Mayor of Dublin, ii, 262 *n.*; v, 165, 240; knighted, v, 348; death, v, 348 *n.*
- Grattan, Rev. Robert or Robin, son of Patrick, ii, 262 *n.*, 316; hospitality to Swift, ii, 302; vi, 73; his MS., ii, 314, 315; appointed to St. Bride's, iii, 136 *n.*, 157, 158; iv, 144; v, 255 *n.*, 348; one of Swift's prebendaries, iv, 458; v, 165; his cellar of wine, v, 108, 173; recommends a boy to Dr. Steevens' Hospital, vi, 73.
- Grattan, William, son of Patrick, ii, 262 *n.*; death, v, 165 *n.*
- Grattan Family, the, ii, 19 *n.*, 262 *n.*, 386; iii, 316; iv, 194 *n.*, 230; v, 274, 294, 337, 348, 362; their home at Belcamp, iii, 215; (illustrated), v, 294.
- Graves, Mr., ii, 257.
- Gray, John, Swift's tenant, ii, 357.
- Great Rider Street, St. James's, ii, 143.
- Green, a bookseller, iv, 482.
- Green, Secretary to the Archbishop of Dublin, iii, 200 *n.*
- Green, Mrs., wife of the Secretary, iii, 200.
- Greene, Mr. Richard, iii, 127 *n.*
- Greene, Robert, stepfather to Jane Waring, i, 34 *n.*, 35 *n.*
- Greenvil, Mr., iii, 363.
- Greenvil, Mrs., Swift sends her a picture, iii, 363.
- Greenwich, i, 82; Hospital, v, 128.
- Greenwood, John, an informer, ii, 416.
- Gregg, William, Harley's clerk, arrested for treasonable correspondence, i, 69, 75, 76, 250, 257, 274 *n.*; ii, 293.
- Gregory, Dr., Savilian Professor, i, 135.

- Greney, John, Swift's tenant, ii, 357.
- Greville, Sir Fulke, his epitaph, iv, 78.
- Grierson, Abraham, son of Mrs., iv, 120 n.
- Grierson, George, publisher, iii, 402 n.; v, 121.
- Grierson, Mrs., wife of George, classical scholar, iv, 120, 121, 149, 170; v, 127 n.; account of, iv, 120 n.; death, iv, 380; revises Mrs. Barber's poems, v, 29 n.
- Griffin, Edward, 1st Lord, of Braybrooke, i, 91.
- Griffith, John, of Weobley, i, 366.
- Griffith, Thomas, actor, v, 220, 304, 305; account of, v, 220 n.
- Grigsby, John, accountant of the South Sea Company, ii, 188.
- Grimston, William, 1st Viscount, v, 420.
- Gronovius, iv, 78.
- Grotius, ii, 150.
- "Grub Street," i, 335, 337.
- Guardian, The*, ii, 19, 26, 27, 30, 34, 35 n.
- Guicciardini, iii, 171.
- Guildhall, The, ii, 79.
- Guilford, James, 2nd Baron, Commissioner of Trade, ii, 171.
- Guiscard, Antoine, Marquis de, his attempt upon Harley's life, i, 238-240, 250, 251, 253, 256 n.; v, 401; his career, i, 240, 241; his pension, i, 242.
- Guiscard, Memoires du Marquis de*, i, 242 n.; vi, 242.
- Gulliver, Jonathan, M.P. for Boston, New England, iv, 17, 18, 29.
- Gulliver, Lemuel, a man named, iv, 29.
- Gulliver, Lemuel, Travels into several Nations of the World by*, ii, 159 n.; iii, 113, 133, 241 n., 259, 267, 269, 276-278, 284, 314, 365-384; iv, 23, 264, 275, 309; v, 104, 273; its publication, iii, 210, 321, 328, 329, 341, 350, 351, 354, 356 n.; its success, iii, 356-361, 364, 378; taken seriously, iii, 358, 368; Motte's alterations and errors, iii, 368, 373, 374, 378; iv, 444; v, 37; translated and adapted in France, iii, 376; iv, 445; fans, iii, 377, 379; censured in Ireland, iii, 378; Pope's verses on, iii, 380, 381; editions of, iii, 381; iv, 444; v, 26; its authorship made known to Motte, iii, 438 n.; iv, 7; suggestions for illustrations to, iii, 439, 440; profits from, iv, 32, 121; v, 180; vi, 161.
- Gumley, Mr., v, 385.
- Guthrie, William, supposed to have written *Achilles Dissected*, iv, 403 n., 415.
- Guy, Henry, Secretary to the Treasury, iii, 110.
- Gwyn, Francis, Secretary of War, ii, 415.
- Gyllenborg, Count de, iii, 240.
- Habeas Corpus Act suspended, ii, 295, 312; iii, 121.
- Hacket, Thomas, Bishop of Down and Connor, deprived of his bishopric, i, 25 n.
- Hague, Treaty of The, ii, 2, 9, 16.
- Haistwell, Edward, a Quaker merchant, i, 68.
- Hale, Mr., v, 200.
- Hales, Mrs., i, 109.
- Halifax, Charles Montagu, 1st Lord, i, 86 n., 110 n., 116 n., 135; relations with Harley, i, 76 n.; ii, 15 n., 78 n.; his mission to Hanover, i, 110 n.; and Lord Dorset, i, 110 n.; his character and talent, i, 113, 156, 157, 175, 176; his relations with Catherine Barton, i, 144 n.; relations with Swift, i, 155 n., 156, 165, 166, 174-177, 186, 190, 384, 385; v, 186, 466; his house in New Palace Yard, i, 157; relations with Addison, i, 165; a dinner at his house, i, 166; and Temple, i, 172 n.; and Steele, i, 186; subscribes for Pope's *Homer*, ii, 96; at the Duke of Montagu's, ii, 413; intercedes with Harley for Congreve, iii, 117, 118.
- Hall, a wine merchant, v, 441.
- Ham Common, iv, 13.
- Ham House, Petersham, iii, 340.
- Hamilton, Dr. Andrew, Archdeacon of Raphoe, ii, 115.
- Hamilton, Lord Archibald, son of the 1st Duke, marries Lady Hamilton, iii, 21.
- Hamilton (formerly Cecil), Captain Arthur, v, 83, 84, 120, 210, 340; account of, v, 83 n.
- Hamilton, Mrs., wife of Captain, v, 83, 84, 367.
- Hamilton, Elizabeth, Duchess of, wife of the 4th Duke, gives Swift a belt with a pocket for his snuff-box, i, 337 n.; reconciled to Lady Orkney,

- i, 352 *n.*; friendship with Swift, i, 354; iii, 447; friendship with Pope, iii, 447 *n.*
- Hamilton, Lady Elizabeth or Betty, daughter of the 6th Earl of Abercorn, ii, 45; iv, 434 *n.*; her name scratched on a window at Dunstable, ii, 45; married to William Brownlow, ii, 45 *n.*; dines with Dr. Delany, v, 69; Mrs. Barber's verses on, v, 69 *n.*; recommends Isaac Bullock to Swift, v, 131; at Lurgan, v, 182, 183; Swift's friendship with, v, 182 *n.*; her spoilt child, v, 182 *n.*; her gardening, v, 183.
- Hamilton, Dame Elizabeth, widow of Sir Francis, her will, i, 371 *n.*; marries Lord Archibald Hamilton, iii, 21.
- Hamilton, Sir Francis, his will, i, 371 *n.*; iii, 21 *n.*; v, 82 *n.*
- Hamilton, Gustavus, vi, 243.
- Hamilton, Hugh, Baron Glenawly, v, 203 *n.*
- Hamilton, John, vi, 83 *n.*
- Hamilton, James, 4th Duke of, i, 352 *n.*
- Hamilton, Margaret, daughter of John, marries 5th Earl of Orrery, vi, 83-85, 96; account of, vi, 83 *n.*; her fortune, vi, 83 *n.*, 85 *n.*; abstemiousness, vi, 85, 104; affection for Swift, vi, 85, 104, 168, 174; character, vi, 85, 95, 174; in England, vi, 102; dresses in Irish stuffs, vi, 104; at Caledon, vi, 145, 166 *n.*; offers to escort Swift to England, vi, 175; visits Swift in Dublin, vi, 177.
- Hamilton, Mr., vi, 160.
- Hamilton, Nichola Sophia, daughter of 1st Lord Glenawly, afterwards Lady Beresford and Mrs. Gorges, ghost story about, v, 203 *n.*
- Hamilton, Lady Philippa, daughter of the 6th Earl of Abercorn, married to Dr. Pratt, iii, 107, 108.
- Hamilton, Thomas, juryman on Swift's lunacy, vi, 184, 185.
- Hamilton, William, 1st Duke of, i, 352 *n.*; iii, 21 *n.*
- Hamilton's Bawn, iv, 42, 215.
- Hamilton's Baron, or The Grand Question Debated*, iii, 163 *n.*; iv, 215, 292, 303, 308, 360, 483.
- Hammersmith, iii, 421.
- Hammond, Dr. John, vi, 204.
- Hammond, Martha, marries John Dingley (2), vi, 204.
- Hammond family, i, 42 *n.*
- Hampton Court, i, 208, 218, 342; ii, 57; iii, 280; iv, 29.
- Hanbury, William, i, 1.
- Hand, Dr., i, 377.
- Handcock, Matthew, Archdeacon of Kilmore, ii, 289 *n.*
- Handcock, Stephen, Dean of Clonmacnoise, ii, 289 *n.*
- Handel, George Frederick, at Canons, iii, 23 *n.*; his vogue, iii, 154, 155, 356 *n.*; vi, 223; brings Senesino to London, iii, 155 *n.*
- "Hangman's Wages, A," iv, 386 *n.*
- Hanmer, Sir Thomas, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, his speech on the Battle of Almanza, i, 74; his *Representation of the State of the Nation*, i, 322 *n.*; ii, 30 *n.*; v, 401; and the *Four Last Years*, ii, 30, 31; account of, ii, 30 *n.*; his edition of Shakespeare, ii, 30 *n.*; political position, ii, 30 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 55, 417, 418; opposition to the Treaty with France, ii, 47, 78 *n.*; and Dolben, ii, 106 *n.*; in Wales at the time of the Queen's death, ii, 205; returns to London, ii, 205, 208; and the Scriblerus Club, ii, 417; and Waters, iii, 64-66, 69; deposed from the Speaker's Chair, iii, 64 *n.*; married to the Duchess of Grafton, iii, 66; his houses in Pall Mall and at Mildenhall, iii, 66, 69; his correspondence, vi, 243.
- Hannibal, iii, 32.
- Hannibal at our Gates*, i, 323 *n.*
- Hanover, Envoy from, *see* Bothmar; Tories, ii, 47 *n.*, 170 *n.*; troops, ii, 236.
- Harcourt, Sir Simon, afterwards Baron and Viscount Harcourt, Attorney-General, i, 74 *n.*, 76; Lord Keeper, i, 236, 240, 292, 314; ii, 70 *n.*; relations with Harley and St. John, i, 236, 279; ii, 31 *n.*, 182, 183, 223, 228; at Harley's Cabinet dinners, i, 236 *n.*, 256; Swift's verses on, i, 240 *n.*; created a peer, i, 256, 258; at Windsor, i, 277; and the *Academy*, i, 331; and "The Society," ii, 25; and Diaper, ii, 25; Lord Chancellor, ii, 25; and Steele's quarrel with Swift, ii, 27, 32, 34; character, ii, 31 *n.*, 303; iii, 77; relations with Swift, ii, 31, 32; v, 396, 466; and Gerec, ii, 134; offers Swift a living, ii, 182; sent for from the country by Bolingbroke, ii, 191, 192;

- assists Anne to hand the Treasurer's staff to Shrewsbury, ii, 207 *n.*; one of the regents, ii, 213 *n.*; loses office, ii, 235 *n.*; supports Walpole, iii, 77 *n.*, 304 *n.*; made Viscount, iii, 77 *n.*; friendship with Pope, iii, 168; and Archbishop King, iii, 203 *n.*; persuades Walpole to see Swift, iii, 304 *n.*; on *Gulliver*, iii, 359.
- Harcourt, Honble. Simon, son of 1st Viscount, ii, 24, 25.
- Harding, John, prosecuted for printing the *Drapier's Letters*, iii, 224 *n.*; dies in prison, iii, 266 *n.*
- Harding, Mrs., widow of John, iii, 266; and the *Intelligencer*, iv, 54, 67, 68; Flower's gifts to, iv, 68.
- Hardwicke, Philip Yorke, Earl of, Lord Chief Justice, afterwards Lord Chancellor, v, 346.
- Hare, Sir Thomas, Under-Secretary to Bolingbroke, vi, 42.
- Harley, Edward (1), Auditor, brother of Robert, ii, 132 *n.*, 183, 395; his supposed letter on the Queen's last illness, ii, 207 *n.*; recommends a chorister to Swift, iii, 44, 45, 52; account of, iii, 44 *n.*; and his brother's papers, iii, 319; illness and death, v, 195; his son and grandchildren, v, 195 *n.*, 224; and the *Four Last Years*, vi, 41.
- Harley, Edward (2), Lord, afterwards 2nd Earl of Oxford, son of Robert, i, 239, 241; ii, 142 *n.*, 394; iii, 45, 47, 178, 179; v, 20 *n.*; his correspondence with Swift, i, ix; iii, 178 *n.*, 452, 453; vi, 203, 204; his friendship with Swift, i, 190; ii, 184; iii, 4 *n.*, 6, 7, 23, 39, 221-223, 260, 261, 282, 285, 286, 296, 312, 319, 320, 384, 390, 408 *n.*, 410; iv, 72, 91, 114, 128, 132, 148, 159, 160, 177, 196, 220, 238, 381, 417; v, 5, 195, 223, 344, 397; vi, 42, 61, 70, 72, 75, 89, 92, 101, 123, 131, 238; becomes Lord Harley, i, 289; his marriage to Lady Henrietta Holles, ii, 183, 184, 235; iii, 113; at Oxford, ii, 183, 184, 190, 196, 197, 200; iii, 6; Swift's description of, ii, 183 *n.*; a member of the Brothers' Club, ii, 184, 270 *n.*, 398; his seat at Wimpole, ii, 198; iii, 4 *n.*, 39, 387 *n.*, 389, 390, 408-410; iv, 361 *n.*; birth of his daughter, ii, 269; his portrait, ii, 270; iii, 263; his friendship and correspondence with Stratford, ii, 310 *n.*; iii, 140 *n.*, 203 *n.*, 226 *n.*, 386 *n.*; and Swift's letter to his father, ii, 399; his gifts to Swift, iii, 4, 6, 144, 222, 225, 265, 279; at Bath, iii, 5-8; kindness to Prior, iii, 8, 38, 51, 103 *n.*, 113; vi, 234-238; character, iii, 32, 74, 77; vi, 89, 92, 167; living in Dover Street, iii, 51, 313, 423; has prints made by Vertue of Prior's portrait, iii, 52; on Harcourt, iii, 77 *n.*; his friendship with Pope, iii, 168, 222, 257, 312, 313, 319, 389, 390, 423; iv, 220; becomes Earl of Oxford, iii, 196, 197; and Swift's proposed *Memoir* of his father, iii, 221, 319-321, 358, 378, 387; sends Swift his father's portrait, iii, 221-223, 260, 262, 265, 279, 291; and Berkeley, iii, 260, 262; his portrait of Swift by Jervas, iii, 261-263, 265; and Lord Carteret, iii, 265, 286; his patronage of learning, iii, 280; health, iii, 283; birth and death of his son, iii, 285-287, 291; his collection of coins and MSS., iii, 286, 428; iv, 12, 31, 40, 148; vi, 71, 72, 76, 82, 89, 178; death, iii, 286 *n.*; vi, 178; goes to the North, iii, 423; at the Coronation, iii, 424; asks Swift for his *Marmora Oxoniensis*, iii, 424, 428; gives Pope a gold cup, iv, 6; and the publication of Pope's Correspondence with Wycherley, iv, 116; recommends Samuel Wesley to Swift, iv, 131, 142, 147, 148, 151, 152; patronage of Whaley, iv, 132, 143, 160; and the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; dines with Tonsen at Barnes, iv, 206; entertains Gay, iv, 220; at Cambridge with Swift, iv, 361; Shaw recommended to, iv, 372, 373, 396; his courtesy to Faulkner, iv, 390; v, 224; vi, 77; asked to watch the cause between Vernon and the City of Dublin, iv, 396, 397; and Jebb, iv, 437; v, 195, 222, 250; his daughter's marriage, v, 80, 81, 84, 85; McLorinan recommended to, v, 121, 122; his family, v, 195, 196; vi, 31, 82, 83; weeps over Swift's letter, v, 411; and Mrs. Barber, v, 443, 444; and *The Four Last Years*, vi, 3, 4, 20-22, 31, 35-38, 41, 73, 74, 77-80, 83; and Lewis, vi, 31; Lady Riverston's cause recommended to, vi, 52, 53; debts, vi,

- 72, 89, 92, 178; Richardson recommended to, vi, 77, 82; corresponds with Baron Wainwright, vi, 82*n.*, 285; his agent Morley, vi, 92; and Drift, vi, 234; hurts his hand, vi, 238.
- Harley on his marriage, To Lord, ii, 183*n.*
- Harley, Edward (3), "Neddy," afterwards 3rd Earl of Oxford, son of Edward (1), iii, 45; v, 195, 443; vi, 77, 83, 239.
- Harley, Edward (4), son of Edward (3), afterwards 4th Earl of Oxford, v, 195*n.*, 443; vi, 77, 83.
- Harley, Lady Elizabeth. *See* Carmarthen.
- Harley, Henrietta, Lady. *See* Holles.
- Harley, John, son of Edward (3), Bishop of Hereford, v, 195*n.*
- Harley, Lady Margaret, "Peggy" or "Marget," daughter of 2nd Earl of Oxford, afterwards Duchess of Portland, iii, 261, 320, 429; iv, 32, 40, 46, 149, 160, 162, 373, 390, 397, 438; v, 87, 122, 250, 397; vi, 22, 36, 53, 77, 123; her birth at York House, ii, 269, 270; has the small-pox, iv, 132, 148; and Mrs. Barber, v, 20*n.*, 22, 23, 443; marriage to the 2nd Duke of Portland, v, 20*n.*, 80, 81, 84, 85; her friendship with Mrs. Delany, v, 81*n.*; vi, 83; her children, v, 195, 223; vi, 4; her happy married life, vi, 4, 82, 83.
- Harley, Nathaniel, brother of Robert, iii, 45, 46.
- Harley, Robert, afterwards 1st Earl of Oxford, his correspondence with Swift, i, vi, 18; iii, 452; vi, 171; correspondence with Hanbury, i, 1*n.*; his clerk, Gregg, tried for treason, i, 69, 75, 76, 250, 251; retires from Godolphin's Ministry, i, 69*n.*, 74-76; his *Memorial* to the Queen on the war, i, 75; his plot against the Godolphin Ministry, i, 75, 76; relations with Abigail Masham, i, 75; ii, 139*n.*, 150, 151, 153, 158, 168, 182, 185, 190, 196; vi, 20, 21; his character, i, 75*n.*, 266, 280, 324, 325, 338; ii, 15, 16, 80, 81, 195, 224, 293, 297, 302, 386, 401; iii, 7, 18, 23*n.*, 25, 30, 51, 142, 170, 181, 185; v, 77, 401; supposed to be in league with the Pretender, i, 78, 323*n.*, 324; vi, 22; his administration, i, 86*n.*, 195, 200*n.*, 313, 324; ii, 70*n.*, 75*n.*; iv, 389, 447; vi, 22; Chancellor of the Exchequer, i, 193; his relations with Swift, i, 193, 200*n.*, 212, 213, 219, 274-276; ii, 27, 32, 57, 63, 78, 82, 154, 157, 160-162, 167, 175, 197-199, 203, 204, 270, 286, 293, 294, 297, 303, 353, 393-395, 399, 401, 415; iii, 29, 33, 45-48, 103, 142-144, 178, 179, 249, 261, 280, 281, 285; iv, 161; v, 23, 223, 396, 466; vi, 21; his part in the remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth Parts, i, 193, 197, 200-203, 209*n.*, 212, 213, 216-220, 223*n.*, 229, 230, 257, 267, 270, 271, 275, 276, 298; vi, 242; his first reception of Swift, i, 200*n.*, 204, 205; his treatment by Godolphin's Ministry, i, 205; and the Church, i, 205; ii, 224, 225; seizes Swift's pen for the Tory party, i, 209*n.*, 213*n.*, 228; his Cabinet dinners, i, 213, 220, 230, 236*n.*, 256, 258, 259; ii, 32, 65, 127, 136; promises to present Swift to Anne, i, 218, 219; his relations with Anne, i, 226, 265, 310; ii, 132, 136*n.*, 199-201; his breach with Bolingbroke, i, 236, 253, 279, 324; ii, 31*n.*, 78, 121, 122*n.*, 139*n.*, 147, 150-153, 158, 162, 181, 182, 185, 189, 193, 198, 215, 223, 224, 227, 228; iii, 25, 30, 114, 117, 208; iv, 98, 397*n.*; vi, 20, 21, 37, 38, 41; relations with Harcourt, i, 236*n.*, 253, 279; ii, 182, 183, 195; stabbed by Guiscard, i, 238-242, 246, 248-250, 255, 256; v, 401; suspected of being in the French interest, i, 243; and Swift's preferment, i, 245, 254, 298; ii, 4; iv, 250; Lord Treasurer, i, 249, 253, 257; his speech on the National Debt, i, 254; and Archbishop King, i, 255, 259, 316*n.*; created Earl of Oxford, i, 253, 256-258; and the proposed *Academy*, i, 267, 268, 325, 331, 347, 348; at Windsor, i, 274-276, 289, 348; ii, 79*n.*; and Convocation, i, 277; his difficulties with regard to the changes of employments, i, 279, 280; and the Dublin mayoral election, i, 288; and the Rev. John Shower, i, 310*n.*, 390-392; ill-health, i, 313; ii, 57, 84; iii, 74, 76, 144, 178; enmity with the Marlboroughs, i, 314*n.*; ii, 389, 391; and Sacheverell, i, 316, 317; and the Peace of Utrecht, i,

319; vi, 41; his creation of new peers, i, 319, 332 n.; promotes the tax upon paper, i, 322, 323; and the Duke of Ormond's pension, i, 325; and the Grants Bill, i, 329; and Swift's snuff-box, i, 337, 338; hatred of petitions, i, 346; receives the Garter at Windsor, i, 348; and Alice Hill, i, 350, 351; the Bandbox plot against, i, 350; and Lady Orkney, i, 352; ii, 48 n., 408, 409; and Thomas Swift, i, 387, 388; his librarian, Wanley, i, 387, 388; his intrigues with Lord Halifax and the Whigs, ii, 15, 16, 20, 78 n., 235, 246; iii, 117, 118; vi, 243; and Prior, ii, 18, 292; iii, 142; and Steele, ii, 27, 37-39; iii, 117; vi, 68; his house in York Buildings, ii, 32, 269; votes against the Dissolution of the Union, ii, 41; and the Treaty with France, ii, 47, 48; and the Malt tax, ii, 48; and Lewis, ii, 63; iii, 17 n.; and the aggrandisement of his family, ii, 80 n.; iii, 113; his intemperance, ii, 80 n., 132 n., 199; and Sir C. Phipps, ii, 81, 86; and H. M. Davenant, ii, 82, 83; his daughter's death, ii, 86-88, 93, 94; and Mrs. South, ii, 95; and Pope, ii, 96; iii, 168, 257, 276, 277; vi, 45; and Fiddes, ii, 107; and Dunton, ii, 107; and Lord Anglesey, ii, 122, 123; and Isaac Manley, ii, 125, 204; and *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, ii, 129, 130; gives Swift money for the printers of *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, ii, 130; wishes to resign in 1714, ii, 132; and Lord Peterborough, ii, 136; and the Prince of Hanover, ii, 137; and Gay, ii, 144, 150, 151, 158, and the Scriblerus Club, ii, 145, 151; 416, 417; on Swift's retirement, ii, 146; called "The Dragon," ii, 150, 151, 153; v, 46; his management of the Schism Bill, ii, 151, 169 n.; verses by, ii, 151, 417; and Parnell, ii, 158, 162; advised to retire, ii, 161, 223; his fall from power, ii, 162, 168, 170, 172, 174, 179, 190, 192-196, 198-200, 202, 203, 214, 223, 226, 228, 275; iii, 41; and *The Four Last Years*, ii, 163; vi, 21, 37, 41; at his place at Brampton, ii, 163, 198, 200, 204, 209, 210, 213, 226, 227, 393, 394; iii, 4 n., 5, 7, 8, 14, 39, 51, 74, 76, 178; and the

Bill against bringing over foreign troops, ii, 164; and the Duchess of Somerset, ii, 168; and the Spanish treaty, ii, 168, 169; called "The Colonel," ii, 170; buys the MSS. of Lockhart's *Memoirs*, ii, 175; his pension, ii, 179, 192, 202; and the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 185; his promise to Swift of a grant of £1,000, ii, 189, 297; called "Don Quixote," ii, 194; at Wimpole, ii, 198, 200, 210, 399; his imitation of Dryden, ii, 199; in Council at the time of the Queen's death, ii, 206; unpopular, ii, 215, 216; hopes of favour from George I, ii, 215, 236, 237; relations with Atterbury, ii, 228; gives a family entertainment soon after the Queen's death, ii, 235; impeached, ii, 255, 283, 361; iii, 74 n.; called "Gay Mortimer," ii, 275; imprisoned in the Tower, ii, 293, 297, 302, 393; iii, 122; visited by Chetwode, ii, 302; iv, 96; compared with Pisco, ii, 320; his trial and discharge, ii, 388, 389, 391, 393, 398, 399; forbidden the Court, ii, 391; his popularity, ii, 391, 399; his health drunk at Letcombe, ii, 418; his gifts to Swift, iii, 6 n.; kindness to Primate Lindsay, iii, 7; called "Sir Roger," iii, 30; his portrait, iii, 44, 46, 47, 143, 178, 197, 221-223, 260, 262, 287, 291; his poverty, iii, 44, 143; and Lovelace, iii, 45, 46; and *The Conduct of the Allies*, iii, 46 n.; his servant calls upon Swift in Ireland, iii, 47, and see Minet; and the South Sea Company, iii, 49, 51; and Coningsby, iii, 76; compared to Digby, iii, 112; his scholarship and patronage of learning, iii, 117, 280; and Addison, iii, 117; and Congreve, iii, 117, 118; and Rowe, iii, 117; his dislike of letter writing, iii, 143, 222; deafness, iii, 181, 223; vi, 236; death, iii, 196, 197, 202, 221; Swift's projected Memoir of, iii, 197, 221-223, 319-321, 358, 378; quoted, iii, 268; retains his seat in the House of Lords, iii, 281; *Dr. Swift's Bill to*, iii, 451; and General Meredyth, iv, 295 n.; and the Irish Fisheries, v, 64; and Newfoundland, v, 64; supposed plot against his life, vi, 78; his father-in-law, vi, 242; *Life of*, see Roscoe.

- Harley, Thomas (1), cousin of Robert, his mission to Hanover, i, 324; ii, 138, 149; buys Swift a horse, ii, 146, 147, 156, 157; and Gay, ii, 149, 156; relations and correspondence with Swift, ii, 155, 156; vi, 238; a member of the Brothers' Club, ii, 155 n.; M.P. for Radnorshire, ii, 156; his want of frankness, iii, 77; and Robert Harley's papers, iii, 319, 320; has the gout, v, 195, 196; in retirement, v, 196 n., 224; vi, 77; death and will, vi, 83.
- Harley, Thomas (2), Lord Mayor of London, son of Edward (3), v, 195 n.
- Harley, William, Prebendary of Worcester, son of Edward, 3rd Earl of Oxford, v, 195 n.
- Harold, Lady, afterwards Lady Gower, iv, 341.
- Harrietsham, i, 114 n.
- Harris' Petition*, Mrs. Frances, iv, 165, 284.
- Harris, Samuel, Chaplain to the Duke of Argyll, i, 249, 250.
- Harrison, Francis, iii, 254.
- Harrison, Martha, wife of Theophilus. *See* Whiteway.
- Harrison, Mary, "Molly," daughter of Mrs. Whiteway, afterwards Mrs. Deane Swift, v, 194, 260 n., 261, 263, 270, 271, 273, 275, 285, 288, 290, 292, 379, 393; vi, 66, 113, 150, 155, 156, 160, 191, 214, 217; Swift bequeaths to her Lord Oxford's snuff-box, iii, 4 n.; and her brother's death, v, 307-310; inherits her brother's property, v, 312; demands to be called Mrs. Harrison, vi, 5; her age, vi, 5 n.; her marriage, vi, 5 n., 135, 246; and Katharine Richardson, vi, 82, 100, 104, 121, 122, 137; ill-health, vi, 91, 97, 102, 103, 147, 148; Richardson sends her a silk dress, vi, 136; Swift gives her a book, vi, 229.
- Harrison, Rev. Theophilus (1), Dean of Clonmacnoise, married to Mrs. Godwin Swift, iv, 190 n.; vi, 214.
- Harrison, Rev. Theophilus (2), son of the Dean, married to Martha Swift, iv, 190 n.; v, 194 n.; vi, 214.
- Harrison, Theophilus (3), son of Theophilus (2), v, 260, 261, 263, 273, 284, 285, 288, 290, 292; vi, 217; illness and death, v, 275, 278, 306-310, 312.
- Harrison, William, i, 355-358, 386.
- Harte, Walter, his *Abridgement of Roman History*, iv, 209, 217; v, 146.
- Hartley, vi, 26.
- Hartstonge, John, Bishop of Ossory, afterwards of Derry, i, 192; ii, 126; and the First Fruits, i, 191-193, 196, 204; ii, 336; his chaplain, Langton, i, 281; his letters intercepted, ii, 276 n., 283, 421-423 n.; illness and death, ii, 364.
- Hatch, the Temples' man of business, v, 194, 254, 416 n., 417.
- Hattan, John van, v, 319 n.
- Hatton, Christopher, 1st Viscount, i, 238 n.
- Hatton, Viscountess, her correspondence with Lady Berkeley, i, 238 n.
- Hatton, a suitor of Vanessa, i, 307; iii, 458.
- Haughton, Controller of the Ordnance, his correspondence intercepted, ii, 424.
- Havisham, probably Harrietsham, i, 114.
- Haward, William, on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182-185.
- Hawkesworth, John, his edition of Swift's Works, i, vi, *et passim*.
- Hawkins, John, Keeper of Newgate Prison, Dublin, iv, 74.
- Hawkins, William, Ulster King of Arms, v, 244.
- Hawley, Thomas, Archdeacon of Dublin, ii, 72.
- Hay, Robert, son of the 7th Earl of Kinnoul, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph and Salisbury and Archbishop of York, v, 196; vi, 83.
- Hayes, Daniel, and Prior's *Poems*, iii, 76; vi, 235.
- Haymarket, The, i, 152; Opera at, iii, 155.
- Haywood, Mrs., iv, 264, 266, 267.
- H—e, Mrs. *See* Hill.
- Head, Lieutenant, iv, 200.
- Head, Prebendary Henry, iv, 188.
- Heaps, Michael, Swift's tenant, ii, 346, 357.
- Hearne's *Collections*, i, 79 n., *et seq.*
- Heathcote, Sir Gilbert, Lord Mayor of London, v, 9.
- Hecate, ii, 64.
- Hector, iv, 22.
- Helen, v, 129.
- Hell Fire Club, The, vi, 70, 71.
- Helsham, Dr. Richard, Swift's physician, iii, 22, 289, 316; v, 212, 213;

- account of, iii, 22 n.; vi, 225 n.; his hospitality, iv, 59; v, 96; character, iv, 59; vi, 225 n.; resigns his fellowship, iv, 59 n., 171; v, 105; and the Duke of Dorset, iv, 171; v, 164, 165; and Sheridan, iv, 408; v, 120, 209, 260, 312; and Dr. Delany, iv, 435 n.; v, 164, 165; his marriage, v, 105, 136; vi, 225 n.; and Anne Donnellan, v, 128, 176; attends Mrs. Acheson, v, 193; and Lord Tyrone, v, 203, 204; dines at the Deanery, v, 358; his kindness to the Barbers, v, 390; and to Clancy, vi, 208, 209, 225 n.; death, vi, 225.
- Helsham, Mrs., formerly Mrs. Putland, born Rotton, v, 105, 210, 358; vi, 225 n.
- Henault, Charles, French dramatist, iii, 396.
- Henley, Anthony (1), friendship with Swift, i, 112-115, 382; v, 466; his house, The Grange, Northington, i, 112; account of, i, 112 n.; his politics, i, 112 n., 163; his marriage, i, 193 n.; love of practical jokes, iv, 423 n.
- Henley, Mrs., daughter of Peregrine Bertie, i, 193 n.
- Henley (2), son of Anthony (1), his political joke, iv, 423.
- Henry II, his conquest of Ireland, iii, 286, 428; iv, 31.
- Henry III, iv, 327 n.
- Henry VIII, i, 154 n., 167; deaneries founded by, ii, 308; a statute of, ii, 310; and the Perrotts, v, 119 n.
- Henry, Mr., an attorney, iv, 469; v, 139, 368, 379.
- Henry's Bank, vi, 98.
- Henshaw, Joseph, Bishop of Peterborough, i, 369, 370.
- Herbert, Lord. *See* Pembroke.
- Hereford, Bishop of. *See* Bisse, Harley.
- Hereford, bishopric of, ii, 4 n.
- Herrenhausen, gardens of, ii, 220.
- Herrick. *See* Erick, Swift.
- Herring, Dr. Thomas, court chaplain, afterwards Archbishop of York and Canterbury, iv, 33.
- Hertford, Lady, iv, 478.
- Hervey, Lord, married to Molly Lepell, iii, 357 n.; living in Cork Street, iv, 21; supposed attack upon Pope, iv, 426, 430; v, 48, 52.
- Hervey, Lady, formerly Molly Lepell, a ballad upon, iii, 357.
- Hervey, Miss, a poem upon, iii, 292, 294.
- Heylin, Peter, D.D., his *Ecclesia Restaurata*, i, 302.
- Heythrop, ii, 401.
- Hezekiah, iii, 92.
- Hickes, Dr. George, titular Bishop of Thetford, his "New Church of England," ii, 337, 340-342.
- Hide. *See* Hyde.
- Higginbotham, v, 200.
- Higgins, Rev. Francis, "Higgon," and Convocation, i, 164, 202 n., 224, 293, 294, 297, 312 n.; ii, 76 n.; account of, i, 164 n.; and Langton, i, 224, 294; reinstated on the Commission of the Peace for Dublin, i, 294, 295; marries Chetwode to Miss Brooking, ii, 243 n.
- Higgins, *A Full and Impartial Account of the Tryall of the Rev. Francis*, i, 294 n.
- Higgison, Mr., i, 25.
- "Higgon." *See* Higgins.
- "High" and "Low Church," party cries, i, 38.
- Hill, Abigail. *See* Masham.
- Hill, Alice, sister of Abigail, Woman of the Bedchamber, at Windsor, i, 336-338, 342, 350; and Swift's snuff-box, i, 336, 337; account of, i, 336 n.; her admiration for Swift, i, 336 n.; ii, 152, 153, 197, 201; iii, 181, 190; her merry parties, i, 350; ii, 152; and Dr. Arbuthnot, i, 350; and Harley, i, 350; toasted as "the Governess of Dunkirk," i, 351; called "Lady Fair," and "the Queen of Prudes," ii, 152, 153; position and behaviour on the Queen's death, ii, 221, 222 n.
- Hill, Dr. Birkbeck, his *Unpublished Letters of Swift*, i, vii, *et passim*.
- Hill, Brigadier General John, "Jack," brother of Lady Masham, his expedition to Quebec, i, 266, 277, 278, 336 n.; his rapid promotion, i, 266 n.; takes Dunkirk, i, 330 n., 337, 338, 351; friendship with Swift, i, 336 n.; ii, 172; iii, 181, 190; gives Swift a snuff-box, i, 336-338; vi, 242; a member of the Brothers' Club, i, 336 n.; in London, i, 351; health, i, 351; in the country, ii, 201; financial position at Anne's death, ii, 221; his legacy from Disney, iv, 276.
- Hinchingbroke, Edward Richard Montagu, Viscount Hinchingbroke, son of the 3rd Earl of Sandwich, ii, 411, 413.

- Hinchman, Humphrey, Bishop of London, i, 371 *n.*
- Hippolytus*, prologues to, iii, 125 *n.*
- Historia Literaria*, iv, 481, 482.
- Historiographer, the office of, i, 190; ii, 161, 184, 185, 188, 196, 210, 419; iii, 114, 115.
- History of England, The*, dedicated to Gyllenborg, iii, 240 *n.*
- Hitch, Mr., vi, 224.
- Hoadly, Benjamin, Bishop of Bangor, ii, 312; iii, 102; his sermon on the Kingdom of Christ, gives rise to the Bangorian Controversy, i, 163 *n.*; ii, 387; iii, 130; Bishop of Salisbury, iv, 158, 175; and Swift's exchange, iv, 320; and the Repeal of the Test Act, iv, 370, 371; translated to Winchester, v, 81.
- Hoadly, John, brother of Benjamin, Archbishop of Dublin, iv, 158, 313; v, 242; vi, 182 *n.*; his relations with Swift, iv, 175, 320, 321; v, 4, 70 *n.*, 71, 433; vi, 1, 9, 10; his patronage of Jebb, iv, 437; at Bath, iv, 447; and the Pilkingtons, v, 67 *n.*; politics, v, 70 *n.*; improvements, v, 70 *n.*, 71; his Seneschal tries to override the liberties of St. Patrick, vi, 9, 10.
- Hoadly, Miss, daughter of the Archbishop, afterwards Mrs. Boyle, iv, 113; v, 70, 71; vi, 182.
- Hoare, Mr., afterwards Sir Richard, takes charge of Gay's and Swift's money, iv, 210, 301, 324, 325, 364; his house at Stourhead, iv, 325.
- Hobbes, his *Behemoth*, ii, 109.
- Hodson, or L'Estrange, Mary, married to Michael Swift (2), vi, 214, 215.
- Hoffman, the Emperor's Resident, i, 315.
- Hogarth, William, and Mary Tofts, iii, 362 *n.*
- Hohenheim, Theophrastus Bombastus von, or Paracelsus, i, 377.
- Holderness, Frederic, Lady. *See* Schomberg.
- Holderness, Robert Darcy, 5th Earl of, iv, 85 *n.*
- Holland, 1st Earl of, i, 113 *n.*
- Holland, Countess of. *See* Devereux.
- Holland, Sir John, Controller of the Household, i, 199, 200, 207, 208.
- Holland House, iii, 3, 4.
- Holles, Lady Harriette, Harriot, or Henrietta, daughter of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, afterwards Countess of Oxford, her marriage to Lord Harley and her fortune, ii, 183, 184; iii, 113; vi, 178; described by Swift, ii, 183 *n.*; at Oxford, ii, 184, 190, 196; her friendship for Swift, ii, 184, 190; iii, 7, 43, 46, 47, 178, 179; v, 223; birth of her daughter, i, 269, 270; her presents to Swift, ii, 269; iii, 4, 6, 144; v, 224; vi, 76, 77; her portrait, ii, 270; at Bath, iii, 4, 5, 7, 222; iv, 41, 46; vi, 83; messages to and from Swift, iii, 23, 179, 220, 222-224, 390, 424, 429; iv, 32, 132, 373, 397, 437, 438; v, 87, 122, 195, 250, 397; vi, 4, 22, 36, 42, 53, 61, 70, 72, 75, 77, 89, 92, 123; and Prior, iii, 38, 39, 43, 77; Swift begins writing verses to, iii, 43, 51; becomes the Countess of Oxford, iii, 197; health, iii, 222, 261, 262, 265, 279, 280; iv, 41, 160, 162, 390; birth and death of her son, iii, 285-287, 291; small appetite, iv, 46, 148, 162; her barge, iv, 148; her appearance on horseback, iv, 202; and Mrs. Barber, v, 22, 23, 443; deafness, vi, 83; widowed, vi, 178.
- Hollings, Dr. John, physician to George I, attends Gay, iv, 71; attends Miss Kelly, v, 7.
- Holt, Sir John, Lord Chief Justice, iv, 72.
- Holt, Rev. Samuel, son-in-law of Isaac Manley, ii, 316, 386; vi, 244.
- Holt, Mrs., ii, 303.
- Holyhead Journal, The*, iii, 425, 426, 431; iv, 4.
- Homer, ii, 6; iii, 155, 246; iv, 199, 272; v, 129; translated by Pope, iii, 154, 222, 225, 277.
- Hooke, Nathaniel, translator of Ramsay's *Voyages de Cyrus*, iii, 405.
- Hookes, John, and Vanessa, iii, 463.
- Hopkins, Right Hon. Edward, Chief Secretary to the Duke of Grafton, iii, 152, 188.
- Hopkins, John, iii, 283.
- Hopper, Martha, married to Adam Swift, vi, 217.
- Horace, i, 27, 156; iii, 169, 175, 427; iv, 40, 110, 117, 163, 225, 330 *n.*; v, 91, 399; quoted, i, 175; ii, 328; iii, 6, 90, 92, 110, 208, 343, 423; iv, 31, 68, 201, 217, 228, 451; v, 311, 337, 396, 434; Swift's *Imitations of*, ii, 107, 217, 218, 240; iii, 104 *n.*; iv,

- 285 *n.*, 484; vi, 45, 234; paraphrased by Bolingbroke, iii, 26, 27; translated, v, 335; vi, 203; and see Branstone, Congreve, Diaper, Pope.
- Horace Strenuus et Fortis*, v, 39.
- Hort, Josiah, Bishop of Ferns, goes to France for his health, iii, 385; translated to Kilmore, v, 151; and Sheridan, v, 151, 156, 200, 336, 347; account of, v, 151 *n.*; his *New Proposal for the Better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille*, v, 307, 326-328, 336; on *The Legion Club*, v, 337; attacked in *The Toast*, v, 459.
- Hort, Mrs., sister of 1st Earl of Kerry, v, 307 *n.*, 367.
- Hospital for the Insane, Swift's, v, 91, 128; vi, 48, 86, 87.
- Hotham, Sir Charles, ii, 390.
- Houbræcken, Josse, v, 236.
- Hough, John, Bishop of Worcester, correspondence with Chetwode, iv, 472-474; entertains Jervas at Hampton, v, 111; account of, v, 111 *n.*
- Houseman, Mr., an attorney of Banbury, i, 372.
- Howard, a ship's master, brings over Mrs. Pratt's screen to Swift, iii, 231.
- Howard, Charles, afterwards 9th Earl of Suffolk, iii, 414 *n.*; iv, 5, 15, 29, 240.
- Howard, Henrietta, wife of Charles, afterwards Countess of Suffolk, Bedchamber Woman to the Princess of Wales, iii, 270, 337, 353; friendship with Pope, iii, 270, 277, 278, 292, 296; iv, 102, 183, 184, 218, 374, 426; v, 306; Pope offers to introduce Swift to her, iii, 270, 277, 278, 353 *n.*; her deafness and headaches, iii, 270, 277, 278, 343, 354, 411-415; iv, 12, 15, 20, 240 *n.*, 267; v, 57; relations with Gay, iii, 281, 341, 348; iv, 37, 71, 73, 233, 240, 272, 354, 374, 375, 388, 427; v, 153; her description mistaken for that of the Duchess of Queensberry, iii, 292, 296; illnesses, iii, 344, 350, 382; v, 133, 153, 353; her part in the "Cheddar Letter," iii, 344 *n.*, 351, 352; her recipe for cooking chicken, iii, 350, 352; gives Swift a ring, iii, 353, 361; iv, 182; makes Swift's acquaintance at Leicester House, iii, 353 *n.*; iv, 181; her house Marble Hill, Ham Walks, iii, 353 *n.*, 375; iv, 218, 266, 270; Swift sends her some Irish poplin, iii, 354, 357, 360 *n.*, 361, 364, 366, 371, 374; iv, 265, 267; and *Gulliver*, iii, 361, 362, 365-367, 369; "Gulliver" sends her the crown of "Lilliput," iii, 369; iv, 265, 267; and Trinity College, iii, 391, 401; dissuades Swift from going to France, iii, 396; iv, 182, 233, 264, 376, 416; and Mrs. Pratt, iii, 404, 405; her dog Fop, iii, 405; her waste paper, iii, 405; desires Swift to write her a love letter, iii, 411, 412; her position at Court, iii, 411; iv, 6, 15, 127, 141, 181, 183, 426; v, 153; relations with Swift, iii, 412, 413, 419, 420, 433, 453; iv, 11, 22, 52, 62, 91, 102, 150, 152, 194, 195, 220, 221, 233, 240, 244, 246, 259, 263-265, 272, 276, 354, 363, 375, 376, 388, 389, 427; v, 153, 306, 414; her age, iii, 414 *n.*; relations with her husband, iii, 414 *n.*; iv, 5, 15, 29, 426 *n.*; and Arbuthnot, iii, 435; friendship with Patty Blount, iv, 13, 221; her painting of Gay, iv, 37; as "Calista" in *The Female Faction*, iv, 71 *n.*; becomes Countess of Suffolk, iv, 240, 246; and the forged letters to Queen Caroline, iv, 244, 246, 264, 265, 478; introduced to Delany, iv, 266; Mistress of the Robes, iv, 268; v, 153; correspondence with Lord Dorset, iv, 269 *n.*; good taste, iv, 269 *n.*; character, iv, 272, 276; v, 205; friendship with Lady Betty Germain, iv, 297, 323, 363, 388, 416, 427; resigns her position at Court, v, 133, 153; marries the Hon. George Berkeley, v, 204, 205, 228, 265, 353; and Walpole, v, 205; endeavours to forward Miss Chambers' marriage, v, 229 *n.*; at Spa, v, 353, 366.
- Howard, The Character of Mrs.*, iii, 432; iv, 184, 246, 265, 267, 376.
- Howard, Dr. Ralph, physician, i, 374-376, 379; ii, 268 *n.*; account of, i, 374 *n.*
- Howard, Rev. Robert, son of Ralph, afterwards Bishop of Killala and of Elphin, Swift gives him a letter of introduction to M. Girdaldi, ii, 267, 268; account of, ii, 268 *n.*; appointed to the living of St. Bride's, ii, 373, 386; and to St. Werburgh's, iii, 138, 157.

- Howe, Charles, author of *Devout Meditations*, iv, 472.
- "Howe, Mary," v, 446.
- Howth, William, 26th Baron of, his hospitality to Swift, v, 9 n., 59 n., 192 n.; vi, 227; account of, v, 59 n.; at Kilfane, v, 81, 82, 116 n., 192 n.; his portrait of Swift by Bindon, v, 194, 201, 202; his life in the country, v, 202; going to Ballyspellan, v, 202; messages from, v, 370; vi, 58.
- Howth, Lucy, Lady, wife of 26th Baron, daughter of Richard Gorges, begs Swift's interest with Eaton Stannard for her brother, v, 59, 60; Swift's affection for, v, 59, 60, 222, 369; vi, 53; at Kilfane, v, 81, 82; buying a horse for Swift, v, 82; and Bishop Tennyson, v, 192 n., 202; in Connaught, v, 369, 370; recommends Mr. Ireland to Swift, v, 370; sends Swift game, vi, 57, 58; called "the blue-eyed nymph," vi, 58; her half-sister, *see* Riverston; her half-brother, *see* Tyrone.
- Howth Castle, v, 116; vi, 227; illustrated, v, 60.
- Hudson, Stella's tenant, iv, 459.
- Hudson, Thomas, his copy of Richardson's portrait of Prior, iii, 52 n.
- Hue and Cry after Dean Swift, The*, ii, 239 n.
- Hue (or Hugh) and Cry after Dismal, The*, i, 337 n., 338; v, 39.
- "Huff, Governor." *See* Vanhomrigh.
- Hughes, Cornelius, half Vicar Choral at St. Patrick's, vi, 99.
- Hughes, John, a poet, v, 212, 227, 242; vi, 246.
- Hughes, Lambert, junior Fellow of Trinity, vi, 24.
- Hungerford, Sir Edward, i, 238 n.
- Hunsdon, Rev. John, Rector of Letcombe Regis, ii, 164.
- Hunt, Alderman Edward, on the jury of Swift's lunacy, vi, 184, 185.
- Hunt, Alderman Percival, on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182-185.
- Hunter, Colonel Robert, Governor of Virginia, his friendship with Swift, i, 113, 133, 143, 169, 287 n., 383, 384; *The Letter of Enthusiasm* attributed to, i, 113, 136; account of, i, 113 n.; taken prisoner by the French, i, 113 n., 114, 132, 133, 136, 142-146; iii, 457; and Addison, i, 134, 135; his love of company, i, 135; and Steele, i, 136; and Anne Long, i, 143; iii, 457; regains his liberty, i, 143 n., 169; and Ambrose Philips, i, 114, 169; Governor of New York, i, 169 n.; ii, 10-12, 41-43; his difficulties, ii, 10 n., 41, 42; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, ii, 41, 42; his character cleared by Sharpe, ii, 41, 42.
- Huntington, Dr. Robert, Provost of Trinity, i, 362 n.; ii, 377; account of, ii, 377 n.
- Hutchinson, Francis, Bishop of Down and Derry, v, 380.
- Hutchinson, John, author of *Moses' Principia*, iv, 117.
- Hyde, Lady Catherine (1), daughter of Laurence, 1st Earl of Rochester, iv, 440.
- Hyde, Lady Catherine (2), daughter of Henry, 2nd Earl of Rochester. *See* Queensberry.
- Hyde, Lady Charlotte, daughter of Henry, 2nd Earl of Rochester, iv, 133, 440.
- Hyde, Edward. *See* Clarendon.
- Hyde, Henry. *See* Rochester.
- Hyde, Lady Jane, daughter of Henry, 2nd Earl of Rochester. *See* Essex.
- Hyde or Hide, John, Swift's bookseller in Dublin, and Prior's *Poems*, iii, 29, 39, 74; vi, 234; and Prior's portrait, iii, 52; his dealings with Motte, iii, 438; iv, 56, 57; death, iv, 56, 57, 286 n.
- Hyde, Mrs., widow of the bookseller, iv, 384; v, 214, 244.
- Hyde, Laurence. *See* Rochester.
- Hyde family, iv, 234 n.
- Ikerrin, Pierce, 4th Viscount, his protection of Stoughton, i, 301.
- Ikerrin, Thomas, 6th Viscount, Dean of Tuam, ii, 29 n.
- Ilay. *See* Argyll.
- Imhoff, James, i, 361 n.
- Imitations of Horace. See* Horace.
- Importance of the Guardian Considered, The*, v, 39.
- Indian Queen, An, iii, 288.
- Infalible Scheme to pay the Debts of Ireland, An*, iv, 360 n.
- Influenza, i, 343.
- Inglis, Dr. John, i, 112, 306.
- Ingoldsby, son-in-law of Sir Constantine Phipps, supposed to be concealing Ormond, iii, 50 n.

- Injured Lady, The Story of the*, vi, 224.
 Innes, Captain, recommended by Arbuthnot, iii, 434.
 Inns. *See* Aldersgate Street, Black Swan, Crosskeys, Crown, and Cushion, Drapier's Head, Dublin, Fountain, George, Pied, King's, Ram, Royal Chair, Shovel, Two Bibles, Two Green Pots, White Peruke.
Intelligencer, The, iv, 33 n., 42, 43, 54, 55, 61, 64 n., 67, 68, 82 n., 307, 308, 360 n., 485.
 Ireland, Church of, i, 36 n., 64 n., 200-203, 283, 284; ii, 26 n., 187; iii, 248, *and see* First Fruits; social life in, i, 57, 58; iv, 3; frogs in, i, 57; clergy of, i, 64, 66, 67, 72, 105, 106; ii, 21, 28; iv, 67; threatened invasion of, i, 78, 80, 83, 85, 98; Parliament of, i, 97 n., 98, 126-129, 137, 138, 158, 191, 214, 264, 269, 277, 288, 300-304, 320-322, 375, 376; ii, 79, 86, 91, 100, 101, 108, 109, 115-117, 301, 337 n., 399; iii, 37 n., 49, 173, 186, 254, 266 n., 288, 311; iv, 1 n.; v, 240, 260, 261, 271, 287, 292, 305, 331; vi, 140; its army, i, 98; English treatment of, i, 107; iii, 120, 139, 289, 309-311; iv, 312, 328, 351; character of its people, i, 175, 247; iii, 182, 271, 272; iv, 328; v, 65; Roman Catholics in, i, 273, 274, 296, 302, 303; v, 440; political feeling in, i, 283, 303, 318; ii, 8; iii, 288; Convocation of, i, 191, 264, 268, 283, 296, 303; ii, 94; outbreak of agrarian crime in, i, 318, 323; proposed National Bank of, iii, 101, 108 n.; Conquest of, iii, 286; coinage and money, iii, 286, 287; v, 64 n., 287, 368, 432, 433; vi, 27, 28, 219, 236, 237, *and see* Wood; poverty and distress in, iii, 310, 311; iv, 67, 81, 82, 86, 89, 90, 106, 311-313, 328; v, 86; its agriculture, trade, and manufactures, iv, 90, 111, 112; v, 86 n., 266, 363; vi, 140-143; lack of charitable institutions in, iv, 344; v, 60-66.
Ireland, History of. See Keating, Raymond.
 Ireland, Lord Lieutenant of. *See* Bolton, Carteret, Chesterfield, Devonshire, Dorset, Essex, Grafton, Harrington, Ormond, Pembroke, Rochester, Shrewsbury, Sunderland, Sydney, Townshend, Wharton.
Ireland, Ode to, iv, 308, 484.
 Ireland, William, v, 370.
Ireland's Consternation, etc., iii, 192 n.
 Irish Chairman, An, his lawsuit with Ford, v, 344, 345.
 Irish language, i, 273, 274, 302, 303.
 Irish Peerage Bill, iii, 68 n.
 Irish Society, otherwise Londonderry, Derry or London Society, and W. Richardson, v, 140, 166; vi, 60, 75; and Lord Tyrone, v, 203, 204; and Coleraine, v, 429-431; vi, 8, 9, 15, 25; and Dunkin, vi, 122, 124, 215; *and see* Barber.
 Irish Speaker, ii, 86 n., 91, *and see* Boyle, Brodrick, Conolly, Gore.
 Iroquois language and customs, ii, 42, 43.
 Isidorus, quoted, i, 162.
 Italian comedies, iv, 98; opera, *see* Opera.
 Italy, the Princess of, ii, 82 n.
It cannot Rain but it Pours, iii, 304 n.
It's Out at Last, or French Correspondence as Clear as the Sun, i, 337 n.
 Jack of Newbury. *See* Winchcombe.
 Jackman, agent to Mr. Shirley, his transactions with Chetwode, iii, 217; iv, 88, 89, 92, 93, 96, 97, 123; account of, iv, 88 n.
 Jackson, Rev. Daniel, cousin to the Grattans, iii, 11; account of, iii, 11 n.; staying at Gaulstown, iii, 103, 104, 127; indolence, iii, 104; money transactions with Swift, iii, 104, 105; his card playing, iii, 105, 147; iv, 160; and Swift's nag, iii, 105, 127; his gardening, iii, 128; his nose, iv, 96, 479.
 Jackson, Rev. John, Vicar of Santry, brother of Daniel, iii, 11 n., 105; introduced to Motte, iv, 6, 7; Swift entrusts him with a present for Mrs. Lancelot, iv, 318; recommended to the Duke of Dorset for preferment, v, 294-296, 348, 349, 365, 382, 383, 387, 388; account of, v, 294 n.; Swift's legacy to, v, 294 n.
 Jacksons, the, iii, 316; iv, 458; v, 362.
 Jacob, Mr., surgeon to the troop at Cavan, v, 274-276, 284, 288, 289, 291.
 Jacobite plots, ii, 340, 341; iii, 137-139, 240 n.

- James I, i, 64 n.; iv, 78 n., 473.
- James, Duke of York, afterwards James II, i, 140 n., 224, 301 n., 364 n.; ii, 74 n.; iii, 48 n.; iv, 149 n., 350 n., 387, 397, 471; in Ireland, i, 77 n., 123, 126 n., 162, 163, 283; iii, 454; vi, 52 n.; imprisons Archbishop King, i, 123 n.; and Temple, i, 172 n.; at Chester, i, 227 n.; death of his children, i, 371; and Vanhomrigh, iii, 454.
- James of the Peak, Sir, or Sir James Baker, iii, 102; vi, 244.
- Jane, Swift's servant, v, 121, 272, 273.
- Janssen, Mrs., daughter of Sir Theodore, iv, 13.
- Janssen, Sir Theodore, iv, 13 n.
- Janus, Temple of, vi, 144.
- Japan, Account of the Court and Empire of*, iv, 248 n.
- Jebb, Rev. John, afterwards Dean of Cashel, his character, iv, 313, 438; v, 85, 250, 251; and Lord Oxford, iv, 437, 438; v, 81, 195; and Archbishop Hoadly, iv, 437; v, 85; his preferment, v, 85, 222; marriage, v, 223, 250, 252.
- Jebb, John (2), philanthropist, son of John (1), iv, 313 n.
- Jeffrey, Francis, Lord, criticism of Swift's letters, i, 20 n., 35 n.; vi, 241.
- Jeffreys, Lord Chancellor, and Serjeant Maynard, iv, 95 n.
- Jeffreys, George, agent to Bishop Hartsonge, carries the intercepted letters between the Duchess of Ormond and Swift, ii, 276 n., 283 n., 292, 421-424; his quarrel with Chetwode, iv, 472.
- Jekyll, Sir Joseph, Q.C., ii, 122.
- Jenney, Dr. Henry, Rector of Mulla-brack, iii, 163, 165; account of, iii, 163; disowns writing *An Answer to Hamilton's Bawn*, iv, 303-306.
- Jephson, William, Dean of Lismore, ii, 132.
- Jeremiah, iv, 67, 392.
- Jerome, St., iii, 110 n.
- Jervais, On the Site of Mrs. Chetwynd's Picture, To Mr.*, i, 144 n.
- Jervas, Charles, painter, his portrait of Mrs. Chetwynd, i, 144 n.; his friendship with Pope, ii, 98, 286 n.; iii, 176; his portraits of Swift, ii, 98 n., 333 n.; iii, 261, 262, 265; v, 111; vi, 119, 120; in Dublin, ii, 325 n., 333, 347; iii, 18; iv, 458; v, 111; takes Pope's letter to Parnell, ii, 326 n.; his portrait of Jacky Walls, ii, 344, 351, 356; in England, iii, 97; his Irish property, iii, 97 n., 106, 124; his will, 97 n.; his whereabouts unknown, iii, 106, 108; and Morris Dunn, iii, 124; undertakes to send Gay's *Works* to Swift, iii, 153; Court painter, iii, 265; iv, 182; his translation of *Don Quixote*, iii, 295; lends Gay some sheets, iii, 341; iv, 17; visits Chetwode, iv, 94; dines at the Deanery, iv, 458; staying with Bishop Hough, v, 111; his portrait of Conolly, v, 111; his portrait of Carter, v, 314; to copy Prior's portrait, vi, 236, 237.
- Jervas, Mrs., "Penny," v, 111.
- Jervis, Sir Humphrey, vi, 214.
- Jervis, Mary, daughter of Sir Humphrey, married to Neville Pooley, and secondly to Thomas Swift (2), vi, 213.
- Jeux d'Esprit, or Castilian Trifles*, i, 373-381.
- "Joan, Old," i, 165.
- Job, iii, 68; v, 330; vi, 103.
- Jocelyn, Robert, Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Baron Newport, and Viscount Jocelyn, iv, 373; v, 122 n., 460; vi, 177; account of, iv, 373 n.; verses on, vi, 177 n.
- Joe, Swift's servant, v, 201.
- John, Swift's servant, ii, 265.
- "John, Sir," ii, 45.
- Johnson, Ann, sister of Hester, married to Filby, i, 21 n.; iii, 318; iv, 449, 462.
- Johnson, Bridget, wife of Edward, afterwards Mrs. Mose, Stella's mother, i, 21 n., 22 n.; iv, 449; Sir William Temple's legacy to, i, 22 n.; iv, 450; sees Swift in London, i, 39, 40; iv, 455; Tisdall referred to, i, 46, 47; Stella's legacy to, iii, 318; iv, 462; vi, 148 n.; account of her in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, iv, 450, 452.
- Johnson, Edward (1), Stella's father, iv, 449, 450.
- Johnson, Edward (2), son of Edward (1), iv, 449.
- Johnson, Hester or Esther, Stella, daughter of Edward (1), her correspondence and intimate friendship with Swift, i, xxii-xxvii., 21 n., 40, 119, 198 n., 217 n., 218 n., 233 n., 235 n., 304 n., 382-386; ii, 66,

321, 324, 414; iii, 79, 205, 314, 317, 322, 324, 383, 384, 399, 402; iv, 450, 451, 461; Swift, *Journal* to, i, xxvii n., *et passim*; her visits to London, i, 21 n., 71, 82; iii, 458; iv, 451, 454; Tisdall's proposal to, i, 26 n., 39-41, 46, 47; iv, 452; her connection with Sir William Temple, i, 39, 40; iv, 450, 452, 453; goes to live in Ireland by Swift's advice, i, 39, 40, 59; iii, 317, 417; iv, 450, 452; Swift manages her money affairs, i, 39, 40, 120; ii, 363; iv, 452, 454, 455, 458, 459; her connection with Rebecca Dingley, i, 40; iv, 453; vi, 204, *et passim*; residing in William Street, Dublin, i, 41; iv, 453; her supposed marriage to Swift, i, 42 n.; ii, 332 n.; iii, 34 n., 462; iv, 121 n., 458, 462; her character and intellect, i, 42, 47; ii, 406; iv, 451, 452; her puns, i, 42, 71, 121; scandal about her relations with Swift, i, 59; iii, 461; friendship with the Walls, i, 71, 121; ii, 94; iii, 251; iv, 457; her visit to England in 1708, i, 71, 82 n.; vi, 241; lodging in Capel Street, near St. Mary's Church, i, 71 n., 180, 183; ii, 257; iii, 215 n.; v, 453-455; her dog, Pug, i, 82; iv, 454; intimacy with the Stearnes, i, 121, 179, 180, 311; and with the Stoytes, i, 121 n.; and with the Manleys, i, 121 n.; love of card playing, i, 121 n., 311; ii, 256, 281; iii, 129; her riding, i, 179; iii, 257, 258; iv, 460, 461; at Laracor, i, 179 n.; iv, 453, 454; stays with the Thomas Ashes at Finglas, i, 181 n.; iv, 456; friendship with the Raymonds, ii, 26 n.; at Trim, ii, 69, 77, 94, 132, 166; iv, 457, 458; her delicate health, ii, 94; iii, 158, 250, 253, 266, 314, 315, 317, 318, 322, 324, 326, 346, 384, 388, 415-419, 421; iv, 451, 455, 460, 461; her love of company, ii, 94; her personal appearance, ii, 94, 324; iv, 451; friendship with Bishop Lloyd, ii, 114 n.; her small appetite, ii, 158; iv, 460, 461; objects to Swift having a good-looking maid-servant, ii, 248, 249; characteristic gestures, ii, 256; lodges with Archdeacon and Mrs. Walls, ii, 264, 279-282, 306, 315-317, 321, 324, 333, 367-369, 380-382, 388; iii, 80, 191; iv, 458, 460;

Paradise Lost annotated for, ii, 328 n.; spends Christmas with the Stearnes, ii, 345, 352, 357; iv, 458; and Warburton, ii, 366; her Christian name, iii, 79; iv, 449; baptismal register at Richmond, iii, 79; iv, 449; dines at the Deanery, iii, 79, 80, 191; iv, 458; goes with Swift to stay with Wallis, iii, 82 n., 105, 106; iv, 460; acquaintance with Daniel Jackson, iii, 129; her friendship with Sheridan, iii, 146, 241, 245, 246, 314, 324; iv, 461; vi, 210; spends Christmas with the Ludlows, iii, 147; iv, 460; referred to as "Stella," and as Swift's "Star," iii, 147, 211, 260, 379, 383, 384; stays with Ford at Wood-park, iii, 165, 174, 176; and Vanessa, iii, 165 n., 462, 464; iv, 460, 461; her friendship with Ford, iii, 165 n.; iv, 460; her legacy to Dr. Steevens' Hospital, iii, 200 n.; vi, 148 n.; Swift's verses to, iii, 211, 403; iv, 459; stays at Quilca, iii, 235-279; iv, 461; her kindness to Stopford, iii, 239, 288, 289, 322, 326, 446; her pick-axe, iii, 241, 256; and the Worralls, iii, 252, 253, 264; and Tickell, iii, 256, 316; her stamped linen, iii, 266; nurses Swift, ii, 287; iv, 461; staying at the Deanery, iii, 314, 385, 389, 418; iv, 461; never receives visitors in the morning, iii, 314; will not drink wine, iii, 315; Swift wishes her to go to Montpelier, Bath, or Tunbridge, iii, 317, 324; her will, iii, 318; iv, 462, 463; v, 37 n.; Swift buys her a gold watch, iii, 318; her age, iii, 322 n.; and the recipes for cooking veal and chicken, iii, 350; in the country with Swift, iii, 355; iv, 461; her definition of a present, iii, 372 n.; Lady Bolingbroke sends her some "Gulliver" fans, iii, 379; Bolingbroke invites her to accompany Swift to England, iii, 384; collects Swift's verses, iii, 403, 404; acquaintance with Patty Rolt, iii, 410; her last illness and death, iv, 3 n., 82 n., 461, 462; libelled as "Abigail" in *Some Memoirs of the Amours, etc.*, iv, 65 n.; acquaintance with Mrs. Sican, iv, 121 n.; account of, iv, 449-463; the tablet to her memory in St. Patrick's, iv, 449, 462, 463; her family, iv, 449, 450; her life at Moor Park, iv, 451, 452; acquaint-

- ance with Lady Catherine Wyndham, iv, 451; her position in Lady Giffard's service, iv, 452; vi, 205; social position in Dublin, iv, 452, 453; her encounter with burglars, iv, 453; friendship with the Probys, iv, 455; v, 355 *n.*; at Wexford, iv, 455; at Templeogue, iv, 455, 456; at Donnybrook, iv, 456; stays with Mrs. Swanton at Portrane, iv, 456, 457; her accounts, iv, 456, 457; her property at Trim and in Dublin, iv, 459; her cottage at Laracor, illustrated, iv, 460; and Lady Giffard's portrait, v, 417 *n.*; effect of her death upon Swift, vi, 188; and Swift's list of plate, vi, 227 *n.*; Swift's verses to, vi, 245.
- Johnson, Lady, aunt of Sir Arthur Acheson, iv, 74.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, his *Lives of the English Poets* quoted, i, 7 *n.*, *et passim*; the attempt to bring him to Swift's notice, vi, 91, 209, 210.
- Johnston, David, his *Translations Literal and Free of the Dying Hadrian's Address to his Soul*, i, 115.
- Jonathan, iii, 220.
- Jones of Belturbet, v, 312, 330, 336, 341, 366-368.
- Jones, Lady Catherine, daughter of the Earl or Ranelagh, consents to endow the monument to her ancestors in St. Patrick's, iv, 84, 87, 310; relations with Lord Burlington, iv, 310, 311; her family, iv, 310.
- Jones, Elizabeth or Betty, cousin of Mrs. Swift, Swift's flirtation with, i, 4 *n.*, 29 *n.*; married to Perkins, iv, 55; supposed letter from, iv, 56.
- Jones, Inigo, designs The Grange at Northington, i, 112 *n.*
- Jones, Rev. John, D.D., Precentor of Kildare, his school, i, 45; iii, 18 *n.*; vi, 214; account of, i, 45 *n.*
- Jones, Mrs., of Cavan, v, 367.
- Jones, Rev. Thomas, Dean of St. Patrick's, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, i, 269 *n.*; iv, 84, 466.
- Jonson, Ben, his *Alchemist*, ii, 259.
- Joseph I, Emperor, i, 245 *n.*, 265 *n.*, 295, 389.
- Joshua, i, 374.
- Jourdain, Rev. John, Rector of Duns-laughlin, ii, 243, 282.
- Jourdain, Mr., of Conduit Street, v, 33.
- Journal at Gallsdown*, iv, 303.
- Journal of a Dublin Lady or Journal of a Modern Lady*. See *Dublin*.
- Journal to Stella, The*, i, xxvii *n.*, *et passim*.
- Judas, ii, 275; iv, 96.
- Julian, Emperor, iii, 102.
- Junia, v, 129.
- Justice, iii, 277, 278.
- Juvenal, quoted, iii, 92.
- Kane, Nathaniel, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the Blue Coat School, v, 131.
- Kearney, Dr., iii, 54, 158.
- Keating's *History of Ireland*, i, 120 *n.*
- Keekins, Christianus, v, 237.
- Keelhaul, Mr., i, 380.
- Keeper, Lord. See *Harcourt*.
- Keightley, Mary, afterwards Mrs. Long, i, 307.
- Keightly, Right Hon. Thomas, Uncle to Queen Anne, Commissioner of Irish Revenue, ii, 80, 81.
- Keill, John, afterwards Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, i, 135.
- Kelly, Dennis, arrested for complicity in Layer's plot, iii, 140, 141; his relations with his daughter, iv, 279, 284; v, 6, 7, 32, 33, 38 *n.*; account of, iv, 279 *n.*; immorality and ill-treatment of his wife, v, 6, 7.
- Kelly, Mrs. Dennis, daughter of Walter, Lord Bellew, v, 6, 7.
- Kelly, Frances Arabella, daughter of Dennis, visiting Dublin, iv, 279, 284, 385; v, 5; her beauty and popularity, iv, 279, 385 *n.*, 427; relations with her father, iv, 279, 284; v, 6, 7, 32; death, iv, 279 *n.*, 432 *n.*; v, 38; at a dance, iv, 385; her poetical tastes, iv, 385; her affection for Swift, iv, 385, 432, 433; v, 26, 27, 31, 32; her note for a British shilling, iv, 386; her failing health, iv, 432, 442, 443; v, 6, 7, 11, 27, 31-33; and Mrs. Pendarves, iv, 432 *n.*, 441; goes to England, iv, 441; her friendship with Anne Donnellan, iv, 441 *n.*; v, 31-33; at Bristol, iv, 432 *n.*, 433, 441, 442; v, 5-7, 32; at Dr. Delany's, iv, 435 *n.*; v, 5; at Bath, iv, 442; and Mrs. Barber, iv, 442; v, 26, 443; corresponds with Mary Chambers, iv, 443; talks of going to Spa, iv, 443;

- disposition, v, 32, 33; at Hampstead, v, 33; obituary notice of, v, 38 n.
- Kelly, Rev. George, nonjuring clergyman, arrested for complicity in Layer's plot, iii, 138 n., 140, 141; vi, 89 n.; escapes from the Tower, vi, 89; living with the Duke of Ormond at Avignon, vi, 89, 92.
- Ken, Thomas, nonjuring Bishop of Bath and Wells, death, ii, 354.
- Kendal, Duchess of, mistress of George I, iii, 50, 358 n.; iv, 1 n.
- Kendal, Duke of, son of James II, death, i, 371.
- Kendall, probably a bookbinder, iii, 131.
- Kendall, a surveyor, son of Rev. John, v, 193, 194.
- Kendall, Rev. John, Vicar of Thorn-ton, i, 3-6, 37 n.; iv, 135 n.; v, 193 n.; account of, i, 3 n.; his relationship to Swift, i, 3 n.; vi, 246.
- Kendall, Mrs. John, i, 3 n.; vi, 241.
- Kendall, John (2), grandson of Rev. John (1), i, 3 n.
- Kendrick, Roger, verger at St. Patrick's, and Swift's wine, v, 270, 272, 275, 276, 278, 284, 287-289; account of, v, 270 n.; marries Mrs. Ridgeway, v, 270 n.; celebrates "the Drapier's birthday," v, 289; witness to Swift's signature, v, 334.
- Kenna, Mrs., Swift's landlady at Chester, iii, 327, 363; iv, 47, 48.
- Kennett, White, Bishop of Peterborough, his *Manuscripts* quoted, i, 369; ii, 68, 82 n., 96 n., 414, 415.
- Kensington, i, 195; ii, 32, 62; iii, 132, 137.
- Kent, Henry, Marquis, afterwards Duke of, Lord Chamberlain, i, 195 n.; iv, 341 n.
- Kent, William, architect and landscape gardener, iii, 155; v, 102 n.
- Kerckringius, Theodore, v, 237.
- Kerr, Lord Mark, son of the 1st Marquis of Lothian, relations with Ambrose Philips, i, 99, 100, 109, 112, 141 n.; account of, i, 99 n., 100 n.
- Kerry, Thomas, 21st Lord and 1st Earl of, i, 188 n.; his residences and style of living, iv, 400 n., 402 n.; created Earl, iv, 401 n.; his sons, v, 171; entertains Swift and Bishop Hort, v, 307.
- Kerry, Countess of, sister of Lord Shelburne, i, 188 n.; anxiety about her sons, ii, 290; iv, 400, 401; v, 17 n., 171, 184, 185; friendship with Swift, iv, 229 n., 400 n.; v, 171, 172, 184; in danger of losing her sight, iv, 229 n., 400-402; her abilities, iv, 400 n., 402; and Lady Betty Germain, v, 184, 185.
- Kerschelus, Jacobus, v, 237.
- Kersdale, Thomas, of Bristol, vi, 226.
- Kevin Bail. *See* Dublin, Yahoos.
- Kilberry, Swift's lands at, ii, 256, 261, 264, 266, 293.
- Kilby, Mrs., probably Mrs. Filby, i, 21; vi, 241.
- Kildare, Bishop of. *See* Ellis, Moreton.
- Kildare, Robert, 19th Earl of, i, 390; iv, 310 n., 344; Lord Justice, ii, 238; intercepts Swift's Correspondence with Lady Ormond, ii, 276 n., 283 n., 421, 422; his monument in Christ Church, Dublin, iv, 344 n.
- Kildare, Countess of, daughter of the Earl of Ranelagh, iv, 310.
- Kildrought. *See* Celbridge.
- Kilkenny, School, i, 9 n.; Cathedral, iii, 71, 72.
- Killala, ii, 114 n.; iv, 454.
- Killala, Bishop of. *See* Clayton, Downes, Howard, Lloyd, Tension.
- Killala, A Letter to the Bishop of*, i, 186 n.
- Killaloe, Bishop of. *See* Carr, Forster, Lindsay, Vesey, Worth.
- Killigrew, Colonel Henry, i, 338.
- Killing no Murder*, vi, 50.
- Kilmaine, 1st Lord, son of John Browne, iv, 24 n.
- Kilmainham, i, 288; Hospital, v, 128.
- Kilmore, Bishop of, v, 456; *and see* Godwin, Hort, Sheridan.
- Kilmore, bishopric of, ii, 103 n., 124, 132.
- Kilroot, i, 15 n., 29; illustrated, i, 176, 224.
- Kilwarden, Lord, vi, 180 n.
- King, Frances, married to William (1) Swift, vi, 215.
- King, Rev. James (1), son of Thomas, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, and Vicar of St. Bride's, his intimacy with Swift, v, 255; vi, 10, 195, 218, 225; account of, v, 255 n.; and John Lyon, v, 383; on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182, 225; witnesses Swift's signature, vi, 221.
- King, Rev. James (2), Chaplain to the City of Dublin, v, 225 n.

- King, Rev. James (3), Fellow of Trinity, lii, 226, 249; v, 150, 255 n.
- King, Mrs., of Proby Park, v, 255 n.; vi, 220.
- King, Sir Peter, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, iii, 203 n.
- King, Robert (1), of Lissen, a kinsman of the Archbishop, i, 271 n.
- King, Robert (2), Alderman, on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- King, Rev. Thomas, Rector of Swords, a kinsman of the Archbishop, i, 118, 119, 271 n.
- King, William, Bishop of Derry, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, i, 36, 309, 382, 383, 385, 386; ii, 279, 352-354, 368, 414; iii, 452, 453; v, 255 n.; his Correspondence at Trinity College, Dublin, referred to, i, ix, *et passim*; his relations with Swift, i, 33 n., 118, 119, 211, 224, 316 n., 333, 334; ii, 27-29, 32, 33, 81, 88 n., 94 n., 283, 288, 318-321, 343, 348, 349, 360, 363, 396; iii, 100-103, 200-205, 390-393; iv, 166 n.; v, 16; acting for the Archbishop of Armagh, i, 36; his friendship with Stearne, i, 36 n., 53, 54, 180; ii, 27, 32; iii, 104; his rebuke to Bishop Ashe, i, 42 n.; iii, 3 n.; and Parnell, i, 42 n.; ii, 23, 32, 36, 37; iii, 18 n.; his love for Dean Ryves, i, 45 n.; and Prebendary Clayton, i, 48; his lawsuit against the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, i, 48-52; ii, 21, 28, 33, 37; and the remission of the First Fruits, i, 50, 52, 60-67, 72-77, 81, 92-98, 102, 108, 121-123, 126, 137, 139, 146, 147-150, 191, 192, 196, 197, 199, 204-231, 233-235; ii, 117, 118, 339; his gout and other illnesses, i, 51, 96, 102, 104, 129 n., 327, 332, 333; ii, 21, 35, 61, 62, 361, 385; iii, 95 n., 101, 203, 378; chaplain to the Archbishop of Tuam, i, 51 n.; his visits to Bath, i, 51 n.; ii, 21, 28, 32, 33, 35-37, 55, 56, 61, 62, 77, 95 n., 325, 372, 378, 379, 381, 385; his love of building and Church restoration, i, 60 n.; ii, 353; iii, 186, 187; and Lord Pembroke, i, 60 n., 64 n., 96, 137; iii, 61 n.; his good qualities, i, 62, 63, 65, 130, 251; his recreations, i, 65, 68; and Clontarf, i, 68; ii, 263; and the Dublin address to Queen Anne, i, 81, 83, 84; on the Deanery House, i, 82 n.; on Brod-
- rick, i, 83 n.; and the repeal of the Test Act, i, 83 n., 96, 126-128; his library, i, 84 n., 89; his friendship with Edward Southwell, i, 86 n., 316; ii, 27 n., 29 n.; and Dodington, i, 102, 108; and Forbes, i, 102, 106; correspondence with Archbishop Tension, i, 102 n., 106 n.; imprisoned by James II, i, 123; consoled by Scripture, i, 123; his politics, i, 123, 197, 319, 320, 328, 334, 335, 348, 349; ii, 1, 6-10, 15, 20, 21, 79 n., 88 n., 104, 110, 111, 116-119, 338, 339; iii, 54, 192; vi, 243, 244; Dean of St. Patrick's, i, 123 n.; ii, 74; his Diary, i, 123 n.; reported dead, i, 136; and Sir Patrick Dun, i, 136, 137 n.; and Stoughton, i, 138, 300, 301; and Addison, i, 138, 140; ii, 322 n.; his triennial visitations, i, 180, 327, 332; iii, 199 n., 202, 390 n., 391 n.; and Lord Rochester, i, 225; his expectations of the Primacy, i, 225; ii, 88 n., 104, 199, 203; on the *Short Character of Lord Wharton*, i, 233-235; said to have compared Harley with Piso, i, 246, 248, 250-252, 255, 256, 259; ii, 320; his interest in Richardson's scheme for the conversion of the Irish Roman Catholics, i, 247, 248, 302, 303; buys Seatown lands and restores them to the see of Dublin, i, 251; and Dublin civic affairs, i, 259-261; ii, 99-103, 228 n.; and Convocation, i, 269, 316 n.; ii, 94 n.; at Lissen, i, 271; objects to the Addresses from the Irish Parliament on the change of government, i, 271, 272; at Swords, i, 280-286; on Swift's preferment, i, 285, 286, 291, 292, 298, 349; his writings, i, 298; and Higgins, i, 312; and Dr. William King (2), i, 316, 319; and the Duke of Ormond, i, 316, 320; adopts the National side in Irish politics, i, 316 n., 320-322; iii, 64 n., 77 n., 100 n., 101, 104, 108 n., 192, 224 n., 235 n.; and the Duchess of Shrewsbury, i, 323; ii, 203; and the Foleys, i, 332; falls from his horse, i, 349; ii, 3; and Francis Annesley, ii, 15 n.; iii, 391 n.; at Chester, ii, 27-29, 32, 35; and the Rev. John Moore, ii, 45; rallies Swift on his mistress, ii, 61; his mode of travelling, ii, 62; his horses, ii, 62; and the Prolocutorship, ii, 76, 77, 94 n.; and the mastership

- of the Cathedral School, ii, 94, 95; Lord Justice, ii, 238, 370*n.*; iii, 138*n.*, 139*n.*, 156*n.*; vi, 244; intercepts Swift's correspondence, ii, 276*n.*, 283, 318*n.*, 421-424; and the Eclipse, ii, 286*n.*; and the livings of St. Nicholas and St. Luke, ii, 315*n.*, 318-324, 339, 340; going to England, ii, 318, 319; and the appointment of Bolton as Chancellor of St. Patrick's, ii, 318*n.*; and Walls' preferment, ii, 319, 324, 340; and Provost Pratt, ii, 336-338, 371-379, 381, 384; iii, 107*n.*, 298*n.*; and Whittingham, ii, 338, 343; lodging in Suffolk Street, ii, 339, 354; shows Swift's letter about, ii, 360, 396*n.*, 397; and the improvements to Laracor glebe, ii, 361, 362, 371; his loss of influence, ii, 370*n.*; iii, 81*n.*; and the living of St. Bride's, ii, 373, 374, 383-386; iii, 157, 158; and Warren, ii, 385; and Lawson, ii, 385; and Jeffreys, ii, 422, 423; acquaintance with Vanessa, iii, 34*n.*, 85, 443, 461, 463; and Whitshed, iii, 65*n.*; and Swift's power of veto, iii, 71; his friendship with Archbishop Syngé, iii, 71; on the Irish weavers, iii, 75*n.*; and Coningsby, iii, 76*n.*; and Chetwode's prosecution, iii, 78, 80, 81, 83, 156, 159, 160, 164, 186-189; and the Duke of Grafton, iii, 81*n.*, 101; acquaintance with Lady Betty Rochfort, iii, 102; Swift's *Imitation of Horace* addressed to, iii, 104*n.*; and the living of St. Werburgh's, iii, 138*n.*; tries to intercept Swift's recommendation of Lightburne, iii, 152; and Levinge, iii, 201*n.*; on Captain Pratt's accounts, iii, 241*n.*; attacks Boulter, iii, 290; and the Princess of Wales, iii, 357; degrades a clergyman, iii, 368; and the archbishopric of Cashel, iii, 388*n.*; insists upon Swift appearing by proxy at his visitation, iii, 390-393, 400, 402, 403; and Dr. Steevens' Hospital, iii, 418; on Nicolson, iii, 429*n.*; and Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, iii, 456; and Stopford, iv, 93*n.*; death, iv, 158*n.*, 159*n.*; at Wexford, iv, 455; on John Blachford, v, 114*n.*, 115*n.*; as Irish Privy Councillor, vi, 243.
- King, Dr. William (2), poet and gazetteer, i, 315, 316, 319, 339*n.*; v, 255*n.*; under the patronage of the Archbishop, i, 316; his self-indulgence, i, 316*n.*, 319; death, i, 319*n.*
- King, Dr. William (3), Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, v, 237, 255*n.*; his *Anecdotes of His Own Times*, v, 236*n.*; in Dublin, v, 237, 369, 390; in France, v, 237, 392, 393; in London, v, 237-239, 378, 400, 401; account of, v, 237*n.*; his *The Toast*, v, 237-239, 378, 458, 459; vi, 27, 74, 81, 110; undertakes the business of publishing *The Four Last Years*, v, 238, 378, 392, 393, 400, 401; vi, 2*n.*, 19, 26, 27, 29, 34, 38, 39, 64, 73*n.*, 74, 80, 81, 110, 161, 165; and Deane Swift, v, 238, 393; vi, 74, 112, 127; his son, v, 238, 239; his lawsuit with his Uncle Sir Thomas Smyth and Lady Bellew, v, 238, 239, 369*n.*, 378, 458, 459; vi, 74, 110; and Sheridan, v, 369; in Edinburgh, v, 378, 379, 392; and the *Polite Conversation*, v, 390; a Laplander or a Swede, v, 392; visits Bolingbroke, v, 393; his acquaintance with Swift, v, 458-460; contributes to *Common Sense*, vi, 25*n.*, 29; his correspondence stopped in the post, vi, 26, 28, 29, 74, 111; invites Swift to Oxford, vi, 29; living in the Temple, vi, 34; his friendship with Mrs. Whiteway, vi, 80, 111; entrusted with Swift's *Lines on His Own Death*, vi, 107-112, 114; and Pope, vi, 108, 133; and Cardinal Polignac, vi, 112; and Lord Orrery, vi, 178; sees a change in Swift, vi, 218.
- King at Arms, A Letter to the*, iii, 108*n.*
- King's Arms and Two Bishops, The, iv, 384.
- King's Bench, Irish, iii, 164.
- King's Hospital. *See* Dublin.
- King's Hussars or Dormer's Horse, iv, 158*n.*
- King's Inns, Dublin, i, 8*n.*
- King's Lynn, i, 305, 306.
- Kingsmill, death, i, 183.
- Kingston, Evelyn, 1st Duke of. *See* Dorchester.
- Kingston, Evelyn, 2nd Duke of, vi, 54.
- Kingston, 1st Lord, i, 120*n.*
- Kingston, John, 3rd Lord, ii, 166.
- Kinnoul. *See* Dupplin.
- Kit-Kat Club, the, iv, 158*n.*

- Knatchbull, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor, v, 337.
- Kneller, Sir Godfrey, his portrait of Lady Orkney, i, 354 *n.*; portrait of Prior, iii, 44.
- Knight, treasurer of the South Sea Company, iv, 115; v, 392.
- Knightley, Miss, daughter of Sir Valentine, married to Richard Chetwode, iv, 473, 474.
- Knightley, Sir Valentine, of Fawsley, iv, 473, 474.
- Knockbeg, ii, 346.
- Knowles, Rev. John, Master of Cavan School, v, 151, 156 *n.*
- Knox and Craghead, Messrs., vi, 91.
- Königsmarck, Count, iv, 471.
- Korah, ii, 341.
- Kuli Khan or Nadir Shah, v, 234, 341, 343, 421.
- Kyrle, John, "the Man of Ross," iv, 37 *n.*
- Labyrinthine Vertigo, iii, 53 *n.*
- "Lady Fair." See Hill.
- Lady of the Bedchamber, The, i, 240.
- Lady's Dressingroom, The*, iv, 308, 484; v., 289.
- Lady's Journal, The*. See *Dublin*.
- Lady with the Temple of Fame, To a*, iv, 360 *n.*
- Lamb, William, Vicar Choral, son of Lyttelton's nurse, vi, 99-101, 123, 128, 133.
- Lambart, Mrs., ii, 126 *n.*
- Lambert, Sir John, v, 154 *n.*
- Lambert, Lady, v, 154.
- Lambert, Ralph, Bishop of Dromore and of Meath, Chaplain to Lord Wharton, i, 124, 126; account of, i, 124 *n.*; his sermon on the repeal of the Test, i, 124 *n.*; Dean of Down, i, 139 *n.*; ii, 372 *n.*; his controversy with Higgins on Convocation, i, 202 *n.*, 283; appointed Bishop of Dromore, ii, 383; translated to Meath, iii, 385.
- Lamentable Hymn to Death, A*, vi, 152.
- Lamotte, Rev. Charles, Rector of Warkton, supposed to have written the Montagu House Letters, ii, 410 *n.*
- Lamprey, Arthur, juryman on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 184, 185.
- Lancaster, William, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, i, 79 *n.*
- Lancelot, William, married to Mrs. Rolt, iii, 341 *n.*; Swift stays with, iii, 410, 416, 421; iv, 376; servant to Lord Sussex, iv, 36, 177; death, iv, 37 *n.*; living in New Bond Street, iv, 37 *n.*; affection for Swift and Pope, iv, 142; and Lord Chesterfield, iv, 177, 178, 184, 185, 196; and the Duke of Dorset, iv, 178; character, iv, 178, 185; living at Richmond, iv, 185; money transactions with Swift, iv, 364, 421; v, 214.
- Lancelot, Mrs. See Rolt.
- Lanceston, General, supposed to be Lancaster, i, 79.
- Land, Henry, sexton at St. Patrick's, and Swift's wine, v, 270, 275, 276, 278, 284; account of, v, 270 *n.*; celebrates "the Drapier's birthday," v, 289.
- Land tax, the, ii, 14, 15.
- Landau, siege of, ii, 60.
- Lane, Dr., of Bristol, iv, 442; v, 7.
- Lane-Poole, Dr. Stanley, his *Essay in the Fortnightly Review*, i, xxv, *et passim*.
- Lanesborough, Brinsley Butler, 1st Viscount, iv, 93 *n.*; v, 209; *and see* Butler.
- Lanesborough, George Lane, 1st Viscount, ii, 45 *n.*
- Lanesborough, James Lane, 2nd Viscount, ii, 45, 46.
- Lanesborough, Ladies, v, 367.
- Langallerie, Marquis de, ii, 326.
- Langford, Sir Arthur, i, 181; iii, 108 *n.*; account of, i, 181 *n.*; his conventicle, ii, 251, 252.
- Langley Manor, iii, 190.
- Langton, Dominick, a tool of Francis Higgins, i, 224 *n.*, 281, 293, 302.
- Lansdowne, George Granville, Baron, i, 386; his marriage, iii, 140 *n.*; in the Tower, iii, 140 *n.*; exiled to France, iii, 140 *n.*; his daughters, iii, 238; iv, 238; v, 138 *n.*; vi, 12 *n.*; his relationship to Mrs. Pendarves, iv, 435 *n.*; v, 7 *n.*, 97, 138 *n.*; a member of the Brothers' Club, v, 97; and the Duke of Chandos, v, 97, 110; death, v, 138, 175; his sonnets to "Mira," v, 458.
- Lansdowne, Lady, betrays Layer's plot, iii, 140; account of, iii, 140 *n.*; death, v, 138 *n.*
- Laracor, the living of, i, 32 *n.*; ii, 147, 345-347; the parsonage at, ii, 52-54, 240, 305, 306, 381, 387; iii, 10; Swift's improvements and additions

- to the glebe, ii, 333, 335, 336, 344, 352, 353, 381, 405; iii, 158, 236; illustrated, ii, 352; Stella's cottage near, illustrated, iv, 460.
- Latimer, Mr., of Kells, iii, 236.
- La Touche, Mme., and the Duke of Kingston, vi, 54.
- Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, i, 104 n.; iii, 41.
- Laughlin, ii, 289, 291.
- Laughton, Sir J. K., on Peterborough, i, 245; vi, 242.
- Law, John, his financial schemes, iii, 17, 40, 89, 90; takes refuge from his creditors in Copenhagen, iii, 89 n.
- Lawlor, Professor, on Archbishop King, i, 36 n., 123 n.
- Lawson, Captain, of the Government yacht, offers Swift a passage to Dublin, iii, 425.
- Lawson, Rev. Wilfrid, Vicar of Galtrim, ii, 383-385.
- Lay's Plot, iii, 139, 140, 163 n.; iv, 238 n., 279 n.; v, 215 n.
- Leach, Sir Edward, i, 305 n.
- Leadam, Mr. I. S., his *Political History of England*, i, 313 n.; ii, 199 n., 201 n.
- Leake, Rear-Admiral Sir John, i, 127.
- Lecky, Mr., quoted, i, 1 n., *et passim*.
- Lee. *See* Leigh.
- Lee, Rev. A. T., on the Irish bawns, iv, 42 n.
- Leeds, Peregrine, 2nd Duke of, ii, 86 n.; vi, 243.
- Leeds, Peregrine, 3rd Duke of. *See* Carmarthen.
- Leeds, Thomas, 4th Duke of, ii, 86 n., 93; v, 198, 224; vi, 243.
- Leemputte, Henri van, v, 236.
- Le Fanu, J. Sheridan, iv, 230 n.
- Le Fanu, Mr. T. P., iv, 77 n., 230 n.
- Leffington, Mr., v, 456.
- Legion Club, The*, i, 262 n., 305 n., 314 n., 322, 323, 332, 337, 340, 342, 346, 347, 351 n., 439 n.
- Le Hunte, Richard, M.P. for Ennis-corthy, iii, 126; his mother, iv, 63 n.
- Le Hunte, Thomas, M.P., on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- Leicester, i, 62; its Roman pavement, i, 153, 154; Saxon Mint at, i, 154.
- Leicester, Earl of. *See* Coke.
- Leicester Fields, i, 63, 65, 141, 143 n.; iii, 157.
- Leicester House, The Prince of Wales' Court at, iii, 304 n., 348 n.
- Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, The, i, 3 n.
- Leigh, a bricklayer of Dublin, iv, 346.
- Leigh, James, "Jemmy," i, 43, 375; account of, i, 48 n.; acquaintance with Stella, iv, 453, 454; related to Bishop Pulein, iv, 453.
- Leigh, Rev. Thomas, brother to James, i, 43.
- Leighlin, diocese of, i, 327 n.
- Leinster, James, 1st Duke of, son of the Earl of Kildare, iv, 344 n.
- Leixlip, iii, 104.
- Lely, Sir Peter, his portrait of Lady Giffard, v, 416 n., 417.
- Lenthall, Elizabeth, wife of Deane Swift (1), i, 10 n.; vi, 214.
- Lepell, Molly. *See* Hervey.
- Lepidus, iv, 35.
- Leslie, Charles, non-juror, his pamphlets against the dissenters, i, 43; iv, 433 n.; v, 269.
- Leslie, Rev. J. B., his *Armagh Clergy and Parishes*, ii, 272 n., *et passim*.
- Leslie, Robert or Robin, son of Charles, iv, 79, 433, 434; v, 236, 269 n.; account of, iv, 433; v, 236 n.
- L'Estrange, John, vi, 214.
- L'Estrange, or Hodson, Mary, daughter of John, married to Meade Swift, vi, 214, 215.
- L'Estrange, Roger, and the Tory party, ii, 97, 98; his version of Seneca, iii, 90 n., 110; iv, 254 n.
- Letcombe Bassett, Berkshire, ii, 134, 142, 143, 185; Rectory illustrated, ii, 134; Church illustrated, ii, 224.
- Letter writing, iv, 126, 142.
- Letters to and from Dr. Swift*, vi, 172.
- Leveson Gower, Sir William, iv, 134 n.
- Levinge, Sir Richard, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, i, 277; iv, 23 n.; his antagonism to Lord Wharton, i, 227, 233 n.; account of, i, 227 n.; iii, 201 n.; and the Irish Speakership, ii, 81 n., 117, 316 n.; death, iii, 201, 202.
- Levinge, Sir R. G. A., his *Jottings of the Levinge Family*, i, 227 n.
- Lewis, Erasmus, Under-Secretary of State, i, 200, 248 n., 309; ii, 66, 67; his correspondence with Swift, i, vi, 385; ii, 368; iii, 130 n., 452, 453; vi, 171, 203; introduced to Swift by Stratford, i, 200 n.; called "the Shaver," i, 200 n.; iii, 181; introduces Swift to Harley, i, 200 n., at-

- taches Swift to the Tory party, i, 200 n., 213 n.; introduces Swift to St. John, i, 229 n.; Swift's letters addressed to his office, i, 248, 257, 275, 309, 312 n., 320; ii, 67, 80, 116, 191; relations with Vanessa, i, 309 n., 335, 341-343; ii, 40, 43, 45, 48, 51; iii, 462; introduced to Lady Orkney by Swift, i, 345; urges Swift to return to England, ii, 55, 57, 62, 63, 78 n.; messages from and to, ii, 73 n.; iii, 293, 433; iv, 62, 72, 114, 152, 177, 196, 220, 302, 417; v, 5, 397; vi, 61, 65, 70, 83, 89, 101; his attachment to Harley, ii, 63, 150, 194, 297; iii, 17; vi, 31; and Barber, ii, 129 n.; vi, 60, 72, 75; friendship with Gay, ii, 144, 145, 149, 150; iii, 149; iv, 32; on the divisions in the Oxford Ministry, ii, 162, 167, 168, 182, 195, 199; and Thomas, ii, 167, 194; his birthplace, Abercothy, ii, 168, 189, 202; his visits to Bath, ii, 182, 195, 199, 209 n.; iv, 32, 37, 137, 221; relations with Lady Masham, ii, 182, 195, 200, 201, 206, 221, 389; and Swift's application for the post of Historiographer, ii, 184; his friendship with Arbuthnot, ii, 184, 186, 192; iii, 154, 278, 285; iv, 379; and Swift's induction grant, ii, 189; out of office, ii, 203, 267 n.; on the Queen's death, ii, 206; wishes Swift to return to London after the Queen's death, ii, 211, 215, 220, 221, 359, 360; warns Swift to hide his papers, ii, 267; promotes the subscription for Prior's *Poems*, ii, 360, 389, 398; vi, 237 n.; leaving London, ii, 389, 391; his brother, ii, 390; his health drunk at Letcombe, ii, 418; hunting with Lord Bathurst, iii, 23; his stirrups, iii, 23; Lord Oxford gives him horses, iii, 23; his Welsh temper, iii, 181; his way of life after his retirement, iii, 181; love of cards and backgammon, iii, 181; iv, 30, 32, 42; forwards the ring and portrait from Lord Oxford to Swift, iii, 265, 279; relations with the 2nd Earl of Oxford, iii, 265, 279; vi, 31, 77, 83; his marriage to Mrs. Bateman, iii, 284, 285; iv, 32, 94; v, 352; friendship with Pope, iii, 293; vi, 42, 130; opinion of *Gulliver*, iii, 357; negotiates the publication of *Gulliver* by Motte, iii, 385; iv, 3, 4, 32, 52, 121, 126, 133, 137, 275, 293; living in Cork Street, iii, 386; v, 215; at Sir W. Wyndham's, iv, 16; his pessimism, iv, 379; consulted by Motte about Swift's *Poems*, v, 215; and Ford, v, 344, 364; his wife's death, v, 364, 411; vi, 51, 89; failing sight, vi, 30, 40; and the *Four Last Years*, vi, 31, 37, 38, 41, 77-80, 83, 110; his way of life after his wife's death, vi, 51, 52; opposed to the Spaniards, vi, 107; failing health, vi, 123.
- Lewis, Mrs. *See* Bateman.
- Lexington, Robert Sutton, 2nd Baron, ii, 202.
- Libel on the Rev. Dr. Delany and His Excellency Lord Carteret, A*, iv, 122, 126, 127, 131, 136, 140, 308, 360, 394, 414, 430, 484.
- Lichfield, Deanery of, ii, 4 n.
- Lichfield, George Lee, 2nd Earl of, v, 363.
- Lichfield, George, 3rd Earl of, Chancellor of Oxford University, v, 363 n.
- Lie, A, ii, 407.
- Life and Genuine Character of Dr. Swift, The*, iv, 428, 429, 438, 440; v, 91, 214.
- Liffey, The, iii, 61.
- Lightburne, Vicar of Philipstown, death, ii, 289.
- Lightburne, Rev. Stafford, married to Hannah Swift, i, 11 n.; iv, 144; vi, 213; Swift's curate at Laracor, ii, 370; iii, 152 n., 235 n.; iv, 282; his preferment, iii, 151, 152; iv, 282; v, 294, 348 n., 382; iv, 427, 443; his litigation with Deane Swift, iii, 152, 235, 236, 238; iv, 418 n.
- Lightburne, Mrs. *See* Swift.
- Lille, siege of, i, 106, 110, 113, 114, 347.
- Limerick, Bishop of. *See* Burscough.
- Limerick, Treaty of, iii, 48 n.
- Lincoln's Inn Fields Playhouse, iv, 10.
- Lindsay, Montagu, 2nd Earl of, i, 193 n.
- Lindsay, Robert, an Irish Judge, the *Letters to Whittshed*, signed N. N., ascribed to, iii, 229 n.; and McLorinan's appeal, v, 122, 142; account of, v, 122 n.
- Lindsay, Mrs. Robert, born Singleton, v, 122 n.
- Lindsay, Thomas, Bishop of Killaloe and Raphoe, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, on Bishop Milles,

- i, 79 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 191-193, 196, 204; ii, 89; his appointment to the Primacy, ii, 88-91, 108, 114; account of, ii, 89 n.; superseded as Lord Justice, ii, 238; his chaplain Whaley, ii, 272; iii, 54; iv, 46; Swift's influence with, ii, 89, 366 n.; iii, 7 n., 54, 55; v, 384; bestows a living upon Warburton, ii, 366 n.; v, 384; at Bath, iii, 7; his obligations to Harley, iii, 7; his great state, iii, 7 n.; his correspondence with Dr. Charlet, iii, 50 n.; his patronage, iii, 54; ill-health, iii, 55, 95 n.; and Crosse, iii, 55, 158; his interest in the choir of Armagh, iii, 130; Wallis's memorial to, iii, 158; and Dr. Worth, iii, 158; death, iii, 199, 201, 203; will, iii, 199 n., 203, 204; wealth, iii, 199 n., 203, 204; offers Sheridan the mastership of Armagh School, iii, 250 n.; v, 343; his esteem for Stella, iv, 452, 453.
- Lingen, William, and Sheridan, v, 155; his legacy from Vanessa, v, 155 n.
- Lintot or Lintott, Barnaby, publisher, ii, 285 n.; v, 163; and Thomas Swift, i, 387, 388; publishes Pope's *Works*, ii, 287 n.; v, 298; publishes for Gay, iii, 334.
- Lints, a painter, and the Hell Fire Club, vi, 70, 71.
- Lissen Hall, i, 271.
- Little, Mr., iv, 43.
- Little Cleveland Court, St. James's Place, vi, 51, 52.
- Little House, On the*, ii, 67 n.
- "Little Master," iii, 443, 461.
- Littleton's Dictionary, v, 421.
- Livy, i, 119; iii, 128, 211.
- Lloyd, and Swift's wine, iii, 100.
- Lloyd, a clergyman, the bearer of a message from the town of Coleraine to the Irish Society, v, 429-431; vi, 8, 9, 14, 15, 25, 70.
- Lloyd, Catherine, sister to Mrs. Stoyte, ii, 67, 77, 132, 148, 203; called "Cellarius," ii, 70; called "Martha," ii, 227.
- Lloyd, Charles, i, 3 n.
- Lloyd, Robert, M.P. for Shropshire, Sacheverell's pupil, i, 317.
- Lloyd, William, Bishop of Killala, i, 90, 186 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 191, 192; refuses the bishopric of Raphoe, ii, 114, 115; friendship with Stella, ii, 114 n.; iv, 452; death, ii, 347, 354; will, ii, 364.
- L. M., a discoverer, his letter to the Earl of Oxford on the *Public Spirit of the Whigs*, ii, 415, 416.
- Locke, John, iii, 344 n.; v, 58, 92, 241.
- Lockhart, George, his *Memoir Concerning the Affairs of Scotland*, etc., ii, 175.
- Lockhart, Captain Philip, "the Irish poetical Captain," i, 114, 141 n.
- Lodge, John, v, 155 n.
- "Logg, Mrs. Catherine," i, 377.
- Lombard Street, called "Strada del Po," iv, 341 n.
- London, Bishop of. See Gibson, Hinchman, Robinson, Sherlock.
- London, Lord Mayor of. See Barber, Dancombe, Heathcote, Pilkington.
- London Bridge, iv, 68, 312.
- London Daily Post, The*, v, 230 n.
- London Evening Post, The*, on Swift's portrait, vi, 119, 120.
- London Gazette, The*, ii, 285 n.
- Londonderry, Derry, Irish or London Society. See Irish Society.
- Long, Anne, granddaughter of Sir James Long (1), and of Colonel Strangways, i, 308; *The Decree for a Treaty with*, i, 143; iii, 35 n., 457; Swift's friendship with, i, 299, 307-309, 385; related to the Vanhomrighs, i, 299 n., 307; iii, 457, 458; retires to King's Lynn under the name of "Mrs. Smyth" on account of financial difficulties, i, 299 n., 305-309; her "unworthy letter," i, 305; expectations from her grandmother, i, 305, 308; ill-health, i, 305, 306; her beauty, i, 305 n.; a toast of the Kit-cat Club, i, 305 n.; her books, i, 306; on the relations between Swift and Vanessa, i, 307; iii, 458; death, i, 307 n., 308; her correspondence published by Curll, v, 184, 205.
- Long, Sir James (1), i, 305 n.
- Long, Lady, widow of Sir James (1), i, 305, 308.
- Long, Sir James (2), brother of Anne, i, 308.
- Long History of a Short Session of a Certain Parliament, A*, ascribed to Dr. Delany, ii, 108 n., 117 n., 125, 316 n.
- Longe, Rev. John, his MSS. of *Temple's Memoirs*, i, 172 n.

- Longe, Miss Julia, her *Life and Correspondence of Martha, Lady Giffard*, v, 416 n., et seq.
- Longfield, Elizabeth, married to William Swift (2), vi, 214.
- Longitude, a project for discovering the, i, 324, 325; ii, 163, 186, 197, 276.
- Loory, Lady Giffard's parakeet, i, 21; vi, 241.
- Lord Chamberlain. See Chamberlain.
- Lord Chancellor. See Chancellor.
- Lord High Admiral. See Admiralty, George, Pembroke.
- Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See Ireland.
- Lord Mayor. See Dublin, London.
- Lord Mayor's Show, iv, 339, 350; officers, iv, 386.
- Lorrain, Paul, Ordinary of Newgate, iii, 296.
- Lost, Harry, a correspondent of Swift's, i, 384.
- Lothian, Robert, 1st Marquis of, i, 99 n.
- Lotichius, Johannes Petrus, v, 237.
- Lotteries, iii, 155, 341, 352; iv, 206, 293.
- Loughborough, the George Inn, iv, 55.
- Loughbrickland, i, 26.
- Loughgall Manor, Robert Cope's seat, iii, 53, 134, 135, 467, 468; vi, 230; illustrated, iii, 334.
- Louis, Dauphin, son of Louis XIV, i, 248.
- Louis, Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV, i, 295.
- Louis XIV of France, assists the Pretender, i, 78 n.; his foreign policy, i, 143, 197, 333, 334, 349; ii, 2, 9; v, 4; his family, i, 328 n.; his Hospital for Invalid Soldiers, v, 128; his stables, v, 268.
- Louis XV of France, i, 326, 328 n., 333; v, 208; his cat kissed by Nelly Bennet, iii, 17.
- Louisa, Princess, daughter of George II, iv, 337, 375.
- Loveday, John, his *Tour in Ireland*, v, 3 n.; vi, 193 n.
- Lovel, Stephen, Collector of Customs in Chester, v, 164.
- Lovelace, a chorister, recommended to Swift by Edward and Nathaniel Harley, iii, 45, 46.
- Lowndes, William, of the Treasury, i, 24 n.; vi, 217 n.; and Anne's will, ii, 232.
- Lowndes, Mrs. William, born Hopper, sister of Mrs. Adam Swift, i, 24 n.; vi, 217 n.
- Lucan, i, 153; iii, 22, 91.
- Lucas, Francis, M.P. for Monaghan, his son a pupil at Sheridan's school, v, 197, 198; his bill, v, 335, 336, 342.
- Lucian, iii, 25.
- Lucilius, iv, 209; v, 78.
- Luckombe, Philip, his *Tour through Ireland*, iv, 462 n.
- Lucretius, iii, 128 n.; v, 91.
- Lucrinus, Lacus, Oysters of, i, 376.
- Lucy, Sir Berkeley, i, 384 n.
- Lucy, Catherine, Lady, wife of Sir Berkeley, daughter of Charles Cotton, i, 384.
- Ludlow, Edmund, the regicide, ii, 365 n.; his *Memoirs*, iv, 149.
- Ludlow, Peter, of Ardsallagh, hospitality to Swift, ii, 365, 400; iii, 467; iv, 371; account of, ii, 365 n.; sends Swift a pamphlet, iii, 11-13; his sisters, iii, 160 n., 164 n.; a mock trial at his house, iv, 371; his niece married to Robert Leslie, iv, 433 n.; entertains Stella at Ardsallagh, iv, 460; correspondence with Knightley Chetwode, iv, 467-470; and Jemmy Whitehead, iv, 468; estranged from Swift, v, 351; dines at Delville, v, 351 n.; described by Mrs. Delany, v, 351 n.
- Ludlow, Mrs. Peter, stepdaughter to Lord Forbes, ii, 365 n.; iii, 12 n., 198 n.; iv, 468, 470.
- Ludlow, Peter (2), 1st Earl of, grandson of Peter (1), ii, 365 n.
- Lugani, Sebastian Jovius, v, 237.
- Luther, Martin, ii, 397.
- Lutrin, iv, 34.
- Luttrell, Colonel Henry, iii, 461.
- Luttrell, Narcissus, his *Brief Relation of State Affairs*, quoted, i, 74 n., et passim.
- Luttrell, Simon, afterwards Earl of Carhampton, son of Colonel Luttrell, said to be "little Master," iii, 461.
- Lutwidge, Eleanor, daughter of Walter, vi, 226.
- Lutwidge, Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, vi, 226.
- Lutwidge, Walter, of Whitehaven, High Sheriff of Cumberland, vi, 226.

- Lynch, Alexander, Swift's debtor, vi, 86 n.
- Lyon, Rev. John, on Swift's journeys between England and Ireland, i, 48 n.; vi, 241; returns Guiscard's penknife to Harley's representatives, i, 239 n.; recommended to Delany, v, 383, 384; account of, v, 383 n.; and Swift's midnight verses, v, 453; and Swift's charities, vi, 150 n.; executor to Rebecca Dingley, vi, 206; the charge of Swift given to, vi, 225.
- Lyttelton, George, afterwards 1st Baron, contributes to *Common Sense*, vi, 25 n.; friendship with Pope, vi, 100, 127; interest in William Lamb, vi, 100, 101, 128, 129, 133; account of, vi, 100 n.; Secretary to the Prince of Wales, vi, 100 n., 134, 137, 138; canvassed on behalf of Macaulay, vi, 128, 131, 133, 134, 192; Swift sends him his *Works*, vi, 137; and Deane Swift, vi, 136, 137; Pope gives him his *Works*, vi, 137; his correspondence with Swift, vi, 218.
- Mac. See MacFadden.
- MacArdell, James, his mezzotint of Blachford, iv, 212 n.
- Macarell, Alderman John, M.P., on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182, 183, 185.
- Macarthy, Lord. See Clancarty.
- Macartney, George (1), married to Elizabeth Winder, iv, 282 n.
- Macartney, George (2), 1st Earl Macartney, son of George (1), i, 15 n.; iv, 282.
- Macaulay, Alexander, barrister, debt to Sheridan, v, 335; his pamphlet, *Property Inviolable*, v, 335; account of, v, 335 n.; mentioned in Swift's will, v, 335 n.; his treatise, *Some Thoughts on the Tillage of Ireland*, vi, 55, 56, 207, 208; consulted about the *Four Last Years*, vi, 80; his parliamentary candidature for the University of Dublin, vi, 116-121, 134 n.; recommended to the Prince of Wales through Lyttelton and Pope, vi, 128, 131, 133, 134, 162, 192; to carry Swift's Correspondence to Pope, vi, 162, 164, 169; on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- Macaulay, Thomas, of Leicester, i, 3 n.
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Lord, his *Essay on Sir William Temple* referred to, i, 57 n., et passim.
- Macchiavelli, Niccolo dei, iii, 171, 367.
- Macclesfield, Sir Thomas Parker, 1st Earl of, Lord Chancellor, his litigation with Lord Coningsby, iii, 74 n., 76 n.
- MacFadden, Mr., Sheridan's relative by marriage, iii, 147, 346.
- MacFadden, Mrs., Sheridan's mother-in-law, iii, 147, 242, 246, 346, 403.
- Mackay, or Makkin, a cowstealer, his execution, v, 220, 455, 456.
- MacKnight, Thomas, his *Life of Bolingbroke*, ii, 226 n.
- Macky, John, on Earl Poulett, i, 193 n.
- Mad Mullinix and Timothy, *Dialogue between*, iv, 308.
- Madden, Edward, Deputy Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, vi, 183.
- Madius, Gisbert, Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, v, 236.
- Madox, Thomas, appointed Historiographer, ii, 188, 196, 210.
- Maecenas, i, 156; ii, 107.
- Maevius, iii, 293.
- Magalotti, Count, Councillor to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, ii, 268 n.
- Magheralin, Bishop Stearne's house at, ii, 363, 369; iii, 467.
- Magliabechius, Antonius, v, 237.
- Magnus, Olaus, his *History of the Goths, Swedes and Vandals*, iii, 349.
- Mahaffy, Dr., his discourse in *Peplographia Dubliniensis*, i, 66 n.; his *Essay on Georgian Society in Dublin*, v, 86.
- Mahomet, ii, 326; iv, 326, 337.
- Mainwaring, Arthur, editor of the *Medley*, i, 166.
- Makkin, a cow stealer. See Mackay.
- Makkin, Mrs., v, 456.
- Malacrida, Bernardinus, v, 237.
- Malahidert or Mulhuddert, The prebend of, ii, 132, 340.
- Malebranche, Father Nicolas de, iii, 259; v, 92.
- Mall, The, i, 241; vi, 244.
- Malone, Anthony, speaks against the Bill for lowering the gold, v, 331 n.
- Malone, Edmund, i, 15 n.
- Malt, proposed tax upon, in Scotland, ii, 41.
- Manley, Frances, daughter of Isaac, afterwards Mrs. Holt, ii, 77; vi, 244.
- Manley, Isaac, Postmaster of Ireland, i, 121, 274; ii, 67, 73, 77, 148, 166,

- 285; friendship with Stella, i, 121 n.; iii, 139 n.; his son, i, 274; in danger of losing his post, ii, 125, 204, 227; his politics, ii, 125; relations with the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 125 n.; and the Commissionership of the Revenue, ii, 258; intercepts and opens Swift's correspondence, ii, 262, 423, 424; iii, 12, 139, 228; and the Papist plots, iii, 166; superannuated, iv, 229; death, iv, 229 n.; his son-in-law, vi, 244.
- Manley, Mrs. Isaac, i, 121 n.; ii, 67, 77, 148, 166, 204, 227.
- Manley, John, M.P. for Bossiney, i, 221, 274 n.; vi, 242; relations with Mary de la Rivière Manley, i, 274 n.; ii, 125 n.; death, ii, 125.
- Manley, Mrs. John, i, 274 n.
- Manley, Mary de la Rivière, author of the *New Atlantis*, and Swift's assistant on the *Examiner*, i, 190, 274 n.; her connection with John Manley, i, 274 n.; ii, 125 n.; ill at Finchley, ii, 177 n.
- Mansell, Sir Thomas, afterwards Baron Mansell of Margan, Controller of the Household, i, 74, 241; his dinners, i, 241 n.
- Mant, Richard, Bishop of Down and Connor, his *History of the Church of Ireland*, i, 72 n., 83 n.
- Manton, Dr. Thomas, iii, 93.
- Maple, Frederick, a friend of Lord Mayor French, vi, 59.
- Mapp, Mrs., a bonesetter, mistaken for the King's mistress, v, 405, 420.
- Mar, Frances, Countess of. *See* Pierrepoint.
- Mar, John, 6th Earl of, Secretary of State for Scotland, i, 266; orders Barber's arrest, ii, 129 n., 130 n.; marries Lady Frances Pierrepoint, ii, 193; and the Pretender, iii, 24; death, v, 466.
- Marble Hill, Mrs. Howard's house, iii, 353 n., and *see* Howard.
- Margaret, Stella's maid, iv, 457.
- Margetson, James, Archbishop of Armagh, iv, 475.
- Market Harborough, i, 153 n.
- Market Hill, now Gosford Castle, Sir Arthur Acheson's seat, iv, 38, 41, 87; vi, 226, 230.
- Marlay, Rev. George, Rector of Celbridge, afterwards Bishop of Dro-more, v, 288.
- Marlay, Thomas, Solicitor-General for Ireland, afterwards Chief Baron, iii, 189; v, 288 n., 360.
- Marlborough, Charles, 3rd Duke of, and 6th Earl of Sunderland, v, 319.
- Marlborough, Henrietta, 2nd Duchess of, daughter of the 1st Duke, and wife of the 2nd Earl of Godolphin, her connection with Congreve, iii, 337, 340, 343; iv, 16, 70 n.; v, 319 n.; at Windsor, iii, 340; at Bath, iv, 16, 21, 52; and Gay, iv, 16, 21, 52, 70; called "Almeria" in the *Female Faction*, iv, 70 n.; death, v, 319 n.; her son, vi, 30 n.
- Marlborough, John Churchill, 1st Duke of, i, 73 n., 99; iii, 337 n.; iv, 158 n., 341 n.; his connection with Sunderland, i, 61 n., 187; ii, 275; the inquiry into his conduct of the war, i, 67, 231, 235; his character, i, 67 n., 310; iii, 30; vi, 78; his antagonism to Harley, i, 75; ii, 389, 391, 416, 417; his campaign in Flanders, i, 106 n., 118, 133; at Blenheim, i, 113 n.; his voyage to Holland delayed by the wind, i, 145; at Zaragoza, i, 197 n.; reception in London, i, 226; loss of favour and dismissal, i, 226, 266 n., 279, 314, 315 n., 319, 323; charges of peculation against, i, 323 n.; and Steele, ii, 39; and Swift, ii, 39; his house at St. James's, ii, 179, 193; has diabetes, ii, 193; his public entry into the City, ii, 216, 217; relations with George I, ii, 217, 230 n.; iv, 471; left out of the Regency, ii, 217, 230; unpopularity, ii, 217; and Dean Chetwode, ii, 290 n.; death and funeral, iii, 155 n., 228 n.
- Marlborough, Sarah Jennings, Duchess of, wife of the 1st Duke, dismissed from her post of Mistress of the Robes, i, 208, 226 n., 279; her avarice, i, 310; and Pennefather, ii, 6 n.; public entry into the City, ii, 217; her residence in Windsor Park, ii, 253; her hatred of Oxford, ii, 391; her admiration of *Gulliver*, iii, 359; supports Lord Clancarty in his lawsuit, v, 206; quarrels with her grandson and the Duke of Bedford, v, 319; erecting a statue to Queen Anne, vi, 88; making court to Pope,

- vi, 131; alliance with the Opposition, vi, 131 n.
- Marly, v, 268.
- Marmora Oxoniensis*, iii, 424, 428; vi, 238.
- Marseilles, Bishop of. *See* Belsunce.
- Marseilles, plague at, v, 65.
- Marsh, Francis, Archbishop of Dublin, i, 27 n.; ii, 103 n.
- Marsh, Dr. Jeremiah, son of Francis, Treasurer of St. Patrick's and Dean of Kilmore, ii, 103.
- Marsh, Narcissus, Archbishop of Dublin, afterwards of Armagh, i, 40, 44, 106 n.; ii, 103 n.; iii, 7 n.; and Swift's ordination, i, 13; account of, i, 13 n.; his Library, i, 13 n., 84 n.; gifts to the Bodleian Library, i, 13 n.; character, i, 13 n.; and the prosecution of the two Presbyterian Ministers of Drogheda, i, 126; Lord Justice of Ireland, i, 126 n., 138 n., 225, 233; and the First Fruits, i, 146, 150, 191, 192, 209-212, 214, 218, 277; correspondence with Wharton, i, 146, 150; residing at Johnstown, i, 209; ill-health, i, 225, 233, 296; ii, 28; death, i, 225 n.; ii, 85; Chairman of Convocation, i, 283, 296; and Peter Browne, iii, 244 n.
- Marshall, Robert, Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, executor to Vanessa, publishes her correspondence and *Cadenus and Vanessa*, iii, 306, 462-466.
- Marshall, William, clerk to William Swift, his legacy from Vanessa, iii, 463, 464.
- Marsham, Sir John, his chronology, iv, 251.
- "Martha." *See* Lloyd.
- Martial, i, 376.
- Martin, Isabella, maid to Rebecca Dingley, vi, 206.
- Martin, John, juryman on Swift's lunacy, vi, 184, 185.
- Martin, Richard, Head Master of Armagh School, v, 343.
- Martin Scriblerus*. *See* *Scriblerus*.
- Martry, Chetwode's place, ii, 261; and *see* Chetwode.
- Mary II, Queen, i, 227 n.; iv, 350 n.
- Mary the Cook-Maid's Letter to Dr. Sheridan*, iii, 176 n.
- Maryborough Assizes, iii, 82.
- Masham, Abigail Hill, Mrs., afterwards Lady, wife of the 1st Baron, plots with Harley to overthrow the Godolphin Ministry, i, 74 n., 75; said to be forbidden the Court, i, 75; birth of her children, i, 278, 313, 350 n., 351; ii, 93, 201; her loyalty to and influence with Queen Anne, i, 278, 310 n.; ii, 187, 200, 201, 217, 221, 222; her friendship and esteem for Swift, i, 337, 385; ii, 151, 152, 160, 197, 200, 201, 205, 221, 222, 246, 389; iii, 181, 190; iv, 62; v, 5, 177; her place at Court filled by her sister Alice, i, 351 n.; concocts "a lie" with Arbuthnot and Swift, ii, 18 n., 407; and Lady Carmarthen's death, ii, 93; endeavours to reconcile Oxford and Bolingbroke, ii, 139 n., 223; vi, 20; her breach with Oxford, ii, 150, 151, 158, 162, 168, 182, 185, 190, 196, 197, 200, 201; and the materials for Swift's *Four Last Years*, ii, 153, 163; relations with Bolingbroke, ii, 162, 190; character, ii, 162, 182, 222; and the Historiographer's office, ii, 184, 196; friendship with Arbuthnot, ii, 190, 195, 196, 246, 297; and the Duke of Ormond, ii, 191; and Thomas, ii, 194; relations with Lewis, ii, 195, 200, 206, 228, 389; said to have summoned Dr. Radcliffe to Queen Anne, ii, 207 n.; her behaviour and position on Anne's death, ii, 213, 221, 228; iii, 190; living at Langley, iii, 190; invitation to Swift, iii, 190; iv, 418; death, v, 167, 177, 225.
- Masham, Harriet, Lady, wife of the 2nd Lord. *See* *Winnington*.
- Masham, Samuel, afterwards Lord, dinners at his house, i, 315 n.; ii, 246; and Swift's snuff-box, i, 337, 338; his friendship with Swift, i, 337 n.; ii, 151-153, 160, 197, 201; iii, 181, 190 n.; iv, 62, 114, 128, 152, 170, 177, 220, 238, 417; v, 5, 352, 364, 397, 466; vi, 75, 101, 131; at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball, i, 338 n.; to subscribe to the Dublin Miscellany, iv, 168; and Shaw's case, iv, 373 n.; invitation to Swift, iv, 417; and the Appeal of Dublin v. Vernon, iv, 417; his son's marriage, v, 411; Oxford and Bolingbroke meet at his house, vi, 20, 21; lives with his son, vi, 30, 38, 89.
- Masham, Samuel, 2nd Lord, son of the 1st Lord, legacy from Disney, iv,

- 276; his education and character, v, 225, 364; vi, 38, 41, 75, 89, 92; and the two parsons, v, 352 n.; marriage, v, 411; vi, 30.
- Mason, Gentleman of the Queen's Chapel, iv, 80, 86.
- Mason, John, Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's, iv, 80, 86; vi, 99; account of, iv, 80 n.
- Mason, W. Monck, married to Winder's great-granddaughter, i, 23 n.; his *History of St. Patrick's*, i, 23 n., *et passim*.
- Mason, Mrs. Monck, i, 23 n.
- Master of the Rolls. *See* Carter.
- Matcham, Miss Eyre, her MSS., iv, 352, *et passim*.
- Mathew, Mr., of Thomastown, entertains Swift, iii, 34.
- Matthew, Tobie, Archbishop of York, v, 218.
- Mau, Mrs., an error for Mrs. Mac(Fadden), iii, 242 n.
- Maule, Henry, Dean of Cloyne, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, Dromore and Meath, iii, 250, 290, 319, 347.
- Maule, Mrs., wife of the Dean, iii, 242 n.
- Mauleverer, Sir Richard, i, 110 n.
- Maximilian, Emperor, i, 160.
- Maxwell, George, on Swift's last days, vi, 188 n.
- Maxwell, Mr., possibly 1st Lord Farnham, iii, 153.
- Maxwell, Mrs., v, 367.
- May, wine merchant, iv, 465.
- Maynard, Serjeant, and Jeffreys, iv, 195.
- McCarthy, Cormac, v, 158 n.
- McCowen, Lieutenant Molyneux, i, x, 361, 367 n.
- McGee, Alexander, Swift's servant, iii, 127-129; vi, 223.
- McGwyre, Mr., v, 51.
- McGwyre, Mrs., v, 51, 463.
- McLorinan, Hugh, his Appeal to the House of Lords, v, 121, 122, 141, 142, 144, 146, 147.
- McSkimin, Samuel, his *History of Carrickfergus*, i, 15 n., 29 n.
- Mead, iv, 47.
- Mead, Dr. Richard, attends Anne in her last illness, ii, 208; his *History of Thuanus*, iv, 112; prescribes for Pope, v, 304 n.; his kindness to the Barbers, v, 389; vi, 70, 72.
- Meade, Elinor, daughter of Colonel, married to Godwin Swift (1), and to Rev. Theophilus Harrison (2), iv, 190 n.; vi, 214.
- Meade, Colonel William, vi, 214.
- Meares, Lewis, and Langton, i, 302 n.
- Meath, Bishop of. *See* Dopping, Downes, Ellis, Evans, Lambert, Maule, Moreton.
- Meath, bishopric of, ii, 115.
- Meath, Chambre Brabazon, 5th Earl of, his house at Tara, ii, 273; iv, 468.
- Meditation upon a Broomstick*, A, i, 115, 298 n.
- Medlycott, Thomas, M.P. for Westminster, i, 221; Commissioner of Revenue in Ireland, iii, 232, 233, 305.
- Melcombe, Lord. *See* Dodington.
- Melthorp, Mr., of Trim, ii, 54.
- Melthorp, Widow, ii, 54.
- Member of Parliament in Ireland, upon the choosing of a New Speaker there, A Letter to a*, i, 185 n.
- Member of Parliament to his Friends in the Country, concerning the Duties on Wine and Tobacco, A Letter from a*, iv, 403.
- Member of the House of Commons in Ireland, etc., A Letter from a*. *See* Test.
- Memoirs of the Amours and Intrigues of a certain Irish Dean, etc., Some*, iv, 65, 154.
- Memoirs relating to that Change, etc.*, i, 85 n., 148 n., 168 n.; iii, 114, 115; iv, 43, 44; v, 392.
- Memorial of the Church of England, The*, i, 301, 302.
- Mencius, v, 78.
- Ménière, E., on Labyrinthine Vertigo, iii, 53 n.
- Mennes, Admiral Sir John, iv, 150.
- Mentor, iv, 390-393.
- Mercer, Mrs., her almshouses, iv, 346.
- "Mercurialis." *See* St. John.
- Mercurius Rusticus*, vi, 127.
- Mercy, iii, 277.
- Meredith, Mr., iii, 153.
- Meredyth, General, iv, 295.
- Merlin, iii, 370, 371; v, 245.
- Merril, John, M.P. for St. Albans, v, 281.
- Mesnager, Nicolas le, French envoy for the Peace, i, 290; ii, 2; received by the Queen, i, 290; his quarrel with Rechteren, ii, 3; v, 401.

- Metcalfe, W. C., his *Visitation of the County of Worcester*, i, 153 n.
 Methuen, ii, 413.
 Mexico, i, 334.
 Meyricke, Dr., afterwards Sir William, Vicar General, i, 369, 370.
Midas, Fable of, iii, 359 n.
 Middle Temple Gate, iii, 386.
 Middleton Stoney, the Duke of Queensberry's residence, iii, 340; iv, 107.
 Middleton, Viscount. *See* Brodrick.
 Middleton, Anne, Viscountess, daughter of Sir John Trevor, v, 412.
 "Midnight, Mother," ii, 64.
 Mildenhall, iii, 69.
 Mildmay. *See* Fitzwalter.
 Milles, Thomas, chaplain to Lord Pembroke, made Bishop of Waterford, i, 69, 70, 73, 79, 82, 83, 123 n.; Swift's dislike of, i, 70 n.; account of, i, 70 n.; suspected of Romanism and Jacobitism, i, 79 n.; visits France, i, 79 n.; his notes to the *Marmora Oxoniensis*, iii, 424 n., 428; and Dr. Felton, iv, 313; vi, 245.
 Milton, John, his *Paradise Lost*, ii, 328; iv, 329, 330.
 Minet, a servant of Harley, visits and corresponds with Swift, iii, 47, 142, 144, 178.
 Minorca, ii, 3.
 "Mira." *See* Bellew.
Miscellanies, by Swift and Pope, iii, 349 n., 380, 403; iv, 4, 121, 307-309, 359-361, 365 n., 367, 446.
Miscellanies in Prose and Verse by Dr. Jonathan Swift, i, 185, 186, 298; iv, 392.
 Miss, the title of, iv, 13.
 Mississippi Scheme, the, iii, 17 n., 40, 104 n.
 Misson, Francis Maximilian, iii, 93.
 Mist, Nathaniel, publisher, iii, 12 n.; his *Weekly Journal*, iii, 83, 84, 126; reprints *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, iii, 83 n.
 "Mite, The," ii, 405.
 Mitford, Samuel, and Prior's *Poems*, iii, 5, 8.
 M'Leod, The Laird of, ii, 195.
Modern Education, Essay on, iv, 308.
Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from being a Burthen, A, etc., iv, 124, 125, 160.
 Mogul, The Great, v, 413.
 Mohocks, i, 323; ii, 416.
 Mohun, Charles, 5th Lord, his duel with the 4th Duke of Hamilton, i, 352 n.
 Molesworth, Robert, afterwards 1st Viscount, ii, 111; deprived of his seat in the Privy Council, ii, 111 n.; vi, 243; account of, ii, 111 n.; iii, 1 n.; and Convocation, ii, 118; relations with the 2nd Marquis of Wharton, iii, 1, 2; created Viscount Molesworth, iii, 1 n.; his seat, Brackentown, iii, 2; and Swift's *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*, iii, 66; a *Drapier's Letter* addressed to, iii, 229 n.
 Molière, Jean, his *Fourberies de Scapin*, iii, 78.
 "Molkin." *See* Vanhomrigh.
 Molloy, Edward, tutor to the Duke of Dorset, Treasurer to Christ Church, Dublin, v, 388.
 Molly, at Moor Park, i, 22; iii, 2.
 Molly, at Quilca, iii, 241-243.
 Molyneux, Samuel, son of William, Secretary to the Prince of Wales, i, 375 n.; iii, 401; and Pratt, ii, 343, 354, 379; and Mary Tofts, iii, 362 n.
 Molyneux, Sir Thomas, i, 374-377; account of, i, 376 n.; executor to Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, iii, 456.
 Molyneux, William, brother of Sir Thomas, i, 375 n.
 Monck, Rev. Thomas, ii, 339.
 Monckton, Robert, Commissioner for Trade, ii, 194.
 Monk, General George, i, 362 n.
 Monmouth, Anna, Duchess of, and Duchess of Buccleuch, her patronage of Gay, ii, 144, 151, 247; iv, 275 n.; said to have married the Earl of Selkirk, iv, 275 n.
 Monmouth, James, Duke of, i, 172 n.
 Monsey, Dr., i, 378 n.
 Montagu, Mrs. Elizabeth, vi, 17 n.
 Montagu, Henry, Attorney-General, iv, 474.
 Montagu, John, 2nd Duke of, the Montagu House Letters addressed to, ii, 410, 411.
 Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, iv, 264, 266; and Pope, iv, 264 n., 415, 426, 430; vi, 245.
 Montagu, Mrs., ii, 413.
 Montagu House, v, 133.
 Montagu House Letters, ii, 409-413.
 Montaigne, Michel de, his *Essays* quoted and referred to, i, 41; ii, 99; iv, 8, 98, 126.

- Monteleon, Marquis de, Spanish Ambassador, ii, 14; Stopford recommended to, iii, 240.
- Montesquieu, Charles de, his *Persian Letters* translated by Ozell, v, 217 n.
- Montgomery, Earl of. *See* Pembroke.
- Monthly Chronicle, The*, iv, 481.
- Montmorency, Madam de, v, 233.
- Montpelier, iii, 324; iv, 461.
- Montrose, a poet of, iv, 52, 53.
- Monument, *The*, iv, 334.
- Moor Park, Hertfordshire, i, 3 n.
- Moore Park, Sir William Temple's place in Surrey, i, 3, 6, 8, 15, 21, 26, 54 n., 57, 59, 87 n., 172 n.; ii, 53 n.; iii, 414 n.; iv, 451; v, 417; illustrated, i, 48, 112.
- Moore, Arthur, Commissioner of Trade, ii, 176.
- Moore, Dudley, of Dublin, prosecuted for riot, ii, 112.
- Moore, Lady Elizabeth or Betty. *See* Rochfort.
- Moore, Sir Frederick, on Irish grapes, i, 58 n.
- Moore, Hon. and Rev. John, "the handsome parson," son of Henry, 3rd Earl of Drogheda, his marriage, ii, 45; account of, ii, 45 n.; Rector of St. Catherine's, Dublin, ii, 45 n.; prebendary of Malahidert, ii, 132 n. death, ii, 319, 338; iii, 435 n., 436 n.
- Moore, Mrs. John. *See* Devenish.
- Moore, Rev. Joseph, Vicar of Clonmel, vi, 193-195.
- Moore, Mary, daughter of the Hon. John, afterwards Mrs. J. R. Smith, iii, 436 n.
- Moran, Mrs. Mary, sends Swift a poem, v, 263, 264, 277.
- More, Sir Thomas, at Oxford, vi, 29.
- More Park. *See* Moor.
- Moreton, William, Bishop of Kildare and Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, ordains Swift, i, 15 n., 48 n.; his consecration, i, 27 n.; opposition to Archbishop King, i, 48 n., 49 n.; Bishop of Meath, i, 191, 192; ii, 276 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 191, 192; death, iii, 9 n.
- Morgan, Dr., Keeper of the Public Library, Armagh, i, 60 n.
- Morgan, Sir John, of Kinnersley, i, 362.
- Morgan, Mr., steward to Primate Lindsay, iii, 158, 199.
- Morgan, Mr., of Kingsthorpe, ii, 411.
- Morgan, Marcus Anthony or Antonius, v, 271, 288; Swift's letters addressed to, v, 278, 279, 287, 292; Chairman of the Committee on the Agistment Bill, v, 322 n.
- Morgan, Mrs. M. A., v, 271, 278, 288, 292; account of, v, 271 n.
- Morgan, Miss, married to William Tisdall, i, 48 n.; v, 189.
- Morgan, Richard, nephew of Dr. Raymond, i, 385.
- Moriarty, Gerald, his *Dean Swift* quoted, i, 213 n.
- Morice, Sir Nicholas, i, 238 n.
- Morice, Lady, daughter of the 8th Earl of Pembroke, i, 238 n.
- Morice, Mr., son-in-law of Dr. Atterbury, iv, 6.
- Morley, John, a butcher, manager to the 2nd Earl of Oxford, vi, 92.
- Morphew, John, publisher, i, 298 n., 302 n., 306 n.; prosecuted on account of *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*, ii, 129 n.-131 n.
- Morris, Mrs., Lady Acheson's companion, called "Monky," iv, 288.
- Morris, Theodore, Archdeacon of Tuam, ii, 392, 393.
- Morrison, Mr. Alfred, his *Catalogue of Manuscript Letters*, i, 170 n., 171 n.; iii, 384 n.
- Morrinstown, Stella's property at, iv, 452.
- Morryson, Colonel Henry, a story about his father, i, 162, 164.
- "Mortimer, Gay," Harley so-called, ii, 275.
- Mortmain Bill, vi, 48, 49.
- Morville, Comte de, Secretary of State in France, iii, 395, 396.
- Mose, Ralph, Sir William Temple's steward, i, 22; married to Bridget Johnson, iv, 449.
- Moses, ii, 341.
- Mossom, Robert, Dean of Ossory, asks Swift's advice, ii, 307 n.; iii, 71, 72.
- Motte, Benjamin, successor to Tooke, publishes *Gulliver*, iii, 328-331, 351 n., 359, 364, 368, 373, 374, 378, 381, 386, 438-440; iv, 4, 7, 121, 126, 444; v, 26, 37 n.; and the *Miscellanies* of Pope and Swift, iii, 440; iv, 7, 121, 317, 342 n., 359, 361, 367, 484; Jackson recommended to, iv, 6, 7; and the *Beggar's Opera*, iv, 10, 20; his dealings with Hyde, iv, 56, 57; to publish all Swift's writings, iv,

- 317, 318; prescribes for Swift's lameness, iv, 318; sends Swift some Bibles, iv, 318; his accounts with Swift, iv, 318, 319; v, 216; and the copyright in Swift's *Poems*, iv, 342, 359-361; v, 216, 338-340; and Ewin, iv, 361, 362, 383, 384; and Pilkington, iv, 362; v, 8, 59 n., 91 n., 214; and *A Letter concerning the Sacramental Test*, iv, 367, 368; and Mrs. Barmby, iv, 384, 385; arrested on account of the *Epistle to a Lady*, etc., v, 59 n., 214, 215; and the pamphlet on Morton's will, v, 91 n., 214; recommended to Beach, v, 163; discharged, v, 214; and Lancelot, v, 214; and *The Life and Character*, etc., v, 214; and Mrs. Fenton's annuity, v, 243, 244, 254; his correspondence with Swift, vi, 204.
- Motte, Mrs., iv, 318.
- Mount Air, ii, 261.
- Mountcashell, Edward, 3rd Viscount, Sheridan's pupil, iii, 402 n.; vi, 15 n.; reported death, iv, 55; account of, iv, 55 n.; death, v, 373 n.
- Mountcashell, Lady, mother of Edward, v, 373.
- Mountjoy, William Stewart, 2nd Viscount, Swift travels to London with, i, 192 n., 384 n.; corresponds with Swift, i, 384; presents Swift's plea that his Hospital be excepted from the Mortmain Act, vi, 48, 49; proposed for Privy Council, vi, 243, 244.
- Mountnorris, Francis, 1st Viscount, ii, 122 n.
- Mountrath, Algernon, 6th Earl of, living near Chetwode, iv, 96; dines with Dr. Delany, v, 69; Privy Councillor, vi, 243.
- Mountrath, Lady, iv, 96; v, 69.
- Moymet, living of, ii, 25, 26, 49, 50.
- Mulhuddert. *See* Malahidert.
- Murphy, James, Maurice and Patrick, Swift's tenants, ii, 346, 400.
- Murray, Mr. John, his volume of Swift's autograph Letters, i, viii, x, xx; iii, 148 n.; vi, 247.
- Murray, Dr. Robert, his *Revolutionary Ireland*, iii, 48 n.
- Murray, William, afterwards 1st Earl of Mansfield, vi, 131.
- Muscovy, ii, 418.
- Music, fashionable in 1722, iii, 154, 155.
- My Lady's Lamentations and Complaint against the Dean*, iv, 43 n.
- Naas, ii, 261.
- Naboth's Vineyard, Swift's orchard, iii, 201, 234 n., 236, 238, 252, 264, 305, 378; iv, 30, 44, 126, 137, 214, 219, 313, 431, 436; v, 3, 35, 89.
- Nadir Shah. *See* Kuli Khan.
- Namur, Siege of, i, 162 n.
- Nantwich, i, 158 n.
- Nanty (at Loughgall), iii, 142.
- Napier, Macvey, copies one of Swift's letters, v, 106.
- Narford, Sir A. Fountaine's place in Norfolk, i, 153 n.; ii, 12 n.
- Nathaniel, iii, 45.
- Naylor, Elizabeth, otherwise Arrom, married to William Swift (1), i, 10; ii, 364, 370; iii, 464; vi, 216.
- Naylor, George, M.P. for Seaford, ii, 183.
- Neal (of Quilca), iii, 273.
- Neary, Nanny, iv, 227.
- Nelson, Swift's cook, iv, 465.
- Nelson, Robert, author of the *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, i, 152; 237, 238.
- Nelson, Lady Theophila. *See* Berkeley.
- Nero, iv, 470, 471.
- Nesbitt, v, 347.
- Nesbitt, Mrs., v, 367.
- Nesbitt, the Misses, v, 367.
- "Neville, Mrs. Susanna," v, 446.
- New Church of England, The, ii, 337, 340, 342, 353, 354, 396, 397.
- New Hall. *See* Brabazon Lodge.
- New Journey to Paris*, A, v, 39.
- New York, ii, 42; Governor of, *see* Hunter.
- Newburgh, Colonel Brockhill, v, 367.
- Newburgh, Charles, 2nd Earl of, v, 458.
- Newburgh, Countess of, "Mira." *See* Bellew.
- Newcastle, Henry Cavendish, 2nd Duke of, ii, 183 n.
- Newcastle, John Holles, Duke of, i, 377; ii, 183, 184.
- Newcastle, Margaret, Duchess of, wife of John Holles, daughter of Henry Cavendish, ii, 183.
- Newcastle, Thomas Pelham, Duke of. *See* Pelham.
- Newgate Market, ii, 278.
- Newman, Dorothy, Mrs. Walls. *See* Walls.

- Newport Pagnell, i, 153 n.
- Newspapers, tax upon, i, 322, 323, 337.
- Newton, Sir Isaac, Master of the Mint, i, 144 n.; iv, 136 n., 463; v, 21 n.
- Newtown Butler, Lord. *See* Butler.
- Nicholas IV, Pope, iv, 215, 237.
- Nichols, John (1), his edition of Swift's Works, i, vii, *et passim*; his *History of Leicestershire*, i, ix, *et passim*.
- Nichols, John (2), Swift's surgeon, v, 355, 356, 358, 377, 378; vi, 186; account of, v, 355 n.; Governor of Dr. Steevens' Hospital, v, 355 n.; vi, 73; his legacy from Swift, v, 355 n.; attends Lord Orrery, v, 358; his residence in Phoenix Park, v, 378 n.
- Nichols, Mrs. John (2), daughter of John Proby, v, 355 n., 377, 378.
- Nicholson, William, Bishop of Derry, his Correspondence quoted, iii, 33 n., 66 n., 193 n., 198 n.; and Swift's *Proposal*, iii, 66; made Archbishop of Cashel, iii, 385 n.; death, iii, 388 n., 428 n.; his *Irish Historical Library*, iii, 428; favouritism, iii, 429 n.
- Nicolini, i, 135.
- Nigri, Philippe, Bishop of Antwerp, v, 236.
- Nimeguen, Treaty of, i, 349; ii, 3.
- Noah, i, 387, 388; v, 206, 235.
- Noble, Richard, a "lie" about his execution, ii, 407.
- Norfolk, Henry, 7th Duke of, i, 110 n.
- Norfolk, Mary, Duchess of, wife of the 7th Duke, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Peterborough, divorced by her husband, marries Sir John Germain, i, 110.
- Norris, Rev. John, and the *Athenian Gazette*, i, 7 n.
- North, Frederick, Lord, afterwards Earl of Guildford, iv, 125 n.
- North, Mr., iv, 483.
- North British Review, The*, i, 6 n., 14 n.
- Northampton, i, 153 n.
- Northey, Sir Edward, Attorney-General, i, 240; on the Dublin civic dispute, ii, 101, 122, 189.
- Northington, Robert, 1st Earl of, son of Anthony Henley, i, 112 n.; iv, 423 n.
- Norton, Richard, of Southwick, a pamphlet on his will, supposed to be written by Swift, v, 91, 214.
- Norwich, Bishop of. *See* Reynolds, Trimnel.
- Nottingham, Daniel, 2nd Earl of, afterwards 7th Earl of Winchelsea, his secession to the Whigs, i, 309, 310, 313; ii, 17, 235; nicknamed "Dismal," i, 309; ii, 235, 417; with his daughter attacked in the *Examiner*, ii, 26, 27, 35 n.; his opinion of Swift, ii, 146 n.; in the Council of Regency, ii, 217 n.; leaning again towards the Tories, ii, 235; at the coronation of George II, iii, 424; succeeds to the earldom of Winchelsea, iii, 424 n.; death, iii, 424 n.
- Nugent, brother to Lord Riverston, vi, 53.
- Nugent, George, of Castlerickard, v, 49 n., 174.
- Nugent, Jane, daughter of George, marries John Whiteway, vi, 217.
- Nugent, Robert, afterwards Viscount Clare and Earl Nugent, offers to carry Swift's Correspondence back to Pope, vi, 156, 171; his portraits of Swift and Pope by Bindon, vi, 156; account of, vi, 156 n.
- Nutley, Richard, Justice of the Queen's Bench, introduced to Swift by Prior, ii, 60, 61, 83-85; and Prior, ii, 60, 61, 85; account of, ii, 60 n.; M.P. for Lisburn, ii, 60 n., 392 n.; friendship with Sir C. Phipps, ii, 60 n., 100; and Williams, ii, 84; desires an introduction to the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 84, 85; and Bishop Lindsay, ii, 90; and Bishop Lloyd, ii, 114, 115; superseded, ii, 244 n.; supposed to be concealing the Duke of Ormond, iii, 50 n.; his influence with Primate Marsh, iii, 54; lawyer to Rebecca Stewart, iv, 64; death, iv, 64 n.
- Nutt, John, publisher, i, 183 n.
- Nuttall, Richard, said to have libelled Phipps in a conversation with a child, ii, 119, 120.
- Nymph, would you learn the only Art*, iii, 56, 57.
- Oakboys, the, v, 112 n.
- Oakley Park, Lord Bathurst's seat near Cirencester, iii, 312 n.; *and see* Bathurst.
- Observations on the Privy Council of Ireland*, vi, 243.
- Observer, The*, i, 128, 301; iii, 98 n.
- O'Callaghan, Cornelius (1), v, 200 n.

- O'Callaghan, Cornelius (2), son of Cornelius (1), v, 200 n.
- O'Callaghan, Robert, son of Cornelius (1), v, 200; Sheridan dies at his house, vi, 212.
- Occasional Conformity, Bill against, i, 38, 39, 310, 314, 391, 392.
- Occasional Paper, An Answer to the Writer of the*, iii, 392-394; and see St. John.
- Octavia, iv, 471.
- October Club, The, i, 236, 244, 249, 253, 254, 264, 265 n.; ii, 194 n.; account of, i, 236 n.
- O'Dea, Rev. Thomas, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacdoogh, v, 439 n.
- "O'Donald, Peregrine." See King (Dr. William).
- O'Donovan, John, on the Irish Bawns, iv, 42 n.
- O'Flanagan, J. R., his *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland*, iii, 189 n.
- Ogilby, John, v, 420.
- Oglethorpe, Sir Theophilus, i, 354 n.
- Oglethorpe, Eleanor, Lady, widow of Sir Theophilus, and daughter of Richard Wall, i, 354, 355, 385; account of, i, 354 n.
- Oldisworth, William, author of the *Examiner*, ii, 27.
- Oldmixon, John, iv, 110.
- Ombre, i, 200; iii, 181.
- O'Neill, Doctor, v, 291.
- On his own Death*, Swift's, vi, 107-110, 114-116.
- Onslow, Sir Richard, Speaker, i, 117.
- Opera in London, i, 135, 142; iii, 154, 155; iv, 10, 11; v, 181.
- Ophove, Michel, Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, v, 236.
- Oppian, his *Halieuticks* translated by Diaper, ii, 24.
- Orange, Prince of, see William; Princess of, see Anne.
- Orford, Edward Russell, 1st Earl of, Lord High Admiral, i, 127, 166, 177 n.; ii, 232, 360.
- Orkney, Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of, Mistress of William III, at Cliefden, i, 344; friendship with Swift, i, 345, 351 n., 352 n.; ii, 48; at Windsor, i, 345; introduced to Erasmus Lewis by Swift, i, 345; her presents to Swift, i, 351-354; Swift's account of, i, 352; ii, 409; advises Oxford, i, 352 n.; Swift reconciles her to the Duchess of Hamilton, i, 352 n.; her portrait by Kneller, i, 354 n.; vi, 242; her *Character of Oxford*, ii, 48 n., 408, 409; her illiterate letters, ii, 409; v, 301.
- Orkney, George Hamilton, 1st Earl of, i, 113 n.; v, 466.
- Ormond, James, 1st Duke of, and Sir Robert Southwell, i, 1 n., 86 n.; and Godwin Swift, i, 371 n.; and the Chetwodes, ii, 241 n., 290 n.; his son, Lord Ossory, v, 177; his *Life* by Carte, v, 355 n., and see Carte; his portrait at Castle-Durrow, v, 398 n.; and the Clonmel tithes, vi, 193, 194.
- Ormond, James, 2nd Duke of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, i, 50, 51, 67 n., 83 n., 97 n., 201, 205, 220; and the First Fruits, i, 50, 52, 60 n., 95, 105, 201, 205, 211, 213, 220, 233, 257, 267, 269, 270, 275, 276, 289, 293; his friendship with Swift, i, 50 n., 280, 281, 286; ii, 145 n., 186, 187, 276, 277, 286; v, 466; vi, 243; his abilities, and character, i, 50 n., 282, 294; v, 461; and Edward Southwell, i, 86 n.; Chancellor of Dublin University, i, 89, 196; iii, 338; Lord Lieutenant for the second time, i, 195, 199, 211, 217, 225, 227 n., 271-273, 282; his love for the Church, i, 220; and the Letter from the Irish Bishops, i, 216, 221, 222, 228, 233; and Guiscard, i, 239, 240; and Rev. J. Richardson, i, 248 n.; and Irish Yarn, i, 248 n.; and the Dublin civic dispute, i, 260-262; and the Irish Parliament, i, 264, 269, 277, 282, 295, 301, 303; and Higgins, i, 294, 295; his part in the Revolution, i, 301; and Langton, i, 302; Commander-in-Chief in Flanders, i, 315, 319-321, 323, 328, 330; ii, 236 n.; v, 458; and Archbishop King, i, 316; his promised pension, i, 325; his portrait, i, 358, 359; and Raymond, ii, 26 n.; and Stearne, ii, 27 n.; and Swift's preferment, ii, 27 n.; resigns the viceroyalty, ii, 67 n.; return to England, ii, 70 n.; and Mrs. South, ii, 73, 95; and young Phipps, ii, 121; his Lodge at Richmond, ii, 133 n., 139; iii, 374 n.; Chancellor of Oxford University, ii, 178; v, 237 n.; Swift's belief in his power and influence, ii, 186, 187; sends Swift some Burgundy, ii, 191; and Lady Masham, ii, 191; expected to be Lord Lieuten-

- ant again, ii, 194; popularity, ii, 215, 278; and Baron Rochfort, ii, 257 *n.*; correspondence with Knightley Chetwode, ii, 273 *n.*; his correspondence seized, ii, 276 *n.*, 283 *n.*; iii, 452; his birthday dinner, ii, 278; impeached, ii, 284, 292; iv, 471; flees to France and joins the Pretender, ii, 295, 296, 301, 304, 305; iii, 28, 50 *n.*, 182; vi, 207; supposed to be meant by "the old Lady," ii, 298; supposed visit to Ireland in 1715, ii, 298 *n.*; iii, 50 *n.*; his Jacobitism, ii, 362; in command of Alberoni's expedition against England, iii, 24, 28, 50 *n.*; dissensions between him and Bolingbroke, iii, 28 *n.*; a Member of the Brothers' Club, iii, 49, 182; rewards offered for his apprehension, iii, 50 *n.*; separation from his wife, iii, 50 *n.*; his brother, iii, 93 *n.*, and see Arran; a pupil of Dean Drelincourt, iii, 408; receives the freedom of the City of Dublin, iii, 456; and Vanhomrigh, iii, 456, 459; his patronage, v, 460, 461; unfounded report of his pardon and return from banishment, vi, 75, 77, 83, 89; living at Avignon, vi, 89, 92, 194; his correspondence with Swift, vi, 171; his Irish estates, vi, 193 *n.*, 194; his return from Flanders in 1712, vi, 233 *n.*; going to Windsor, vi, 233.
- Ormond, The Conduct of his Grace the Duke of*, ii, 278.
- Ormond, Mary*, Duchess of, wife of the 2nd Duke, sends Swift her portrait and that of the Duke, i, 358, 359; relations with Swift, ii, 133, 141, 276, 277, 301, 304, 305, 330-332; vi, 75 *n.*, 233; endeavours to bring about a reconciliation between Oxford and Bolingbroke, ii, 133; *The Fagot* due to her suggestion, ii, 133; in waiting, ii, 133 *n.*; goes to her nephew the Duke of Beaufort on his deathbed, ii, 141; said to have summoned Ratcliffe to Anne, ii, 207 *n.*; called "Corinnikin," ii, 276, 277; her chaplain, ii, 276 *n.*, and see Charleton; her correspondence with Swift, ii, 283, 292, 301, 304, 330, 331, 421-423; iii, 49, 50, 95, 182, 452, 453; parted from her husband, ii, 301, 305; iii, 50, 183; in the country, ii, 305, 327, 331; relations with Lady Bolingbroke, ii, 305, 314, 327, 331; her handwriting, ii, 331; her poverty and troubles after her husband's flight, ii, 331; iii, 50, 182; and Francis Charleton, iii, 54; her wandering life, iii, 95; and the Earl of Arran, iii, 95, 183; death, vi, 75 *n.*; suspected of disloyalty to the Tory party, vi, 75 *n.*; received at Court, vi, 75 *n.*
- Ormonde, The Marquess of*, ii, 25 *n.*
- Ormsby, Coote*, Dean of Derry, i, 50.
- Ormsby, John*, his translation of *Don Quixote*, ii, 11 *n.*; iv, 272 *n.*
- O'Rourke*, Swift's poem, iv, 484.
- Orrery, Charles Boyle*, 4th Earl of, a member of the Brothers' Club, iii, 140; arrested for complicity in Layer's plot, iii, 140; iv, 238 *n.*; to subscribe to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; dines with Swift, iv, 238; death, iv, 238 *n.*
- Orrery, John Boyle*, 5th Earl of, afterwards 5th Earl of Cork, iv, 238 *n.*; v, 33; vi, 50; his correspondence with Swift, i, vi; vi, 171, 203, 204; his *Remarks*, i, x, et passim; his speech against the Army Bill, iv, 370; account of, iv, 370 *n.*; at Cork, iv, 370 *n.*, 402; v, 244, 245, 420, 421; vi, 1-3; in Dublin, iv, 370 *n.*, 381, 382; v, 193, 198, 201, 266; vi, 19, 83; death of his first wife, iv, 370 *n.*, 424 *n.*; v, 3, 349 *n.*; makes Swift's acquaintance, iv, 370 *n.*, 382 *n.*; sends Swift a table-book with complimentary verses, iv, 371 *n.*, 382, 383; his character, iv, 381, 396, 416; v, 1, 24, 28; and Pope, iv, 396, 413, 416, 430; v, 397; vi, 39, 107, 132, 175, 197, 201; his dishonest agent, iv, 381, 416; v, 8; his snuff boxes, iv, 424; sends Swift a picture of his first wife, iv, 424 *n.*; vi, 34, 35; presented with the freedom of the City of Dublin, iv, 424 *n.*; going with Swift and a party to the Grange, iv, 433, 434; dines with Dr. Delany, iv, 435 *n.*; rides with Swift to Tallaght, iv, 442 *n.*; his popularity in Dublin, v, 1, 8; returning to England, v, 1 *n.*, 8; friendship with Thomas Southern, v, 3 *n.*, 358 *n.*; patronage of Mrs. Barber, v, 8, 27-29; and Marmaduke Phillips, v, 103-105; and the 2nd Lord Oxford, v, 197; vi, 4; friendship with Sheridan, v, 198, 201, 209, 288, 300, 343, 355, 464; vi, 24; at Egmont, v, 206; and Lord Clancarty, v, 206; subscribes to

- Hughes' *Poems*, v, 212; his "backward" letter, v, 213, 230; at Limerick, v, 213, 229*n.*; description of Kerry, v, 229, 230, 239; his dog, Hector, v, 229*n.*, 230, 245; vi, 2; pelted with meal in Cork, v, 244, 245; his *Papers*, etc., quoted, v, 294*n. et seq.*; illnesses, v, 298, 299, 313; vi, 167; invites Swift to dinner, v, 298; and the Duke of Dorset, v, 300, 313, 368; at a ball at the Castle, v, 313; and Dean Ward, v, 349; an intimate at the Deanery, v, 358, 414*n.*, 420*n.*; vi, 84, 85; and Dr. Helsham, v, 358*n.*; and the Deanery of Cloyne, v, 365; franks Swift's letters, v, 397; his financial affairs, v, 397, 433; and the publication of the correspondence between Pope and Swift, v, 422, 423; vi, 2, 32, 33, 93*n.*, 95*n.*, 166-174; returns to England in 1737, v, 428; vi, 2, 19, 20, 24, 34, 35; acquaintance with Carte, v, 464; invites Swift, Mrs. Whiteway, and Mrs. Ridgeway to Marston, vi, 1, 2; his dislike of cheese, vi, 2; carries the *Four Last Years* and other MSS. to England, vi, 2, 19, 26, 29, 34, 39, 64, 74, 110; Swift's affection for, vi, 33; his servant, Catherine Reilly, and her son, vi, 36, 37, 46; in London, vi, 39, 101, 102*n.*, 106, 107, 175; at Marston, vi, 39, 106; and Mrs. Whiteway, vi, 64, 65, 157, 170*n.*; his marriage to Margaret Hamilton, vi, 63-85, 95, 104, 225; at Caledon, vi, 144, 145, 166-174; optimistic view of Swift's health, vi, 144, 218; recommends Colgan to Swift, vi, 168; his sons have small-pox, vi, 170; invites Swift and Mrs. Whiteway to Caledon, vi, 173, 174; goes to London in 1741 without seeing Swift, vi, 175; his distress at Swift's condition, vi, 167, 185, 188; on Stella, vi, 188; Swift bequeaths to him Lady Orkney's portrait, vi, 242.
- Orrery, Henrietta, Countess of, daughter of 1st Earl of Orkney, 1st wife of the 5th Earl, death, iv, 370*n.*, 424; v, 3, 349*n.*; her portrait, iv, 424; vi, 34, 35.
- Orrery, Margaret, Countess of, 2nd wife of the 5th Earl. *See* Hamilton.
- Osborne, Mother, in the *Dunciad*, vi, 132.
- Ossa, i, 153.
- Ossory, Bishop of. *See* Bernard, Dopping, Hartstonge, Tennison, Vesey.
- Ossory, Bishopric of, ii, 126.
- Ossory, Dean of. *See* Mossom.
- Ossory, Thomas, Earl of, son of the 1st Duke of Ormond, v, 177.
- Ossuna, Duc d', at Utrecht, ii, 14.
- Ostend Company, The, iii, 339*n.*, 358*n.*
- Ostrich, a wonderful, iv, 121.
- Otway, Thomas, his *Orphan*, ii, 43.
- Oxford, Swift at, i, 9*n.*; ii, 142*n.*, 143*n.*; iii, 303*n.*, 305, 386*n.*; Hart Hall or Hertford College, i, 9*n.*, 29*n.*; the Chapel of Our Lady at Smithgate, i, 29*n.*; Balliol College, ii, 24*n.*; University, iii, 218; iv, 2; St. Mary's Hall, iv, 209; Christ Church, iv, 277*n.*
- Oxford, Bishop of. *See* Potter, Talbot.
- Oxford, Earls of, v, 195*n.*, and *see* Harley.
- Oxford, Vice Chancellor of, vi, 119.
- Oysters, i, 376.
- Ozell, John, his translation of Montesquieu, v, 217.
- Pace, The, iv, 469.
- Packer, Robert, Knight of the Shire of Berks, ii, 211.
- Paddy, Archdeacon Walls' servant, ii, 318, 347, 357.
- Padua, medallists of, i, 154.
- Paget, Henry, 7th Lord, afterwards 1st Earl of Uxbridge, i, 189*n.*, ii, 144; account of, ii, 144*n.*
- Paget, Thomas Catesby, son of Lord Uxbridge, i, 189.
- Paget, William, 6th Baron, Ambassador to Vienna, i, 361.
- Paget, Young, vi, 192.
- Palatines, their migration to Ireland, i, 271*n.*
- Palliser, William, Archbishop of Cashel, and the First Fruits, i, 191, 192; his old age, iii, 95*n.*; death, iii, 385*n.*
- Pall Mall Coffeehouse, ii, 151, 304.
- Palmerston, Viscount. *See* Temple.
- Panama. *See* Darien.
- "Pandora's Box," v, 421.
- Panegyric on the Rev. D—n S—t in Answer to the Libel on Dr. D., and a Certain Great Lord*, iv, 167, 177.
- Paper, tax upon, i, 322, 323.
- Paracelsus, Philippus Aureolus, i, 377.
- Paradise Stocks, iii, 378.
- Paris, Place de Victoire, v, 213; Petit Maison, v, 268; smells of, v, 393.

- Paris Gazetteer, The*, i, 145.
- Park, Thomas, editor of the *Harleian Miscellany*, vi, 242.
- Parker, Sir Thomas, Lord Chief Justice, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, ii, 208, 213 n.
- Parkgate, i, 61; ii, 45 n.
- Parliament, described by Lord Bathurst, iv, 155, 156; Irish. *See* Ireland.
- Parliaments, Annual, iii, 121.
- Parnassus, iv, 101.
- Parnell, John, Justice of the King's Bench, brother of Thomas, ii, 23 n., iii, 129; account of, iii, 129 n.
- Parnell, Thomas, his relations with Archbishop King, i, 42 n.; ii, 23, 36, 37; Archdeacon of Clogher, i, 42 n.; ii, 23; applies for the prebend of Dunlavin, ii, 23; character, ii, 23, 32, 163, 417; relations with Swift, ii, 23, 32, 51 n., 67, 145 n.; iii, 18 n.; v, 396; grief for his wife, ii, 23 n.; introduced to St. John, ii, 23 n.; and Oxford, ii, 23 n., 162; his *Essay on the Different Styles of Poetry*, ii, 23 n.; iii, 129; early life, ii, 23 n.; account of Gay, ii, 145, 150; a member of the Scriblerus Club, ii, 145 n., 151, 163, 417; visits Swift at Letcombe, ii, 176, 178, 186; and Pope, ii, 176, 178, 186, 189; returns to Ireland, ii, 255; writes the *Essay* for Pope's Homer, ii, 287 n.; dies on his journey to Ireland, iii, 18; Vicar of Finglas, iii, 18 n.; iv, 93; his politics, iii, 18 n.; leaves his *Poems* to be published by Pope, iii, 128, 129; his correspondence with Swift, vi, 171.
- Parnell, Mrs., mother of Thomas, ii, 23 n.
- Parnell, Mrs. Thomas, death, ii, 23 n.
- Parry, Captain Ben, v, 207 n., 208.
- Parson's Green, Lord Peterborough's place at, i, 263; ii, 127 n.
- Parsonstown. *See* Birr.
- Partinton, Bartholomew, son of Peter, takes the name of Vanhomrigh and inherits the Vanhomrigh property, i, 399 n.; iii, 35 n.
- Partinton, Peter, executor to Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, i, 390; ii, 45, 52; iii, 35 n., 456; Esther Vanhomrigh's lawsuit against, iii, 133.
- Partridge, John, ii, 288 n.; iii, 50.
- Party cries, i, 38, 58; ii, 225.
- Parvisol, Isaiah, Swift's steward and tithe collector, i, 118, 120, 383, 385; ii, 49, 51, 70, 73, 77, 126, 131, 147, 148, 451, 456; iv, 452; Swift's relations with, i, 118 n.; iii, 21 n.; dismissed, ii, 164-166, 179, 182, 203, 271; re-enters Swift's service, ii, 367, 368, 387, 405; iii, 10 n.; his son, ii, 367; death, iii, 21.
- Paston, George, his *Mrs. Delany*, v, 181 n.
- Pastoral*. *See* Dermot and Sheila.
- Pastoral Dialogue, A*, iii, 374 n., 375 n.
- Pat, Sheridan's man, v, 201.
- Pate, William, "the learned linen-drafter," i, 134.
- Patrick, Swift's servant, i, 198; ii, 48 n.
- Patrick Astore*, vi, 219.
- Patriots, *The*, iii, 337 n.
- Paul, Father. *See* Sarpi.
- Paul, Saint, i, 388; iii, 209, 268, 335; iv, 94; spurious correspondence with Seneca, iii, 110.
- Paxton, Nicholas, satirized in the *Dunciad*, vi, 132.
- Peace, the. *See* Utrecht.
- Peace and Dunkirk*, a song, i, 337 n.; v, 39.
- Pearce, Sir Edward Lovet, architect, attacked in *The Toast*, v, 459.
- Pearsby, a mistake for Conolly, iii, 189 n.
- Pearson, Alderman Philip, Swift's tenant, iii, 419; executor to Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, iii, 456.
- Pearson, Alderman Nathaniel, M.P., on Swift's Lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- Peers, *The Creation of New*, i, 310, 311.
- Pegasus, iv, 321.
- Peggy, Mrs., ii, 382.
- Pelham, Thomas, 2nd Baron, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Harley's marriage settlements, ii, 183, 235; as Lord Chamberlain forbids Oxford the Court, ii, 391; his gardens, iii, 155 n.; Secretary of State, iii, 200 n., 229 n.; expected to be Lord Lieutenant, iii, 229; and Primate Boulter, v, 38 n.
- Pelham, Mr., legacy from Disney, iv, 276.
- Pelion, i, 153.
- Pembroke, Henry, 9th Earl of, v, 22, 466; account of, v, 22 n.
- Pembroke, Thomas, 8th Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, i, 60, 61, 77,

- 78, 82, 83, 123 *n.*, 154 *n.*, 201, 205, 374, 375; ii, 45 *n.*; iii, 286; account of, i, 60 *n.*; character, i, 60 *n.*, 375 *n.*; and the remission of the First Fruits, i, 61, 64, 65, 67, 81, 88, 92-96, 102, 104, 105, 108, 126, 129, 137, 140, 147-149, 201, 205; his perilous voyage to England, i, 61, 63; his friendship with Sir Andrew Fountaine, i, 61, 84, 374; ii, 12 *n.*; iii, 286; and the repeal of the Test, i, 67 *n.*; his love of puns, i, 70 *n.*, 82, 153-155, 177, 374-381; opposition to Harley, i, 75; President of the Council, i, 85; his long stay in England, i, 97; his second marriage, i, 110, 115, 116; resigns the Viceroyalty and is appointed Lord High Admiral, i, 116, 126, 127, 154 *n.*, 380, 384; retires from the Admiralty, i, 127 *n.*, 177; his correspondence with Archbishop King, i, 137; his Secretary, i, 140; at the Post Office, i, 177, 178; his daughter, Lady Morice, i, 238 *n.*; friendship with the Ashes, i, 374; and Dr. Howard and Dr. Molyneux, i, 374; purchases Sir Andrew Fountaine's collection of coins, i, 379 *n.*; his books, ii, 12 *n.*; on the Council of Regency, ii, 231; his political neutrality, iii, 61; recommended to succeed Lord Sunderland as Lord Lieutenant, iii, 61; brings Swift to England in 1707, iv, 454; death, v, 22 *n.*, 466; his chaplain, *see* Moore.
- Pembroke, Address of the Doctor and Gentlemen of Ireland to the Earl of*, i, 380, 381.
- Pembroke, Countess of. *See* Arundell.
- Pembroke, William, 1st Earl of, i, 154 *n.*
- Pendarves, Mrs. Mary, born Granville, afterwards Mrs. Delany, her correspondence with Swift, i, vi; v, 13 *n.*; vi, 203, 204; on the Duchess of Queensberry, iv, 69 *n.*; on Mrs. Grier-son, iv, 120 *n.*; at the Dublin Birth-day ball, iv, 269 *n.*; and Miss Kelly, iv, 279 *n.*, 385 *n.*, 432 *n.*, 441; on Lord George Sackville, iv, 297; visiting Bishop Clayton, iv, 407 *n.*, 435 *n.*, 436 *n.*; on Delany's theory against eating of blood, iv, 407 *n.*; account of, iv, 435 *n.*; first introduction to Swift, iv, 435 *n.*; at Dr. Delany's, iv, 435 *n.*; v, 34; her suitors, iv, 436, 472; v, 97, 138, 182; friendship with the Bathursts, iv, 436; v, 34, 89; rebuked by Swift for her grammar, iv, 436; crosses to England, iv, 441; friendship with Anne and Christopher Donnellan, iv, 441 *n.*; v, 14, 15, 128, 181; stays with the Weymouths at Longleat, v, 7, 14, 35, 89; her handwriting, v, 13; staying with her mother and sister at Gloucester, v, 14, 34, 35, 109, 110, 128; and Lord Orrery, v, 33; friendship with the Duchess of Portland, v, 81; vi, 83; in London, v, 89, 128, 175, 318, 376, 377; staying with Sir John Stanley at Paradise, Northend, v, 89, 257-259, 297, 300, 301; her character and intellect, v, 95-97; and the Duke of Chandos, v, 97 *n.*, 138; relationship to Lord Lansdown, v, 97 *n.*; her weak eyes, v, 109, 137, 138, 181; her print of Swift's portrait, v, 111; love for her sister, v, 175, 181, 258; her description of Major Ffolliott, v, 207 *n.*; her small income, v, 258; her reading, v, 258, 376; at Bath, v, 296, 297, 300-302; and Mrs. Barber, v, 297, 318; ill, v, 318; visits Ard-sallagh, v, 351 *n.*; description of Ludlow, v, 351 *n.*; making a grotto for Sir J. Stanley, v, 376; her shell-work at Delville and Killyla, v, 376; relationship to Sir John Stanley, v, 386 *n.*
- Penmaenmawr, i, 61 *n.*
- Pennefather, Colonel Matthew, Prior's cousin, ii, 61; iii, 14, 39, 44, 52; account of, ii, 61 *n.*; his ring in memory of Prior, vi, 235, 238; in the Irish Customs, vi, 236.
- Pennefather, Mrs., her ring in memory of Prior, vi, 235, 238.
- Pension Bill. *See* Qualification.
- Penton, *i.e.*, Fenton, vi, 241.
- Pepusch, Dr. John Christopher, iii, 356.
- Pepys, Samuel, his *Diary* quoted, i, 116 *n.*; iv, 150 *n.*
- Perceval, John, Viscount, afterwards Earl of Egmont, corresponds with Berkeley, iii, 463.
- Percival, Charley, son of Rev. William, iii, 142.
- Percival, John, of Knightsbrook, M.P. for Trim, Swift's neighbour at Laracor, i, 57, 382; account of, i, 57; an authority on fences and ditches, i, 180; rebuilding his house, ii, 54; seizes on Swift's land and trees, ii,

- 240; iv, 118, 119; sells Swift some land for the Laracor Glebe, ii, 289, 333, 336, 344, 345, 347, 349-353, 356-359, 361, 362, 364; iv, 118, 119; "plays the Jew," ii, 353, 362; illness, ii, 357, 358, 364; death, iii, 21.
- Percival, Mrs. John, i, 180.
- Percival, Mr., of Conduit Street, iv, 481.
- Percival or Perceval, Hon. Philip, married to Mrs. Donnellan, v, 127 n.; his musical judgement, vi, 99.
- Percival, Mrs. *See* Donnellan.
- Percival, Robert, son of John, Swift's quarrel with, iv, 118-120.
- Percival, Rev. William, Archdeacon of Cashel, afterwards Dean of Emly, ii, 76 n.; and the Dublin election riots, ii, 118; Swift's successful rival for the Prolocutorship, ii, 94 n.; iii, 141 n.; attacked in *Country Life*, iii, 141, 142; character, iii, 141 n.
- Percival, Mrs. William, attacked in *Country Life*, iii, 141, 142.
- Pergama, i, 249.
- Perkins, Anne, married to Giles, daughter of Betty Jones, iv, 55, 56.
- Perkins, Mrs. *See* Jones.
- Perkins, of the George, Loughborough, married to Betty Jones, iv, 55, 56.
- Perrott, Captain or Major, v, 119, 121.
- Perry, James, "little jackanapes," married to Anne Swift, i, 24 n., 367 n.; vi, 217.
- Perry, Mrs. *See* Swift.
- Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, in England, i, 22.
- Peterborough, Bishop of. *See* Clavering, Henshaw.
- Peterborough, Charles, 3rd Earl of, his correspondence with Swift, i, vi; 171; his campaign in Spain, i, 17 n., 73; and the Occasional Conformity Bill, i, 39; his friendship with Swift, i, 39 n., 226, 235, 236, 244, 245; ii, 127, 174, 337, 365; iv, 447; v, 396, 466; his genius and character, i, 73 n., 252, 265; v, 243; the investigation into his conduct of the war in Spain, i, 73, 76, 226, 231; sent as plenipotentiary to Vienna, i, 226, 231, 235-237, 244, 245; prophesies Stanhope's defeat, i, 226 n.; thanked by the House of Lords, i, 235 n.; at Ratisbon, i, 245; his interest in Swift's preferment, i, 245, 254; said to be at Turin, i, 245 n.; in Hanover, i, 262; his house at Parson's Green, i, 263; ii, 127; iii, 307; returns to England, i, 263 n., 265; his negotiations with the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, i, 265; in Sicily, ii, 127-129; at the Saturday dinners, ii, 127 n., 136; takes Berkeley as his chaplain, ii, 129; iii, 212; in Italy, ii, 135-139; Governor of Minorca, ii, 138; popularity, ii, 138, 139; relations with George I, ii, 246; iii, 168 n.; called the Condé, ii, 246; iii, 51; and Prior, iii, 51; friendship with Pope, iii, 168, 174, 176, 325, 447; v, 52, 78, 81, 117, 243; vi, 132; forbidden to come to Court, iii, 168 n.; iv, 468; his wandering habits, iii, 168 n., 337; iv, 174, 446, 447; his part in Walpole's invitation to Swift, iii, 304 n., 307-311; and *Gulliver*, iii, 370-372; his connection with Anastasia Robinson, iii, 370; iv, 11 n.; his letters suppressed in the post, iii, 381; iv, 395, 417; dangerously ill, iv, 62, 395; messages to and from, iv, 102, 114, 177, 196, 220, 238, 416, 417; v, 5; his lawsuit with Sir John Germain, iv, 262; success in his undertakings, iv, 447; appointed Admiral, iv, 447; at Bath, iv, 447; his place at Bevis Mount, v, 52, 243; undergoes an operation, v, 243; goes to Lisbon, v, 243; death at Lisbon, v, 293, 297 n.; leaves Pope the watch given to him by the King of Sicily, v, 293.
- Peterborough, Henry, 2nd Earl of, i, 110 n.; his ring, v, 264.
- Petersham, iii, 340; iv, 13.
- Petrarca, Francesco, quoted, i, 161.
- Phalaris' Brazen Bull, vi, 157.
- Pharaoh, v, 229, 239.
- Philalethes, Irenaeus, his Letter to Sir (Jacob) B(anks) Examined*, i, 237 n.
- Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Philip V of Spain, i, 248, 249, 295; ii, 14 n.; renounces his claim to the crown of France, i, 331, 332, 334; his mistress, iii, 432 n.; governed by his second wife, iii, 432 n.; vi, 144.
- Philip, Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, ii, 389; v, 42 n.
- Philips, Ambrose, in York, i, 99-101, 109, 112; and Addison, i, 99, 109,

- 114; account of, i, 99 n.; his position in the army, i, 99 n., 109, 110, 141 n.; called "Pastoral Philips," i, 99 n.; satirized by Pope as "Nambypamby," i, 99 n., 113, 281; serving under Lord Mark Kerr, i, 99 n., 109, 112, 141 n.; his love affairs, i, 109, 111, 170; his *Pastorals*, i, 110; Lady Betty Germain's interest in, i, 110; his politics, i, 111; in London, i, 114, 166, 168; at Shrewsbury School, i, 114; in Copenhagen, i, 141, 142, 168, 383-385; composes verses in a sledge, i, 141-143; at Almanza, i, 141 n.; taken prisoner, i, 141 n.; dining with Steele, i, 166; relations with Swift, i, 171 n.; iii, 278, 292; in Ireland, iii, 278; his poem on Miss Carteret, iii, 278, 279, 292, 294, 296, 316; his want of success, iii, 279, 281, 292, 316; hesitating whether to turn parson, iii, 292; purse-bearer to Chief Justice Wyndham, iv, 63 n.
- Phillips, John, author of the *Splendid Shilling*, and Lord Castle-Durrow, v, 399.
- Philipstown, iii, 467.
- Phillips, Rev. Marmaduke, Vicar of Raheny, introduced by Swift to Lord Orrery, v, 103-105; negotiations with Mr. Taylor, v, 103, 324; his livings, v, 103 n., 325 n.; chaplain to Bishop Rundle, v, 211-213, 227; recommended to the Duke of Dorset, v, 324-326; account of, v, 324, 325; and Richardson, vi, 98.
- Phillips, Captain William, "Phillipus," attaché to Sir Thomas Hanmer, ii, 106; iii, 14.
- Phillips, William, of Hammersmith, correspondent of Chetwode's, iv, 472.
- Phipps, John, a Vicar Choral at St. Patrick's, vi, 221.
- Phipps, Sir Constantine, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, i, 294 n.; ii, 31, 70; iii, 50 n.; iv, 23; junior Counsel under Harcourt for Sacheverell, ii, 31 n.; Lord Justice, ii, 50, 70 n., 72, 75 n.; and Nutley, ii, 60; his violent party politics, ii, 60 n., 70 n., 80, 88 n., 316 n.; iii, 201 n.; account of, ii, 70 n.; and the Dublin civic dispute, ii, 72, 100 n., 101; gratitude to Swift on account of his son, ii, 80, 81, 85, 86, 120-125; relations with Archbishop King, ii, 81, 88 n.; and Bishop Lindsay, ii, 91; and the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 100, 101; trial by the Irish Parliament, ii, 102 n., 108, 109, 112, 116, 117, 119, 122; said to be libelled by Nuttall, ii, 119, 120; expected to become Chief Baron of England, ii, 181; superseded as Lord Justice, ii, 238, 245; iii, 70 n.; goes to London, iii, 70; and Waters, iii, 70, 71; removal from the office of Lord Chancellor, iii, 70 n.; attacked by a mob, iii, 70 n.; receives an honorary degree from Oxford, iii, 70 n.; defends the Earl of Wintoun and Bishop Atterbury, iii, 70 n.
- Phipps, William, son of Sir Constantine, ii, 71, 80, 120-123.
- Phocion, iii, 112.
- Picburgh, Countess of, ii, 247.
- Pickle Herring's Defence of Bettesworth*, v, 446-448.
- Pierrepont, Lady Frances, daughter of the 1st Marquis of Dorchester, marries the 6th Earl of Mar, ii, 193; kept a prisoner by the Pretender, iii, 24.
- Pigeon's Hole, The, Connaught, v, 370.
- Pigott, Colonel Robert, of Dysart, challenges Knightley Chetwode to fight a duel, iii, 80-82, 96, 123; account of, 80 n.
- Pilkington, Jonathan, son of Mathew, godson of Swift, iv, 261 n.
- Pilkington, Letitia, wife of Matthew, daughter of Dr. van Lewen, on Naboth's Vineyard, iii, 201 n.; her *Memoirs* quoted, iv, 120 n., *et passim*; on Mrs. Grierson, iv, 120 n.; on Swift's peculiarities, iv, 141 n.; v, 323 n.; her diminutive size, iv, 169; Swift's relations with, iv, 169 n., 194 n., 201 n., 236 n., 261, 262, 354, 355; v, 381 n., 382; vi, 69 n.; dining at Belcamp, iv, 194 n.; and *Polite Conversation*, iv, 194 n.; included among the Dublin poetesses, iv, 223; on Wogan, iv, 327 n.; sends Swift an eagle quill with a poem, iv, 371, 372; and the *Life and Character of Dr. Swift*, iv, 428 n.; and Gulliver, iv, 444; and Mrs. Barber, v, 29 n., 46 n., 51 n.; relations with her husband, v, 45, 46 n., 67 n., 382 n.; goes to England, v, 45, 46 n.; and James Worsdale, v, 46 n.; and Swift's *Six Poems*, v, 51 n., 67 n.;

- and Archbishop Hoadly, v, 67 n.; on Delany's dinner parties, v, 69 n.; on Dean Crosse, v, 232 n.; relations with her father, v, 381 n.; at Mallow, v, 381 n.; her sister, v, 382; divorce suit against, vi, 69; on Swift's footman, vi, 149 n.; the subscription to her *Poems*, vi, 201; on the preservation of Swift's Correspondence, vi, 201, 203.
- Pilkington, Rev. Matthew, to have the profits of the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168, 169; his diminutive size, iv, 169, 482, 483; his *Poems*, iv, 169, 188, 189, 481; Swift's kindness to, iv, 169, 257, 362; v, 8, 9, 214, 381 n.; vi, 68, 69; account of, iv, 169 n., and Lady E. Germain, iv, 188, 189; dining at Belcamp, iv, 194 n.; his *Plague of Wealth*, iv, 256; offends Tickell, iv, 256, 257; and Lord Carteret, iv, 257, 407; patronized by Dr. Delany, iv, 257, 309, 334, 482; vi, 68, 69; his *Infallible Scheme to pay the Debts of the Nation*, iv, 286, 287, 309, 482, 485; his *Epigram upon Chevalier Taylor*, iv, 287; his financial circumstances, iv, 309, 324, 334; chaplain to Lord Mayor Barber, iv, 323, 324, 327 n., 333, 338, 339, 349, 350, 362, 369, 384, 387, 407; v, 8, 9, 24, 25, 44; his age, iv, 323; his wish to see London, iv, 323, 324, 334; and the *Miscellanies*, iv, 324 n., 480-487; his character, iv, 334, 349, 354 n., 377 n., 381, 416; vi, 69; and Pope, iv, 354, 355, 381, 416; recommended to Arbuthnot, iv, 377; his music, iv, 377, 378; his name erased by Swift, iv, 377 n.; meets the Duchess of Buckingham, iv, 387; called "little Matthew in the Sanctuary," iv, 428 n.; Rector of Portrane, iv, 456; v, 381 n.; and the *Life and Character of Dr. Swift*, iv, 428 n.; v, 31 n., 214-216; his copy of *Gulliver*, iv, 444; and Bowyer, iv, 480; relations with Faulkner, iv, 480-482; his small house, iv, 482, 483; extravagance, v, 8, 9, 44; revises Mrs. Barber's *Poems*, v, 29 n.; expectations from Edward Walpole, v, 44, 46 n.; his treatment of his wife, v, 45, 46; devoted to an actress, v, 46 n.; and James Worsdale, v, 46 n.; and the publication of Swift's *Six Poems*, v, 51 n., 59 n., 67, 381 n.; vi, 243;
- and the pamphlet on Richard Norton, v, 91; returns to Dublin, v, 381; and Archbishop Hoadly, v, 381 n.; divorces his wife, vi, 69.
- Pilkington, Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor of London, iv, 350.
- Pisistratus, iii, 91.
- Piso, i, 250, 256 n.; ii, 320 n.
- "Pistorides." See Tighe.
- Pitt, Harietta, sister of 1st Earl of Chatham, iv, 235.
- Pitt, Thomas, Governor of Madras, his Diamond, iii, 143; v, 42.
- Pitt, William, 1st Earl of Chatham, grandson of Thomas, iii, 143 n.
- Place of the Damned, The*, iv, 308, 342 n.
- Plague, the, iii, 124, 126; in Mar-seilles, v, 65.
- Plato, i, 154 n., 182; iii, 40, 90, 94; iv, 6, 26, 28.
- Plautus, iv, 170, 272; vi, 65.
- "Pliant, Dame." See Chetwode.
- Pliny, the elder, i, 376; iii, 349.
- Pliny, the younger, his *Letters*, iv, 126, 142; v, 251.
- Plutarch, quoted, iii, 111, 112, 348; iv, 20.
- Poddle-guard, the, v, 192, 193.
- Poem occasioned by Reading Dr. Young's Satires, A*, v, 51 n.
- Poet and a Beggar, A, i, 17.
- Poet, An Unknown, iv, 52, 53.
- Poet, The*, i, 366 n.
- Pole, Will, invites Swift to Ballyfin, iii, 97.
- "Polidore," Swift libelled as, iv, 65 n.
- Polignac, Abbé de, i, 347.
- Polish Succession, War of the, v, 75.
- Polite Conversation, An Essay on*, iv, 258, 309; v, 100, 213, 390, 391, vi, 2 n., 39, 67, 68.
- Polwarth, Patrick, Lord, afterwards 1st Earl of Marchmont, vi, 131.
- Polybius, ii, 239; iii, 111; iv, 137.
- Pomfret, John, his *The Choice*, iv, 450.
- Pompey, i, 153; iv, 142.
- Pomunki, Queen of, i, 143.
- Pooley, John, Bishop of Raphoe, iii, 158 n.; iv, 455.
- Pooley, Neville, vi, 213.
- Pooley, Thomas, painter, iii, 158.
- Poor Robin's Jest*, or *The Compleat Jester*, iv, 168.
- Pope, Alexander, and Swift's Correspondence i, vi, ix; iv, 89, 107; v, 51 n., 80, 96, 226 n., 252, 320, 422-

424, 427, 428; vi, 16, 17, 32, 91, 93-95, 156, 157, 161, 162, 164, 176, 197-202, 204, 246; his *Satires*, i, 99 n.; iii, 281; v, 7 n.; his *Essay on Man*, i, 189 n.; iii, 269 n.; iv, 155, 197, 208, 253, 254, 277; v, 52, 86, 91, 101, 102, 107 n., 118, 314; vi, 87 n.; his *Essay on Dulness* or *The Dunciad*, i, 237 n.; iii, 281, 427; iv, 4, v, 7 n., 8, 11, 18, 19, 23, 31, 34-40, 45, 49, 73, 86, 101, 106, 115, 126, 180, 196, 255 n., 260, 330, 331, 379, 486; v, 21 n.; vi, 132; at Binfield, ii, 95-99; his affectionate relations with Swift, ii, 95, 96 n.; 145 n., 286, 325; iii, 145, 179, 180, 420, 421; v, 42, 466; vi, 175, 176; his religion, ii, 96; iii, 283; iv, 117; v, 118; his translations from Homer, ii, 96-99, 145, 150, 155, 286 n., 287, 415; iii, 151, 154, 222, 225, 257, 269, 277; iv, 19; v, 102; relations with Addison, ii, 96 n.; his *Windsor Forest*, ii, 96 n.; his political neutrality, ii, 96 n., 286, 328; iv, 116, 117; v, 53; vi, 17; friendship with Walsh, ii, 97; his *Rape of the Lock*, ii, 99, 287; his affection for Gay, ii, 145, 155, 214; iii, 145, 149, 150, 341, 352, 431; iv, 11, 17, 21, 37, 69-71, 91, 111, 112, 129, 144, 159, 172, 173, 176, 202, 205, 210, 221, 234, 270, 274, 275, 286, 325, 365, 366, 380, 393, 425; vi, 175; a Member of the Scriblerus Club, ii, 145 n.; his *Περὶ Βαθουῶν*, or *The Art of Sinking in Poetry*, ii, 160; iii, 240; iv, 4, 7 n., 18; visits Swift at Letcombe, ii, 176, 178, 185, 186; iii, 114; and the Burning glasses, ii, 185, 197; his hospitality to Swift, ii, 189, 193; iii, 335, 363, 401-405, 408-417, 420, 421, 448, 449, 452, 453; iv, 147, 270, 277, 357, 374, 376; v, 19, 31; friendship with Bolingbroke, ii, 214, 287; iii, 168, 170, 174, 323, 334, 357, 377, 392-394; iv, 8, 35, 36, 75, 117, 197, 250, 289-291, 362; v, 31, 117; vi, 87, 130; and Jervas, ii, 286 n.; iii, 18 n.; his bad rhymes, ii, 287; his parody of the 1st Psalm, ii, 326, 329; thinks of entering the service of the Marquis de Langallerie, ii, 326, 329; and Lewis, ii, 360; vi, 42, 130; and the laureateship, iii, 22; and Hugh Bethel, iii, 22 n.; v, 86; and the Duke of Buckingham, iii, 74 n.;

publishes Parnell's Poems, iii, 129; his Villa at Twickenham, iii, 154, 277-280, 303 n., 312-314, 316, 320, 328 n., 334, 368, 381, 386, 387, 410; iv, 11, 152, 176, 209; v, 316; vi, 39; his gardening, iii, 277, 381; his South Sea speculations, iii, 154, 225; and Ford, iii, 155; and the 1st Earl of Oxford, iii, 168, 257, 277; friendship with Harcourt, iii, 168; with the 2nd Earl of Oxford, iii, 168, 320, 387, 389, 390; iv, 160, 220; v, 195; with Atterbury, iii, 168; in London, iii, 168, 169, 174, 175, 321, 364; iv, 286; vi, 55; friendship with Lord Peterborough, iii, 168, 174, 176; iv, 395; v, 52, 117, 243 n., 293; his character and temperament, iii, 170; iv, 34, 49, 50, 78, 90, 91, 110, 116 n., 279, 316, 376; vi, 192; his age, iii, 174, 292; Swift bequeaths the portrait of Oxford to him, iii, 223 n.; and Stopford, iii, 240, 256, 257, 269, 276, 321, 326, 380, 381; iv, 6, 179; v, 145; his expectations from Anne, iii, 257; his proposed visit to Ireland, iii, 257, 333, 335, 336, 421, 433; iv, 3, 60, 62, 90, 101, 152; v, 2, 19, 20, 23, 30; paying visits, iii, 261; v, 78, 81, 85, 100, 111; affection for his nurse, iii, 269, 270; vi, 100; friendship with Mrs. Howard, iii, 270, 292, 296, 344, 353, 375, 435; iv, 12, 183, 184, 240, 267, 276, 374, 376, 426; v, 306; a pun on his name, iii, 283; and Arbuthnot, iii, 284, 344; iv, 4, 138, 141, 209, 211, 396; v, 117; vi, 175; his verses in opposition to Rochefoucauld, iii, 293; and Gildon, iii, 293, 294; relations with Wycherley, iii, 295; iv, 116, vi, 172; his assumed scorn of the world, iii, 296, 297; staying with Swift in Bury Street, iii, 303 n.; friendship with Lord Bathurst, iii, 312, 333; iv, 36 n., 157, 411; v, 117, 252; vi, 55; his riding tour with Swift and Gay, iii, 312 n., 332, 333, the motto over his door, iii, 313; manages the publication of *Gulliver*, iii, 321, 328, 341, 364, 386 n., 439; iv, 3, 4; v, 180; his weakly constitution and illnesses, iii, 325, 335, 344, 349, 351, 363, 381, 382, 410, 422, 423; iv, 3, 9, 29, 40, 49, 50, 52, 78, 86, 195, 205, 206, 209, 211, 217,

220, 232, 276, 278, 279, 286, 291, 295, 302, 381, 396, 399, 435; v, 30, 101, 117, 167, 302-304, 315, 423; vi, 25, 89, 94, 123, 132; his gift of silver cups from Swift, iii, 333, 334; iv, 6; his relations with Martha Blount, iii, 334, 448; iv, 13, 14, 102; v, 243 n., 397; in favour with Walpole, iii, 336, 337; iv, 117; indifference to locality, iii, 337, 338; friendship with Pulteney, iii, 339; iv, 198, 260; v, 146, 179, 280, 404; vi, 163; accidents to, iii, 340, 342-344, 349, 350, 357, 364, 371, 381; v, 377; his share in the Cheddar Letter, iii, 347-349; sends Swift maps and pictures, iii, 347; his waterman, iii, 348; iv, 9; his servants, iii, 348; v, 427; the *Miscellanies* of his works and Swift's, iii, 349, 372, 380, 440; iv, 4, 7, 18, 45, 121, 196 n., 307-309, 317, 318, 325, 342, 343, 359, 360 n., 365, 393, 394, 484, 487; v, 37, 216, 217, 450; his verses on *Gulliver*, iii, 381; and the Earl of Scarborough, iii, 401 n.; reading Sheridan's *Persius*, iii, 402, 403; and Mrs. Pratt's petition, iii, 405; reflected upon in Earberry's translation from the Italian, iii, 408; meets Swift at Hammersmith, iii, 421; and Sheridan, iii, 421 n., 425 n., 426 n., 433; refuses to see the Coronation, iii, 423; pretends to know the details of Swift's *Holyhead Journal* by second sight, iii, 424-427, 430, 432, 433; his lines on Swift's ancestors, iii, 426 n.; friendship with the Duchess of Hamilton, iii, 447; his affection for his mother, iv, 3, 18, 19, 80, 115, 155, 381, 382; receives a gold cup from Lord Oxford, iv, 6; his seal of Plato, iv, 6; sends Swift a Boston (New England) paper, iv, 17, 29; misquotes Tully, iv, 18; messages to and from, iv, 22, 114, 117, 238; v, 75; and Mrs. Barber, iv, 22 n., 209, 217; v, 59, 90; and Fortescue, iv, 29; v, 7 n.; at Bath, iv, 37, 40, 49, 50; v, 101; friendship with Robert Digby, iv, 37 n., 114; and the Scudamores, iv, 37 n.; and Kyrle, iv, 37 n.; his abstemiousness, iv, 39, 128, 134, 141, 150, 315, 415; v, 19, 107, 144; his handwriting mistaken for Ford's, iv, 59 n., 62, 63; vi, 218; in favour at Court, iv, 73, 220, 425; wishes Swift to record their friend-

ship in verse, iv, 78; his injunction against piratical booksellers, iv, 86; his financial circumstances, iv, 91, 101, 102, 107, 115, 217, 260; expects to die early, iv, 102; urges Bolingbroke to write his *Memoirs*, iv, 104, 135, 252; his *Moral Essays*, iv, 110, 206 n., 275 n., 279, 380, 381, 384, 394 n., 396, 403, 415, 417; v, 52, 78, 79, 302 n.; his commission to Lady Allen, iv, 111, 112, 126, 151; his two-pronged forks, iv, 113, 175; receives back his old letters to Edward Blount and Robert Digby, iv, 114; proposed pension, iv, 116, 117; friendship with Craggs, iv, 117; and Mrs. Sican, iv, 121, 140, 149; refuses Queen Caroline's visits, iv, 122; v, 306; epistolary talents, iv, 126; vi, 169; Swift sends him usquebaugh, iv, 127, 134, 139, 142, 150, 157; recommends Samuel Wesley to Swift, iv, 130-132; introduced into the *Libel on Dr. Delany*, iv, 131, 335, 336, 360, 414, 434; and the Duchess of Queensberry, iv, 138, 398, 399, 405; and Lord Cornbury, iv, 139 n., 285 n.; vi, 131; and Whaley, iv, 141, 142; to subscribe to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; his popularity as a poet, iv, 171, 180, 425; and Swift's letter to Mrs. Howard, iv, 184, 194, 220, 246; recommends Brandreth to Swift, iv, 195, 205, 209; encourages Swift to write to Lord Chesterfield, iv, 196; and Lady Betty Germain, iv, 200, 232, 278, 279, 306; and Dr. Delany, iv, 205, 210; dines with Tonson at Barnes, iv, 206; taking asses' milk, iv, 209, 217-219; and Walter Harte's Roman History, iv, 209, 217; his charities, iv, 217; advised to play games, iv, 218; and Carey, iv, 219 n.; v, 302; defends Swift from the charge of sending the Barber letters to Queen Caroline, iv, 242, 243, 246, 247, 264, 265, 478; and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, iv, 264 n., 415, 426, 430; satirizes the Duke of Chandos as "Timon," iv, 279; approaches Lord Burlington about Lord Cork's monument, iv, 280; on Rousham, iv, 285 n.; "a man scattered in the world," iv, 319; and the Pilkingtons, iv, 323, 334, 354 n., 355 n., 381; v, 90; vi, 201; and Mrs. Caesar, iv, 332, 359; and the Lord Mayor's Show,

- iv, 339, 350; and Wogan, iv, 391 *n.*; his *Epitaph on Gay*, iv, 393, 403, 411-413, 425, 430, 434; his *Imitations of Horace*, iv, 394, 403, 415, 426; v, 78, 86, 415; vi, 17, 19, 25; his portrait at Lixnaw, iv, 402 *n.*; attacked in *Achilles Dissected*, iv, 403, 415; attacked by Lord Hervey, iv, 415, 426, 430; v, 48, 52; edits Gay's papers, iv, 425, 430, 435; the *Life and Character of Dr. Swift* dedicated to, iv, 428, 434; his friendship with Lord Orrery, iv, 434; v, 1, 397; vi, 39, 64, 102, 107, 133, 175, 178, 197, 201; shows Swift's letter to Lady Bolingbroke, iv, 445; and Voltaire, iv, 446; his friendship with the Cotterells, v, 2 *n.*, 20, 23; his fear of sea-sickness, v, 30, 177, 427; vi, 132, 133; and Swift's birthplace, v, 64 *n.*; and Bubb Dodington, v, 52; and Prebendary Towers, v, 101 *n.*; his *Prologue to the Satires*, v, 117; and Barber, v, 140; vi, 61, 88, 113, 131; his use of Alexandrines and triplets, v, 162; his prayers for Swift, v, 177; his *Correspondence* published by Curll, v, 186 *n.*, 196, 217, 224, 226, 251, 252, 409, 410; and Faulkner, v, 226, 297; and Hughes, v, 227, 242; the complete edition of his *Works*, v, 298; and Bishop Rundle, v, 303, and Cheselden, v, 304, 315; his proposed *Epistle*, v, 314, 315, 320; and Lord Castle-Durrow, v, 400; his circle of friends in 1737, *et seq.*, v, 410, 411, 416; vi, 131; the Irish edition of his *Works*, v, 425; publishes his own *Letters*, vi, 19, 32, 33; his part in the *Imitation of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace*, vi, 45; his *Universal Prayer*, vi, 87; his *First Dialogue*, vi, 88, 92, 94, 131; friendship with George Lyttelton, vi, 100, 101, 127; recommends Lamb to Swift, vi, 100, 101, 123, 128, 133; and Richardson, vi, 105; and William King, vi, 108; and the *Four Last Years*, vi, 110; and Swift's *On His Own Death*, vi, 111; and Dunkin, vi, 122, 131; and Macaulay, vi, 128, 131, 133, 162, 164, 192; and Deane Swift, vi, 129, 133, 162, 164; and the Duchess of Marlborough, vi, 131; and the Prince of Wales, vi, 131; the Opposition meet in his Grotto, vi, 131 *n.*; engages one of Swift's old footmen, vi, 149 *n.*; his *Eloisa and Abelard*, vi, 152; his portrait, vi, 156; Swift's description of, vi, 193.
- Pope, Edith, the poet's mother, iii, 269, 270, 334, 382, 393, 433, 449; iv, 14, 17, 36, 52, 196, 210, 220, 295; vi, 244; prays for Swift, iii, 335, 336; plays cards and backgammon with Swift, iii, 335; her declining years and health, iii, 387, 389, 390; iv, 3, 18, 19, 62, 77, 79, 90, 101, 102, 106, 107, 122, 155, 302, 310, 381, 382, 395; her devotion to her son, iv, 30, 155; vi, 18, 19; Swift's esteem for, iv, 34, 90; her ninetieth birthday, iv, 154, 155; death, v, 2, 19, 23, 31, 297, 316.
- Pope, The. *See* Clement.
- Poplin, Irish, iii, 354, 360-362, 366, 371, 374.
- Poppaea, iv, 471.
- Portarlington, ii, 243, 256.
- Porter, Sir Charles, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, ii, 45 *n.*
- Porter, Classon, his *Swift in Kilroot*, i, 15 *n.*, 28 *n.*
- Portland, The Duke of, his MSS. at Welbeck, i, ix, *et passim*.
- Portland, Henry Bentinck, 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of, v, 84, 85.
- Portland, William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of, marries Lady Margaret Harley, v, 20 *n.*, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 122; character, v, 80, 81, 85, 250; vi, 4.
- Portland, Duchess of. *See* Harley (Margaret).
- Portland, William Bentinck, 1st Earl of, i, 171 *n.*; v, 80 *n.*
- Portland, Countess of. *See* Berkeley.
- Portocarero, Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, i, 334.
- Portrane, iv, 456, 457; v, 381 *n.*
- Portrush, vi, 243.
- Portsmouth, Louise, Duchess of, i, 354 *n.*
- Portugal, i, 11, 12 *n.*; ii, 3, 14.
- Post, letters intercepted in the, i, 85, 89, 96, 106, 130 *n.*, 147 *n.*; iii, 351; iv, 256, 340, 351, 395, 396; vi, 26, 28, 29; arrangements of the, i, 223; ii, 45 *n.*
- Postage, cost of, i, 204 *n.*; iii, 351; iv, 55; v, 76.

- Postboy, The*, i, 246, 247, 250, 255; ii, 150, 398; vi, 234.
- Postman, The*, i, 171.
- Potter, John, Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury, vi, 51.
- Poulett, John, 1st Earl, First Lord of the Treasury, i, 193; vi, 241; account of, i, 193 n.; his connection with Henley, i, 193 n.; Lord Steward, ii, 15, 19, 170.
- Poulett, Countess, daughter of Peregrine Bertie, i, 193 n.
- Powell, Charles, wishes to marry Rebecca Stewart, iv, 63, 64.
- Powell, S., publisher, i, 301 n.
- Power, Henry, 1st Viscount Valencia, i, 36 n.; ii, 15 n.
- Powerscourt, ii, 272; iv, 257, 258; vi, 226.
- Powerscourt, Viscount, his Dublin house, vi, 227.
- Pratt, Dr. Benjamin, afterwards Provost of Trinity, i, 83, 188 n., 386; iii, 231 n., 443; vi, 214; account of, i, 83 n.; character, i, 83 n.; ii, 337, 376, 377; iv, 469; in London, i, 89, 141, 145; ii, 187; and the Test, i, 130 n.; and Addison, i, 189; recommends Dr. Raymond for the Rectory of Moymet, ii, 25, 26; his musical tastes, ii, 59 n.; his hopes of a bishopric, ii, 141, 145 n., 205, 346, 347, 354, 364, 371-379; and Gay, ii, 145; possibly meant by "Proverb," ii, 299; his correspondence with Chetwode, ii, 304; Swift appeals to King on his behalf, ii, 336; iii, 298 n.; his rule at Trinity, ii, 299, 337 n., 374, 377; iii, 108 n.; politics, ii, 299, 372, 373, 375; and the Anatomy Lecturer, ii, 336, 342, 343; and Molyneux, ii, 343; appointed Dean of Down, ii, 381, 384, 386; iii, 107 n.; recommends Forbes to Swift, ii, 386; Swift dines with, ii, 404; acquaintance with Vanessa, ii, 404; trustee under the younger Bartholomew Vanhomrigh's will, iii, 35 n.; death, iii, 107; marriage, iii, 107 n.; at college with Swift, iii, 107 n.; his plans for the future, iii, 108; his will, iii, 108 n.
- Pratt, to the Prince of Wales, Parody of the Speech of Dr. Benjamin*, ii, 338 n.
- Pratt, Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin, married to Alexander Swift, vi, 214.
- Pratt, Captain John, brother of the Provost, Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, i, 188, 189; intimacy with Swift, i, 188; ii, 204; iii, 233; v, 459; and the *Short Character of Lord Wharton*, i, 333 n.; his financial relations with Swift, ii, 314, 316; iii, 241, 251, 252; his defalcations and downfall, iii, 241 n., 404 n.; v, 42 n., 459; his cousin, iii, 388; held up to reprobation in *The Toast*, v, 459; his ventures in coal and glass, v, 459; and Ormond, v, 461.
- Pratt, Mrs. John, daughter of Sir John Brookes, connection with Lady Kerry, i, 188 n.; sends Swift a screen, iii, 231-233; her petition to Mrs. Howard, iii, 404, 405; living in England, v, 42, 43; and Mrs. Barber, v, 42; Lord Shelburne's kindness to, v, 43 n., 152; and the Duchess of Buckingham, v, 152.
- Pratt, Lady Philippa, wife of the Dean of Down, daughter of the 6th Earl of Abercorn. *See* Hamilton.
- Praxiteles, iv, 479.
- P—r—de, probably Philip Frowde, *q.v.*, "the polite," i, 161.
- Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction*, A, v, 39.
- Prendergast, Lady, sister of Lord Cadogan, her lawsuit against Sir T. Butler, iii, 48.
- Prendergast, Sir Thomas, son of Lady, lampooned in *Noisy Tom*, iii, 48 n.
- President of the Council, Lord. *See* Buckinghamshire, Devonshire, Dorset, Kingston, Nottingham, Pembroke, Rochester, Somers, Somerset, Sunderland, Townshend.
- Press Yard, The, i, 241.
- Preston, Jack, iv, 468, 469.
- Preston, John, father-in-law to Ludlow, ii, 315; iv, 469.
- Preston, Jonathan, notary, ii, 315, 350 n.
- Preston, Swift's curate at Laracor, iii, 139.
- Pretender, The. *See* Stuart.
- Pretender to a Whig Lord, A Letter from the*, i, 337 n.; v, 39.
- Price, Thomas, Rector of Celbridge, Dean of Ferns, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, and Vanessa, iii, 57 n.
- Price, Sheridan's neighbour at Cavan, v, 188, 285, 291, 292; dying, v, 310;

- and the Concordatum, v, 310, 313.
- Price the younger, v, 310, 368.
- Primrose, Hugh, 3rd Viscount, iii, 408 n.
- Prince, Rev. John, i, 339 n.
- Prince of Lilliput to Stella, The*, iii, 383, 384.
- Pringle, Robert, Secretary of State, afterwards Secretary at War, i, 135, 136.
- Prior, Matthew, patronized by Lord Dorset, i, 135; and Robert Harley, i, 213 n.; iii, 142; his friendship with Swift, i, 213 n., 241; ii, 398, 399; iii, 9, 39, 103 n.; iv, 104; v, 396, 466; and Bolingbroke, i, 229 n.; ii, 18, 19, 78 n.; editor of the *Examiner*, i, 229 n.; his walks with Swift, i, 241 n.; iii, 103; his verses read by Swift ridiculously, i, 258 n.; goes to Paris as Plenipotentiary for the Peace, i, 289 n., 290, 313 n., 315; ii, 18, 19, 59, 60; iii, 39, 43; vi, 234 n.; a member of the Society, ii, 18, 398; friendship with Arbuthnot, ii, 18; and young Vanhomrigh, ii, 18, 19; friendship with Richard Shelton, ii, 19; iii, 77; his *Alma*, ii, 19 n.; iii, 77 n.; recommends Thomas Roseingrave to Swift, ii, 59; sends Swift a pistole from Paris, ii, 61; iii, 44; introduces Nutley to Swift, ii, 83 n., 85; ordered to surrender his papers, ii, 267, 278; superseded by the Earl of Stair, ii, 267 n.; his fidelity to the Tory party, ii, 278, 293; examined before the Secret Commission, ii, 293; his poor circumstances, ii, 360; iii, 7, 112, 113; his *Poems on Several Occasions* published by subscription, ii, 360, 381, 389, 392, 398, 401; iii, 4, 5, 7, 8, 14, 29, 33, 39, 43, 44, 52, 74, 76, 163; vi, 234-238; impeached and sent to the Tower, ii, 360 n.; iii, 52; living in Duke Street, ii, 398, 399; iii, 38, 39; his letters opened, ii, 398, 399; ill-health, ii, 398; iii, 5, 14, 15, 39, 73; staying with the Duke of Shrewsbury at Heythrop, ii, 401; going to Bath, iii, 8; his bookseller, iii, 33; Lord Harley's kindness to, iii, 38, 51, 113; treats Lady Harley at Cambridge, iii, 38, 39; Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, iii, 38 n., 43; his verses to Lady Harley, iii, 38 n., 43; his portraits, iii, 44 n., 52; vi, 236, 237; and Sir T. Butler's case, iii, 48, 52; deafness, iii, 52; and Atterbury, iii, 77; dies at Wimpole, iii, 103, 112; his Epitaph, iii, 112; his Correspondence with Swift, iii, 452, 453; vi, 171; his *Ballad of Down Hall*, vi, 92 n.; his will, vi, 234; and Adrian Drift, vi, 234, 235; his *History of His Own Times*, vi, 234 n.
- Prior's Journey to France, Mr.*, i, 289, 290.
- Privy Council of Ireland, Observations on the*, vi, 243.
- Proby, Thomas, Surgeon-General, trouble with his son, iii, 205, 206, 213, 214; begs for Tickell's interest, iii, 205, 206; account of, iii, 205 n.; and Steevens's Hospital, iii, 205 n., 418; iv, 455, 462; recommended to Lord Carteret, iii, 213, 214; his daughter married to John Nichols, v, 355 n., 378 n.
- Proby, Mrs., wife of Thomas (1), her friendship with Stella, iii, 205 n.; iv, 454; a collector of coins and china, iii, 205 n.
- Proby, Captain Thomas (2), son of Thomas (1), tried for popery, iii, 205, 213, 214.
- Proby family, the, iv, 111 n.
- Progress of Marriage, The*, iii, 107 n.
- Project for Eating Children*. See *Modest*.
- Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Morals, A*, i, 111, 152 n., 268 n.; iv, 484.
- Prolocutor, The office of, ii, 69, 72, 75, 76, 94.
- Prometheus*, iii, 226 n.
- Promoting Christian Knowledge, The Society for, i, 296 n.
- Propagation of the Gospel, Society for the, ii, 11, 41, 42.
- Propertius, iv, 19.
- Proposal for Correcting*, etc. See *Academy*.
- Proposal for Eating Children*. See *Modest*.
- Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*, iii, 64-66, 75 n., 100 n., 101 n., 115.
- Proposal for Virtue, The*, iv, 248 n.
- Proposal that the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures*, iv, 90 n.
- Proudfoot, Mr., Swift's man of busi-

- ness, ii, 357, 358, 400, 401; iii, 326, 361.
- Provost of Trinity College. *See* Baldwin, Browne, Pratt.
- "Proverb," probably Pratt, *q.v.*, ii, 299.
- Prussia, King of. *See* Frederick William.
- Ptolemy or Ptolomy, i, 58; iii, 232, 451.
- Public Spirit of the Whigs, The*, ii, 6 *n.*, 107 *n.*, 126 *n.*, 129, 130, 138, 205, 415; iii, 186 *n.*; v, 39.
- Publishers, iii, 33; iv, 329, 367.
- Pue's Occurrences*, iv, 424 *n.*; v, 136 *n.*
- Pug, Stella's dog, i, 82; iv, 454.
- "Pullagowna," iv, 410 *n.*
- Pullein, Tobias, Bishop of Dromore, his esteem for Stella, iv, 453.
- Pulteney, Daniel, cousin of William, death, v, 281.
- Pulteney, William, afterwards Earl of Bath, his political career, ii, 202; iii, 337 *n.*; iv, 241, 260, 273; v, 4, 143, 169, 179-182, 321, 405, 418; friendship with Swift, iii, 303 *n.*, 337-339, 341, 349, 350, 354, 365, 372; iv, 198, 205, 220; v, 147, 466; account of, iii, 337 *n.*; and the Patriots, iii, 337 *n.*, 350 *n.*; his part in the "Cheddar letter," iii, 344 *n.*, 351, 352; his cook, iii, 351; messages from and to, iii, 353, 433; iv, 22, 62, 86, 114, 128, 134, 138, 152, 170, 177, 193, 220, 238, 302, 417; v, 4, 304; vi, 154; his part in the *Ballad on Lady Hervey*, iii, 357; and *The Craftsman*, iii, 379 *n.*; his desire for a son, iv, 12; and Pope, iv, 12 *n.*, 198, 260; vi, 132; and Lord Essex, iv, 15; v, 404; friendship with Gay, iv, 15, 21, 70, 71, 73, 134, 138, 260; to subscribe to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; and Stopford, iv, 179; v, 143-146, 168, 169, 178, 403, 404, 419; vi, 154, 162; birth of his son, iv, 196, 198; v, 143 *n.*; disgraced, iv, 241, 260; scurrilous attacks upon, iv, 255; his son has smallpox, iv, 365; at Bath, iv, 365; v, 270, 280, 304, 403; dines with Barber, v, 25; and McLorinan's cause, v, 144, 146, 147; his letters intercepted in the post, v, 279, 418; ill-health, v, 280, 321, 397, 403; travelling about, v, 397; friendship with Lord Carteret, v, 420; said to be reconciled to Wal-
- pole and to be about to receive a peerage, v, 433; sends Swift some Latin verses, vi, 163, 164; his correspondence with Swift, vi, 203, 204.
- Pulteney, Mrs., messages from and to, iii, 339 *n.*; iv, 198; v, 147, 180; vi, 164; kindness to Gay, iv, 71; Swift said to be in her good graces, iv, 220.
- Pultowa, Battle of, i, 169.
- Puns, i, 70, 121, 153-155, 177, 373-381.
- Purcell, Henry, vi, 223.
- Pursade, Dr., iv, 323 *n.*
- Pursade, Mr., iv, 323.
- Putland, John, son of Thomas, Swift's loan to, v, 136; vi, 86 *n.*
- Putland, Thomas, related to Dean Sterne, iii, 125 *n.*; v, 105 *n.*
- Puttenham, Rector of. *See* Swift, Thomas.
- P——y being put out of the Council, On Mr.*, v, 180.
- Pyle, Rev. Thomas, Vicar of St. Nicholas, King's Lynn, i, 307, 308.
- Pymme, Edward, Rector of Thorpe Mandeville, i, 370.
- Pyrenean Treaty, The, iv, 257.
- Pyrrha, vi, 144.
- Pythagoras, iii, 171; v, 76.
- Quadrille, iv, 297; *and see* Congreve, Hort.
- Quail, Alderman, Lord Mayor of Dublin, v, 132.
- Quaker, a, sends Swift a ham from Philadelphia, iv, 74.
- Quakers, their petition against the Bill for the Recovery of Tithes, i, 283, 296; Bill for the Relief of, v, 331, 346, 351, *and see* Test.
- Qualification for Pensions Bill, The, iv, 136, 139.
- Quebec, Hill's expedition to, i, 266, 277, 278.
- Queen Anne's Bounty, i, 50; *and see* First Fruits.
- Queensberry, Lady Catherine Hyde, Duchess of, daughter of the 4th Earl of Clarendon, wife of the 3rd Duke, her kindness to Gay, iii, 292, 296, 340, 341; iv, 10, 69, 102, 108, 113, 130, 159, 218, 335, 337; Mrs. Howard's description applied in error to her, iii, 292, 296; Prior's "Kitty," iii, 296 *n.*; wins £1,000 in the Lottery, iii, 352; her childish acquaintance with Swift, iv,

- 10, 21, 139, 175, 317, 381, 405; objects to Swift eating with a knife, iv, 10, 108, 109, 113, 132, 133, 175; her family, iv, 10 *n.*, 134; has smallpox, iv, 16, 21; Gay's "Goddess Duchess," iv, 21; her beauty, iv, 21, 69 *n.*, 73, 175; v, 50; banished from Court for soliciting subscriptions for Gay's *Polly*, iv, 69-71, 73, 114, 179, 317; "Amanda" in the *Female Faction*, iv, 70 *n.*; desires to renew her acquaintance with Swift, iv, 109, 113, 174, 181, 281; toasted by Ford and others in Ireland, iv, 133, 235; visits Pope, iv, 138; messages to Swift, iv, 138, 139, 158, 207, 302; invites Swift to Amesbury, iv, 172-175, 203, 204, 211, 212, 222, 233, 234, 239, 240, 259, 261, 270-274, 284, 293-295, 326, 335, 337, 338, 421, 439, 440; her salutary influence over Gay, iv, 186, 202, 206, 222, 234, 275, 325, 326, 353; her character and temperament, iv, 186, 187, 203, 211, 212, 239, 337, 353, 381; her handwriting and spelling, iv, 187, 204, 258-260, 353; in London, iv, 206, 365; v, 41, 57; and Mrs. Howard, iv, 233, 240; promises to ride and walk with Swift, iv, 239; her influence over her husband, iv, 259, 373, 374; her income, iv, 260; writes in hieroglyphics, iv, 271, 274; and Ryves, iv, 285; her sons, iv, 286, 302, 316, 326; v, 36, 58; called "a Tunbridge correspondent," iv, 315, 316, 336, 439; her bread and butter quarrels with Gay, iv, 326, 337, 341; Swift threatens to borrow money from her, iv, 335; her disregard of fashion in dress, iv, 353; v, 39; her taste for poetry, iv, 353; Whitehead's verses to, iv, 353 *n.*; her grief at Gay's death, iv, 381, 398, 404, 405, 420; Pope shows her Swift's letter on Gay's death, iv, 398, 399, 405; resumes her correspondence with Swift, iv, 398, 404, 414, 417; her headaches and vertigo, iv, 420, 439, 440; v, 36, 58; and Gay's papers, iv, 430, 431; her life in the country, iv, 439; goes to Spa, iv, 439; v, 36, 40, 49, 50; and Mrs. Barber, v, 41, 58, 59; acquaintance with Charles Coote, v, 41, 49; sends Swift a walking stick, v, 50; her correspondence with Swift, vi, 203.
- Queensberry, Charles, 3rd Duke of, his patronage of Gay, iii, 340; iv, 69, 102, 108, 129, 130, 137-139, 158, 159, 174, 176, 181, 186, 234, 271, 315, 393; his country houses, iii, 340; iv, 108, 212; married to Lady Catherine Hyde, iv, 10 *n.*; gives up his employments at Court, iv, 70, 134, 179, 271; takes Gay to Scotland, iv, 80; his house in Burlington Gardens, iv, 108, 212; messages to Swift from, iv, 138, 316, 317, 326, 338, 406; in London, iv, 206, 440, 441; Gay assists him with his accounts, iv, 240; his unjust steward, iv, 240; affection for his wife, v, 259, 273, 274; endorses the Duchess's invitation to Swift, iv, 270, 271, 273, 274, 280, 281, 284, 302; recommends Ryves' cause, iv, 285; takes charge of Gay's effects and posthumous writings, iv, 365, 393, 413, 414; erects a monument to Gay, iv, 378, 393; has charge of Swift's money, iv, 399, 405, 421, 441; v, 101; his kindness to Gay's sisters, iv, 413, 414; his improvements at Amesbury, iv, 439; goes to Spa, iv, 440; v, 49, 50; and Mrs. Barber, v, 41; his correspondence with Swift, vi, 171.
- Queensberry, James, 2nd Duke of, Secretary for Scotland, i, 195, 266; iv, 134 *n.*
- Quevedo, Francisco Gomez de, v, 233.
- Quigg, Mr., vi, 213.
- Quilca, Sheridan's place at, iii, 128 *n.*, 131 *n.*, 137 *n.*, 146, 147, 173, 174, 191 *n.*, 234-279, 468; iv, 461; vi, 244; described, iii, 146 *n.*; Swift's improvements at, iii, 253, 254; iv, 42; v, 209; "Stella's Bower" at, iii, 237 *n.*
- Quilca, The Blunders, Deficiencies, Distresses, and Misfortunes of*, iii, 191 *n.*, 237 *n.*
- Rabelais, François, ii, 239; iii, 28, 427; iv, 4, 5 *n.*, 163.
- Rabutin, Bussy, iii, 178.
- Raby, Thomas, Lord, afterwards Earl of Strafford. *See* Strafford.
- Rackstraw, a sculptor, vi, 138 *n.*
- Radcliffe, Dr. John, and Mrs. South, ii, 95; relations with Swift, ii, 95 *n.*; v, 466; and the Duke of Beaufort, ii, 141 *n.*; satirized in *Martin Scriblerus*, ii, 159; his professional reputation, ii, 159; refuses to come to Anne's

- deathbed, ii, 207, 208; and Lord Gower, ii, 208; and Mrs. Holt, iv, 72.
- Radnor, Charles Robartes, 3rd Earl of, i, 194 *n.*
- Raffnel et Fretti Sacerdotti, Messieurs, ii, 129.
- "Rag," *i.e.*, Edmund Smith, *q.v.*
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, iii, 258.
- Ralph, *Tale of Sir*, iv, 308.
- Ram, Squire, his coachman insults Swift, iv, 33 *n.*, 64; v, 4 *n.*
- Ram, The, Capel Street, Dublin, i, 183.
- Ramble, *The*, i, 366.
- Ramsay, "Chevalier" Andrew, his *Voyages de Cyrus*, iii, 405, 406; iv, 79; v, 378; account of, iii, 405 *n.*; his admiration of Swift, iv, 79; v, 267; tutor to Lord Wemyss' sons, v, 63 *n.*; Swift gives him a copy of his *Works*, vi, 49; sends Swift his *History of the Mareschal de Turenne*, vi, 49, 50, 65.
- Ramsay, Mrs. Elizabeth, with Lady Orkney, i, 344, 345, 353; living with the Duchess of Grafton, vi, 242.
- Ranelagh, Richard, 1st Earl of, i, 314, 315; iv, 84 *n.*, 310.
- Ranelagh, Roger Jones, 1st Viscount, his monument in St. Patrick's, iv, 84, 87.
- Rantavan, iii, 147.
- Raphael, iv, 479.
- Raphoe, Bishop of. *See* Forster, Lindsay, Pooley, Synge.
- Raphoe, bishopric of, ii, 21 *n.*, 114, 115, 124, 132.
- Rapin de Thoyras, his *History of England*, v, 371, 372.
- Rastadt, Peace of, ii, 127, 128.
- Rathbeggan, i, 32 *n.*; ii, 367, 368.
- Rathcoole, ii, 56.
- Rathmore, Lord, iii, 127 *n.*
- Rawdon, Sir John, of Moira, iv, 23 *n.*
- Rawdon, Lady, widow of Sir John, daughter of Chief Justice Levinge, her second marriage, iv, 23.
- Raymond, Rev. Anthony, Rector of Trim, i, 120; ii, 64, 65, 166, 282, 388; account of, i, 120 *n.*; his will, i, 120 *n.*; iv, 227 *n.*; his friendship with and gratitude to Swift, i, 120 *n.*, 382, 383, 385, 386; ii, 131, 240 *n.*, 414; iv, 227 *n.*, 458; presented to the living of Moymet, ii, 25, 26, 49, 50; his friendship with Stella, ii, 26 *n.*, takes Warburton's duty at Laracor, ii, 284; relations with Chetwode, ii, 295; iv, 227; Swift stays with, ii, 306, 314, 315, 332, 343-347, 355, 358, 359, 365-370; assists Swift in the arrangements for the Laracor tithes, ii, 345, 350 *n.*, 353; invites the Walls to Trim for Christmas, ii, 346; and the Trim Charity money, ii, 347; expectations from Bishop Lloyd's will, ii, 364; and Bishop Ashe, ii, 364; his method of dealing with his tithes, ii, 364; correspondence with Warburton, ii, 366; returning to Dublin with Swift, ii, 367, 368; and Walls' tobacco, ii, 368; on the Aurora Borealis, ii, 382; and Nanny Keary, iv, 227; death, iv, 227 *n.*; chaplain to the Duke of Shrewsbury, vi, 234.
- Raymond, Mrs., ii, 276, 295, 306, 344, 346.
- Raymond, Sir Robert, Attorney-General, ii, 101, 189; iii, 70.
- Reader, Enoch, Dean of Emly, and Archdeacon of Dublin, i, 52, 53.
- Reader, Richard, Dean of Emly and Kilmore, brother of Enoch, i, 52 *n.*
- Reading, Daniel, M.P. for Newcastle, his connection with the Temples, i, 55; corresponds with Swift, i, 382-384; and Curtis, iii, 301, 302.
- Reading, Sir Robert, i, 382 *n.*
- Readstown, ii, 346.
- Reasons to Prove that no Whig is obliged to oppose His Majesty, Some*, v, 39.
- Receipt to form a Beauty, The*, i, 134 *n.*, and *see* Floyd.
- Rechteren, Count, Dutch Plenipotentiary, ii, 3; his quarrel with Mesnager, v, 401.
- Reeves, William, Bishop of Down, Keeper of the Public Library, Armagh, i, 60 *n.*; his *History of the Convocation of the Church of Ireland*, i, 202 *n.*, 269 *n.*; ii, 76 *n.*, 94 *n.*
- Regents appointed on the death of Queen Anne, ii, 212, 213, 216, 224, 228, 230, 231, 238.
- Regent, the French. *See* Philip.
- Regium Donum, granted to Dissenting Ministers, i, 301.
- Regiomontanus, otherwise Jean Müller, i, 160.
- Reid, J. S., his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i, 126 *n.*
- Reilly, Catherine, servant to Lord Orrery, vi, 46.

- Reilly, Edward, son of Catherine, recommended for the Blue Coat School, vi, 36, 37, 46.
- Reilly, Hugh, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Times*, iv, 329 n.
- Remarks on the Barrier Treaty*, i, 322 n.; v, 39.
- Remarks on the Letter to the Seven Lords appointed to Examine Gregg*, *Some*, i, 274 n.; v, 39.
- Remarks upon the Rights of the Christian Church*, i, 111.
- Residence, Bill of, v, 15 n., 17, 18.
- Revelations*, iv, 321.
- Revolution, The, i, 2 n., 300; iii, 311.
- Reynell, Sir Richard, ii, 243 n.
- Reynolds, Edward, Bishop of Norwich, his Works, i, 28.
- Rhapsody on Poetry, A*, v, 51.
- Rice, Edward, v, 202 n.
- Rice, Mrs., vi, 73.
- Rice, Mrs., Swift's landlady in Bury Street, iii, 319.
- Rice, Miss, daughter of Edward, niece of Lord Howth, called "the Giant," v, 202, 222.
- Rich, John, manager of Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, iv, 16, 21, 51; vi, 224.
- Rich, Sir Robert, i, 338 n.
- Richardson, Rev. John, Rector of Annalt, i, 247; v, 386; vi, 59 n.; and Archbishop King, i, 247; his project for printing the Bible, etc., in Irish, i, 247, 274 n., 296 n.; account of, i, 248 n.; appointed Dean of Kilmacduagh, vi, 69; suffering from gout, vi, 81.
- Richardson, Jonathan, his portrait of Prior, iii, 52.
- Richardson, Katharine, probably daughter of John, living with her Uncle William, vi, 59; her advances and presents to Swift, vi, 59, 61-63; death, vi, 59 n., 154, 155; character, vi, 63, 69; invites Swift to Summerseat, vi, 67, 82; nursing her father at Belturbet, vi, 81; her sister, vi, 81, 104; invited to Dublin by Swift and Mrs. Whiteway, vi, 81, 82, 97, 117, 121; in Dublin, vi, 91; Swift sends her a ring, vi, 103-105.
- Richardson, Mr., probably related to William, v, 333.
- Richardson, Mr., churchwarden of Tallaght, iii, 186, 187.
- Richardson, Parson (of Cavan), v, 291.
- Richardson, William, brother of John, agent to the Irish Society, and Serjeant Singleton, v, 140; vi, 105; recommended to Barber, v, 140, 166, 384 n.; vi, 60, 69, 74, 75, 113, 121, 122; his kindness to the Warburtons, v, 384; invites Swift to Summerseat, v, 384-386, 425, 426; vi, 9-11, 13, 14, 227; his presents to Swift, v, 425, 426; vi, 8, 9, 14, 61, 62; called the "Duke of Somerset," v, 425 n.; visits the Deanery, vi, 8, 60; in Derry, vi, 10; desires Swift's advice on his improvements, vi, 11; M.P. for Augher, vi, 14, 60; his niece lives with him, vi, 52 n.; in London, vi, 60, 74, 82, 87, 88, 93; character, vi, 69; and Dunkin, vi, 76, 106, 122-124, 135-137; recommended to Lord Oxford, vi, 77, 82; accusations against, vi, 88-91, 93; on Swift's gift to his niece, vi, 104, 105; asks for a letter of introduction to Pope, vi, 105; his kindness to William Swift, vi, 116, 118, 121, 123; Macaulay recommended to, vi, 116-118, 120, 121; his wedding present to Molly Harrison, vi, 136; and Deane Swift, vi, 136; messages from Swift to, vi, 136, 137, 155; death of his niece and of Sir Joseph Eyles, vi, 154, 155; his marriage, vi, 159, 160; his correspondence with Swift, vi, 204.
- Richardson, Mrs. William, vi, 159, 160.
- Richeltus, Julius, v, 237.
- Richmond Lodge, the residence of George II, and of the 2nd Duke of Ormond, iii, 353 n., 374; iv, 13, 29.
- Riddles, iii, 372.
- Ridgeway, a cabinet maker, married to Anne Brent, iv, 43; v, 29 n.
- Ridgeway, Mrs. Anne, daughter of Mrs. Brent, friendship with Rebecca Dingley, v, 29 n.; vi, 206; her annuity, v, 29 n., 209, 330, 336; witness to an agreement, v, 181; Swift's housekeeper, v, 263, 272, 289, 427, 428; vi, 180, 188, 189; marries Henry Land, v, 270 n.; her soft voice, v, 311; called "Sir Robert Walpole," v, 406, 411; vi, 2, 39; invited by Lord Orrery to accompany Swift to Marston, vi, 2; and the *Directions to Servants*, vi, 96.

- Rigault, or Rigaud, Hyacinth, his portrait of Prior, vi, 237.
- Right of Precedence between Physicians and Civilians*, iii, 75 n.
- Richings Park, Lord Bathurst's place in Bucks, iii, 312 n.; iv, 216.
- Rivers, Richard Savage, 4th Earl, i, 226, 227, 376, 377; character, i, 227 n.; at Harley's Saturday's dinners, i, 258; ii, 136 n.
- Riverston, Hyacinth Richard, 2nd Lord, vi, 52 n., 53.
- Riverston, Lady, wife of Hyacinth, her cause recommended to Lord Oxford and Lord Orrery, vi, 52, 53.
- Riverston, Thomas Nugent, 1st Lord, vi, 52 n.
- Rivington, Charles, publisher, v, 175 n.
- Robartes, John, 2nd Lord, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, i, 339 n.
- Robert (of Moor Park), i, 21 n., 22.
- Robert, Swift's valet, iii, 146.
- Robin, Sheridan's servant, iii, 242.
- Robinson, Anastasia, singer, her connection with Lord Peterborough, iii, 370; iv, 11 n.
- Robinson, Dr., Mrs. Whiteway's medical attendant, v, 310.
- Robinson, Dr. John, Bishop of Bristol, i, 187; Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, i, 315; Lord Privy Seal, i, 315 n.; translated to London, ii, 141, 292; iii, 16 n.; iv, 468; named as Commissioner of the Treasury, ii, 193.
- Robinson, Leonard, Sir W. Temple's servant, i, 22 n.
- Robinson, Margaret, "Peggy," sister to Anastasia, married to George Arbuthnot, iv, 11; death, iv, 102.
- Robinson, Sir William (1), i, 56; account of, i, 56 n.; his intimacy with the Vanhomrighs, i, 56 n.; iii, 455-457; Surveyor General, iii, 455.
- Robinson, Sir William (2), of Newby, i, 56 n.
- Rochefoucauld, François, Duc de la, his *Maximes*, ii, 44; iii, 202, 297; iv, 277; v, 77, 273; signifying Swift's *On His own Death*, vi, 107-112.
- Rochester, Bishop of. *See* Atterbury.
- Rochester, Bridge at, v, 230.
- Rochester, Laurence Hyde, 1st Earl of, Lord Treasurer, and Lord President of the Council, i, 58, 225; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, i, 97 n., 225; death, i, 262; iv, 134 n.
- Rochester, Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of, afterwards 4th Earl of Clarendon, iv, 10 n., 134 n.
- Rochester, Countess of, wife of the 2nd Earl, daughter of Sir W. Leveson Gower, "Swift's mistress," iv, 134, 175.
- Rochfort, Lady Elizabeth or Betty, wife of George, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Drogheda, ii, 80 n.; acquaintance with Archbishop King, iii, 102; entertains Swift at Gaulstown, iii, 102; in Dublin, iii, 128; ill, iii, 141; her profligate son, v, 308, 311, 312.
- Rochfort, George, son of Robert, entertains Swift at Gaulstown, ii, 279-281, 316, 318, 321, 332, 356; iii, 9, 84, 85, 96-104; and Chetwode, ii, 279-281, 303; his house at Gaulstown, ii, 280; iii (illustrated), 96, 98, 103; his marriage, ii, 280 n.; his Easter house-party, iii, 127, 128; reads the Classics with Swift, iii, 128; his Dublin house, iii, 215; and *Country Life*, iii, 215 n.; iv, 303; and Dan Jackson, iv, 96; his profligate son, v, 308, 311, 312, 322, 330, 337, 341.
- Rochfort, John, M.P. for Ballyshannon, called "Nim" or "Nimrod," son of Robert, iii, 128; intimacy with Swift, iv, 236 n.; v, 261 n., 322; Stella's executor, iv, 462; v, 261 n.; franks Swift's letters, v, 261, 269, 274, 275, 279; his political career, v, 261 n.; worried by his brother's son, v, 308, 311, 312, 330, 337, 341; and Sheridan, v, 308, 311, 322, 330, 337, 338, 347; at New Park, v, 337, 347; on Swift's Lunacy Commission, vi, 182-185.
- Rochfort, Mrs. John, born Staunton, probably the "Very Young Lady," v, 261 n.
- Rochfort, Robert, Chief Baron of England, and Chetwode, ii, 257-260, 285, 289, 290, 292, 299; account of, ii, 257 n.; relations with Swift, ii, 266, 273, 289, 293, 295, 318; and the Bishop of Meath, ii, 276; gives Gaulstown to his son George, ii, 280 n.; called "old Lombard Street," ii, 285; his brothers-in-law, ii, 289; his law business in England, ii, 321, 389; friendship with the Jacksons, iii, 103 n.; and George West, iii, 128 n.; palsied, iii, 141.
- Rochfort, Mrs. Robert, born Handcock, ii, 289 n.

- Roe, Stephen, reader at St. Werburgh's, v, 383.
- Roffen, *i.e.* Atterbury, *q.v.*, iii, 77.
- Rogerson, John, Attorney-General for Ireland, iii, 154, 187, 234 *n.*; account of, iii, 164 *n.*
- Rolfinckius, Guernerus, v, 237.
- Rollin, Charles, his *History of the Ancients*, v, 376, 425.
- Rollinson, William, his good offices to Stopford, iii, 325, 326, 346, 348, 353; account of, iii, 325 *n.*; esteem for Swift, iii, 352; kindness to Gay, iv, 72.
- Rollinson, Mrs., iii, 325 *n.*; iv, 72.
- Rolt, Patty, Swift's cousin, i, 382-384, 386; deserted by her husband, i, 382 *n.*; Swift's gifts of money to, ii, 172; iv, 221, 241, 318; marries William Lancelot, iii, 341 *n.*; iv, 37 *n.*, 177, 178; Swift stays with when ill, iii, 410, 416, 417; goes with Swift to Hammersmith, iii, 421; loses her jointure through the Duke of Grafton, iv, 178; Swift's affection for, iv, 178; v, 254; acquaintance with Motte, iv, 318, 319, 367, 368, 384; v, 243.
- Rolt, Mr., possibly Patty's son, at Westminster School, ii, 300.
- Roman Catholics in Ireland, imprisoned, i, 98; movement for their conversion, i, 273, 274; *and see* Richardson.
- Rome, triumphs in, i, 162, 163.
- Romney, Earl. *See* Sydney.
- Rooke, Admiral Sir George, ii, 211 *n.*; iv, 443.
- Rooke, George (1), a Quaker linen draper, probably related to Swift, and the verse from the 1st Book of Samuel, iii, 220.
- Rooke, George (2), son of George (1), his verses, ii, 330; iii, 220 *n.*
- Rooke, Matthew, son of Swift's cousin, i, 367, 368.
- Rooke, Mrs., Swift's cousin, i, 367 *n.*, 368.
- Rooke, Mrs., daughter-in-law of Admiral Rooke, her friendship for Miss Kelly, iv, 443; v, 5, 6, 33.
- Roscoe, E. S., his *Robert Harley*, ii, 78 *n.*
- Roscoe, Thomas, his edition of Swift's *Works*, i, vii, *et passim*.
- Roscommon, Wentworth Dillon, 4th Earl of, ii, 26 *n.*, 290 *n.*
- Roscommon, Lady, widow of the 4th Earl, married to Thomas Carter, of Robertstown, and the living of Moymet, ii, 26.
- Roseingrave, Daniel, organist in Dublin, ii, 59 *n.*
- Roseingrave, Thomas, son of Daniel, recommended by Prior to Swift, ii, 59; account of, ii, 59 *n.*; organist at St. Patrick's, ii, 77, 298; suspected of taking a bribe, iii, 22, 23; his son, iii, 22, 23; to examine Lovelace, iii, 46.
- Ross, Ralph, 1st Earl of, iv, 401 *n.*
- Ross, The Man of. *See* Kyrle.
- Rotton, John, brother-in-law of Bishop Sterne, i, 55; v, 105 *n.*
- Round Tower at Swords, i, 119 *n.*
- Rousham, Colonel Dormer's place in Oxfordshire, iv, 285.
- Rowe, Nicholas, afterwards Poet Laureate, relations with Swift, ii, 288; iii, 117; v, 396, 466; death, iii, 22.
- Rowley, Hercules, M.P. for Londonderry, nephew of Sir Arthur Langford, ii, 251; his article on the Bank of Ireland, iii, 108.
- Rowley, Captain William, v, 142.
- Rowley, Mrs. William, niece of Joshua Dawson, v, 142 *n.*
- Royal Academy of Music, The, iv, 11, 16.
- Royal Chair, The, Bury Street, iii, 303 *n.*
- Royal, Princess. *See* Anne.
- Royal Society, The, i, 154 *n.*
- Roxburgh, John, 1st Duke of, on the Council of Regency, ii, 217 *n.*
- Rundle, Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Derry, not appointed to Gloucester on account of his opinions, v, 146, 147, 193, 211-213; vi, 98 *n.*; acquaintance with Swift, v, 227, 302; vi, 19; character, v, 227, 242, 243, 303; drinks no wine, v, 227; and Pope, v, 242, 303; vi, 19; politics, v, 302 *n.*, 303; admiration of Boves' eloquence, v, 460; on Swift's carriage, vi, 180 *n.*
- Rushpoint, *i.e.*, Portrush, ii, 8; vi, 243.
- Russell. *See* Orford.
- Rutty, John, his *Mineral Waters of Ireland*, iv, 48 *n.*, 456 *n.*
- Ryder, Sir Dudley, Attorney-General, vi, 110.
- Ryder Street, iii, 132, 137.

- Rymer, Thomas, archaeologist, death, ii, 419; his *Foedera*, v, 371, 372.
- Rysbrack, Johan Michel, sculptor, iii, 408 n.; iv, 63 n.
- Ryves, Jerome, Dean of St. Patrick's, i, 45, 53 n.; iv, 285 n.; account of, i, 45 n.
- Ryves, Sir Richard, brother of the Dean, iv, 285 n.
- Ryves, Lady, sister of Philip Savage, iv, 285 n.
- Ryves, William, son of Sir Richard, his lawsuit with David Bindon, iv, 285, 302, 314.
- Ryswick, Treaty of, i, 348; iii, 456.
- Sabin, Mr., of New Bond Street, in possession of Swift's letters, iii, 40 n.; iv, 15 n., 382 n.
- Sacheverell, Rev. Henry, Rector of Selattyn, his trial, i, 185 n., 317; ii, 31 n.; iv, 379; Swift gets a place for his brother, i, 316, 317; his name used as a party cry by the Oxford Ministry, i, 316 n.; ii, 119 n., 225; iv, 72; his pupil Lloyd, i, 317; relations with Swift, i, 317 n., 386.
- "Sacheverell, The Irish." See Higgins.
- Sacramental Test. See Test.
- Sackville, Lord George, son of the 1st Duke of Dorset, inherits Sir John Germain's estate, i, 110 n.; Lady Betty Germain recommends him to Swift, iv, 297; at Dublin University, iv, 297 n.; v, 125; account of, iv, 297 n.; his tutor, Dr. Whitcomb, iv, 297 n.; v, 81 n.; and the deputy clerkship, v, 184; his account of Swift's encounter with Boulter, vi, 206, 207.
- Saggart, ii, 56, 280 n.
- St. Albans, i, 153 n.; ii, 43, 45.
- St. Albans, Charles, 1st Duke of, v, 349 n.
- St. Albans, Duchess of, widow of the 1st Duke, and Mrs. Barber, v, 443.
- St. Alban's Street, i, 238.
- St. André, Nathaniel, anatomist to George I, iii, 344, 362 n.
- St. Asaph, Bishop of. See Barrow, Hay.
- St. Asaph, bishopric of, i, 83.
- St. Clement's Church, iv, 384.
- St. David's, Bishop of. See Bisse.
- St. Dunstan's Coffeehouse, ii, 175, 177, 180, 181, 192, 231.
- Saint German, Christopher, his *Doctor and Student*, ii, 219.
- St. George, George, 1st Lord, i, 375 n.
- St. George, Sir George, of Dunmore, i, 376 n.
- St. George's Coffeehouse, iv, 475.
- St. George's Hospital, ii, 45 n.
- St. James', Westminster, iii, 35 n.
- St. James' Coffeehouse, i, 101, 114, 118, 144, 221, 224; v, 50.
- St. James' Palace, iii, 38 n.
- St. James' Park, vi, 244.
- St. James' Place, ii, 13.
- St. James' Square, iii, 353.
- St. James' Street, ii, 13; iii, 137.
- St. John, Sir Andrew, ii, 412 n.
- St. John, Lady, widow of Sir Andrew, of Woodford, ii, 412.
- St. John, Mrs. Frances, wife of Henry, afterwards Viscountess Bolingbroke. See Winchcombe.
- St. John, Sir Henry, created Viscount, ii, 313; his robust old age, iv, 11, 12, 134, 277, 416, 431; v, 404, 419.
- St. John, Henry, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke, son of Sir Henry, his Correspondence with Swift, i, vi, ix; iii, 452, 453; v, 422; vi, 156, 171, 173, 202-204, 218; Secretary at War, i, 74; resigns his office, i, 74 n.; relations with Lord Peterborough, i, 74 n., 245; ii, 136; relations with Anne, i, 75, 226; ii, 121, 197 n.; Secretary of State, i, 195 n.; ii, 223-225; iii, 310, 320, 432; iv, 104, 105, 136; introduced to Swift by Harley, i, 206; wishes Swift to preach before the Queen, i, 219 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 229, 230; his relations with Swift, i, 231, 232, 246 n., 258, 259, 385; ii, 78 n., 210, 222-226, 229, 286, 343, 348, 352; iii, 24, 25, 179, 183, 259, 325 n.; iv, 33, 35, 36, 102, 104, 109, 152, 154, 193; v, 96, 177, 375, 396, 466; vi, 101; his relations with Harley, i, 236 n., 253, 279, 331; ii, 31 n., 78, 121, 122 n., 137, 139, 158, 162, 176, 181, 182, 185, 189, 190, 192, 193, 199, 214 n., 222, 223, 228, 229; iii, 25, 30, 114, 117, 185, 208; iv, 104, 397 n.; v, 20, 21, 38, 41, 130; relations with Guiscard, i, 238-240, 242, 243; abused by the Irish Whigs, i, 246 n.; and the libel on Archbishop King, i, 247, 251, 255; health, i, 249; ii, 334; iii, 25, 207, 283, 381, 449; iv,

35, 105, 207, 208; v, 66, 67, 397; vi, 88; forbidden to drink Burgundy or Champagne, i, 249; his defence of Brydges, i, 253*n.*; and Swift's preferment, i, 254, 307; ii, 4, 5; at Harley's Saturday dinners, i, 256; ii, 136; and Hill's expedition, i, 266; takes Swift to Windsor, i, 274*n.*, 288; and Convocation, i, 277; his quarrel with the Duke of Somerset, i, 278, 279; and Harcourt, i, 279; ii, 192; at Hampton Court, i, 304; revises the *Conduct of the Allies*, i, 304; iii, 458; and Steele, i, 304; ii, 27, 34; and Sacheverell, i, 317; and Marlborough, i, 323*n.*; presents to Anne a petition concerning the longitude, i, 324, 325; created Viscount Bolingbroke, i, 336*n.*; his mission to Paris in 1712, i, 336*n.*, 339, 340; ii, 348; and Watkins, i, 356, 357; kindness to Harrison, i, 357, 358; correspondence with Prior, ii, 18*n.*, 19, 78*n.*; and the Society, ii, 24, 25, 297; and Diaper, ii, 25; and the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 78*n.*, 101*n.*, 171, 185, 215, 419; his wife's property at Bucklebury, ii, 79*n.*, 211, 239; and young Phipps, ii, 121; on Swift's retirement at Letcombe, ii, 146, 177, 178; and John Barber, ii, 146, 172, 177, 212-214, 418; v, 25, 167, 385*n.*, 402; and Parnell, ii, 158; iii, 129; and *Some Free Thoughts*, ii, 160*n.*, 170*n.*, 177-179, 188, 192, 218, 231, 235; iii, 114; and Lady Masham, ii, 162, 168, 182, 190; called "the Squire," ii, 162; called "Mercurialis," ii, 168, 182, 228; intrigues with the Duchess of Somerset against Oxford, ii, 168; his character, ii, 168, 337; iii, 31, 41, 170, 280, 281, 295, 296; iv, 77, 107; v, 4; and the Spanish Treaty, ii, 168, 169, 171; called "the Captain," ii, 176; endeavours to get the office of Historiographer for Swift, ii, 185, 196, 419; and Swift's induction grant, ii, 189, 202; urges Swift to return to town from Letcombe, ii, 205, 212-215, 217; induces Anne to make the Duke of Shrewsbury Lord Treasurer, ii, 207, 215; his position after the death of Anne, ii, 211, 213, 214, 216, 217, 223-226, 397; endeavours to reconcile the Duchess of Somerset to Swift, ii, 212; and Sir William

Wyndham, ii, 214*n.*, 277; iii, 353; dismissed from office, ii, 237, 238; relations with George I, ii, 237*n.*, 331; iii, 27, 388*n.*, 397; flees to France, ii, 277, 278, 285, 291; iii, 17; joined by Ford, ii, 277, 285, 325*n.*, 335; iii, 258, 259; his relations with the Pretender, ii, 277*n.*, 312, 313, 325*n.*, 331, 348, 349, 352; iii, 27*n.*, 28*n.*; vi, 22; his supposed letter, written by Atterbury, ii, 278; impeached, ii, 283, 285; iii, 23, 24; his connection and marriage with the Marquise de Villette, ii, 327*n.*; iii, 23, 109, 170, 376*n.*; iv, 209, 254, 255; assumes the name of "Monsieur Charlot," ii, 334; reported pardon, ii, 343, 348, 352, 362, 393; iii, 27; ordered to retire from Paris, ii, 361; and Swift's intercepted letters, ii, 421; his philosophy, iii, 25, 27, 30, 43, 170-172, 210, 291; iv, 97-99, 105, 107, 109, 208, 253; v, 4; his mottoes, iii, 25, 112; his proposed *History of His Own Times*, iii, 25, 26, 31, 42, 43, 31, 208; iv, 75, 110, 135, 252, 253, 289, 425, 431; vi, 38, 41, 88, 92, 94, 95, 130; his paraphrase of Horace, iii, 26*n.*, 27, 32, 43, 208; his relations with Ormond, iii, 28*n.*; his financial affairs, iii, 40, 89, 90, 109, 110; iv, 39, 40; v, 403; his religious views, iii, 93, 208-210, 295; iv, 250-252, 254; his literary style, iii, 93*n.*, 94*n.*; his portrait, iii, 95, 110, 112, 113, 172; v, 5; his retreat at Nogent-sur-Seine, iii, 109; his house in Paris, iii, 109, 113; his *Reflections upon Exile*, iii, 111; his inscriptions, iii, 112; and Gay, iii, 149, 357; iv, 21, 72, 270, 302; pardon and return to England, iii, 168, 170, *et seq.*; his metaphysical studies, iii, 171, 207; in Germany, iii, 172; restoration of his estates, iii, 176, 258; loses his seat in the House of Lords, iii, 176, 258, 259, 281; improved by his residence abroad, iii, 181; at Aix-la-Chapelle, iii, 183, 497; his *Noctes Gallicae*, iii, 210; his invitations and hospitality to Swift, iii, 211, 297, 303*n.*, 317, 379, 384; iv, 98, 99, 101, 142, 270, 277, 321, 322; v, 19; and Stopford, iii, 240, 379; v, 145; returns to England in 1725, iii, 258; and *Gulliver*, iii, 259, 323, 328*n.*, 359; allusions to Stella,

- iii, 211, 260, 377, 379; friendship with Pope, iii, 276, 296, 313, 335, 342, 343, 357, 396, 397; iv, 3, 8, 9, 33, 35, 36, 110, 117, 155, 289-291, 361; v, 78, 100, 101, 374, 408, 410; vi, 87, 88, 133; falls in the hunting field, iii, 279, 281; age, iii, 292; iv, 97, 104; watching card-playing, iii, 293; and Rochefoucauld, iii, 296, 297; his farm at Dawley, iii, 303 n., 323, 334, 341 n., 376, 377, 380, 392, 394, 432, 433; iv, 8, 12, 15, 35, 36, 100, 101, 136, 137, 198, 218, 309, 320 n., 362, 415; v, 409; friendship with Lord Bathurst, iii, 323, 448; iv, 134; offers to share Swift's correspondence with Pope and Gay, iii, 334; accident to his coach, with Pope inside, iii, 340, 342, 344; living at Cranford, iii, 340, 341, 397; his part in the Cheddar letter, iii, 343, 347, 349, 350; at his house in Pall Mall, iii, 353, 379, 380, 393, 394, 397; iv, 51; entertains Arbuthnot, Gay, and Pope at dinner, iii, 357; death of his first wife, iii, 376 n.; the "Occasional Writer" to *The Craftsman*, iii, 375 n., 392-394; iv, 255, 256; v, 177; author of *The Prince of Lilliput to Stella*, iii, 383; relations with George II, iii, 383 n., 397 n.; and the Duchess of Kendal, iii, 388 n.; his opposition to Walpole, iii, 388 n.; iv, 273; v, 177 n.; offers Swift letters of introduction in France, iii, 394; relations with Lord Berkeley, iii, 397 n.; v, 169 n.; his family seat, iv, 12 n.; at Bath, iv, 32, 35; his abstinence, iv, 35, 315, 415; v, 105, 144; Swift sends him usquebaugh, iv, 47, 48, 62; his lawsuit concerning his first wife's property, iv, 75; his extravagance, iv, 39, 40, 75, 76, 98, 105, 322, 416; v, 282, 403; called "Aristippus," iv, 77; gives Swift some books, iv, 78; acquaintance with Chetwode, iv, 95; at Brussels, iv, 97; his *Essays on Philosophy*, iv, 98 n., 277, 289; v, 31 n., 92, 102, 118; at Ostend, iv, 99; at Calais, iv, 99, 100; his birth, iv, 104, 105; messages to and from, iv, 114, 170, 177, 220, 238, 302, 396, 417, 445; v, 45; vi, 113; patronage of Wesley, iv, 130; staying with Chetwynd in town, iv, 138; supposed to have inspired Pope's *Essay on Man*, iv, 155 n., 197, 253, 254, 277; v, 67, 118; to subscribe to the *Dublin Miscellany*, iv, 168; his endeavours to procure an English benefice for Swift, iv, 207, 250, 277, 319-321; and Dr. Delany, iv, 250-252, 289, 290, 295, 481; joins Pulteney in opposition, iv, 273; legacy from Disney, iv, 276; his way of life, v, 19; and Faulkner, v, 66; and Pilkington, v, 67; goes back to France, v, 169, 252, 282, 315, 375, 404, 410, 419; vi, 75; his *Use of Retirement*, v, 315, 321; his *Historical Essays*, v, 315, 321, 393; scandal about, v, 374, 375, 397; and the *Four Last Years*, vi, 21, 37, 79 n., 130; returned to England, vi, 87, 91, 94, 107; sells Dawley to pay his debts, vi, 87 n., 88, 92, 123, 129; and the presentation of Swift's portrait to the University of Oxford, vi, 119; goes back to France, vi, 129, 130, 178; his epistolary style, vi, 169.
- St. Kilda, the "tribunus plebis" of, ii, 193.
- St. Lawrence, Hon. Henry, brother of Lord Howth, his duel with Hamilton Gorges, v, 202 n.
- St. Mary's, Ladies of. *See* Johnson.
- St. Patrick's Cathedral, i, 41 n.; its steeple, ii, 28, 29, 33, 37; its choir, ii, 73, 74; iii, 98, 305; and the Earl of Abercorn's lease from its Vicars choral, ii, 113, 114, 121, 242; iv, 346 n.; monuments in, iv, 82, 84, 86, 143; its Chapter, iv, 82 n., 84, 143; vi, 119 n.; Liberty of, vi, 1, 9, 10.
- St. Patrick's, Dean of. *See* Bernard, Corbet, King, Lindsay, Ryves, Stearne, Swift.
- St. Patrick's, Deanery of, i, 53, 54; ii, 21 n., 56, 85; its constitution, ii, 307-311.
- Salamander, Description of a*, i, 119 n.
- Sale, John, trustee to Francis Harrison, iii, 254.
- Salisbury, iv, 135, 158, 207; Plain or Downs, iii, 416; iv, 174.
- Salisbury, Bishop of. *See* Burnet, Hay, Hoadly, Talbot.
- Salisbury, Deanery of, its constitution, ii, 306-313; iii, 71, 72.
- Salt, Richard, and the *Athenian Gazette*, i, 7 n.
- Salter, Dr., on Swift's relations with Wharton, i, 148 n.

- Sam, probably Holt, *q.v.*, iii, 147.
- Samuel, 1st Book of, a verse applied to Swift, and chanted through the streets of Dublin, iii, 220 *n.*
- Sancroft, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Swift's *Ode* to, i, 363, 364.
- Sandes, Lancelot, of Kilkevan, brother-in-law of Colonel Pigott, iii, 81.
- Sandwell, Lord Dartmouth's seat, ii, 65.
- Sandys, Mr., v, 48, 49.
- Santry, Sir James Barry, 1st Lord, v, 437 *n.*
- Santry, Henry, 3rd Lord, and Higgins, i, 294; ii, 280 *n.*; account of, v, 437 *n.*
- Santry, Henry, 4th Lord, account of, v, 437 *n.*; Swift's advice to, v, 438, 439.
- Santry, Lady, born Domville, wife of the 3rd Lord, v, 437-439; vi, 183 *n.*; account of, v, 437 *n.*
- Saragossa or Zaragosa, Battle of, i, 197, 225, 226, 229.
- Sarpi, Paolo (Father Paul), iv, 253; vi, 245.
- Satirical Elegy, A*, iii, 359 *n.*
- Saturday dinners. *See* Harley.
- Saul, iii, 220.
- Saunders. *See* McGee.
- Saunderson, Mrs., v, 367.
- Saurin, Louis, Precentor of Christ Church, Dublin, iv, 1 *n.*
- Savage, Rt. Hon. Philip, Chancellor of the Exchequer, iv, 38 *n.*, 285 *n.*
- Savage, Richard, Earl Rivers. *See* Rivers.
- Savage, Vicar of Farnham, iv, 451.
- Savile, Sir George (1), iii, 233 *n.*
- Savile, Sir George (2), son of Sir George (1), iii, 233 *n.*; v, 168 *n.*
- Savile, Lady, wife of Sir George (1), daughter of Captain Pratt, iii, 233; v, 168.
- Savilian Professor of Astronomy. *See* Gregory, Keill.
- Savoy and the Peace of Utrecht, ii, 14.
- Savoy, Duke of. *See* Amadeus Victor.
- Sawbridge, Thomas, Dean of Ferns, indicted for a rape, iv, 161, 162.
- Scarellius, Antonius, v, 237.
- Scarborough, Richard, 2nd Earl of, iii, 358, 400, 401; account of, iii, 358 *n.*
- Scharff, Dr., on Frogs in Ireland, i, 58 *n.*
- "Scheffer, Frederick." *See* King.
- Schefferus, Sebastian, v, 237.
- Schism Act, The, ii, 122 *n.*, 146, 151.
- Schomberg, Charles, 2nd Duke of, iii, 459.
- Schomberg, Frederic, 1st Duke of, and Vanhomrigh, iii, 454, 455; his monument in St. Patrick's, iv, 85, 144, 218, 230, 231, 238, 243, 244, 247, 296; v, 144, 253; his epitaph, iv, 230, 231, 264-266; his part in the Revolution, iv, 244, 247.
- Schomberg, Lady Frederic, daughter of the 3rd Duke, afterwards Countess of Holderness and Countess Fitzwalter, visits the Vanhomrighs, iii, 459; and her grandfather's monument, iv, 85, 144, 218, 238.
- Schomberg, Lady Mary, daughter of the 3rd Duke, visits the Vanhomrighs, iii, 459; married to Christoph von Degenfeld, iv, 244; v, 253.
- Schrockius, Lucas, v, 237.
- Schultz, Augustus, and Patty Blount, iv, 13.
- Scipio, i, 249; v, 376.
- Scotland, French invasion of, i, 78, 80 *n.*, 81; Church of, i, 102, 103; Bill for the Dissolution of the Union with, ii, 41; malt tax in, ii, 41; peers of, ii, 41 *n.*, 129 *n.*; v, 147.
- Scott, John, appeals to Swift to promote an anatomical exhibition, vi, 138, 139.
- Scott, Sir Walter, his edition of Swift's *Works*, i, vii, *et passim*.
- Scotus, Joannes Duns, i, 377.
- Scriblerus, Club to write the Memoirs of Martin, ii, 145, 151, 155, 158, 159, 162, 163, 186, 254, 288, 416-419; iv, 29 *n.*; v, 399; account of, ii, 145 *n.*; visit of its envoys to Letcombe, ii, 418, 419.
- Scroggs, Captain, son of Sir William (2), v, 334, 335.
- Scroggs, Sir William (1), Chief Justice, iv, 227 *n.*
- Scroggs, Sir William (2), son of the Chief Justice, v, 335 *n.*
- Scroggs, Lady, widow of Sir William (2), v, 334, 335.
- Scrope, John, Baron of the Exchequer, and Fetherston, ii, 70, 72, 73, 157, 167; account of, ii, 70 *n.*
- Scudamore, James, 3rd Viscount, iv, 37 *n.*
- Scudamore, Lady, widow of the 3rd Viscount, iv, 37.
- Seaford, H.M.S., i, 61 *n.*

- Seasonable Advice*, iii, 224 n.
- Seatown, its restitution to the see of Dublin, i, 251.
- Sebizius, Melchior, v, 237.
- Second Solomon, The History of the*, iii, 433 n.; vi, 210, 211.
- Secrecy, Committee of, or Secret Committee, ii, 277, 278, 285; iii, 39.
- Secretary at War. *See* Pringle, St. John, Wyndham.
- Secretary of State. *See* Bennet, Boyle, Bromley, Dartmouth, St. John.
- Secretary of State in Ireland. *See* Carter, Southwell.
- Secretary of State, The French. *See* Chamillard.
- Selkirk, Charles, 2nd Earl of, "Harfax," said to be married to the Duchess of Monmouth, iv, 275.
- Semple, L., his *Building in Water*, iii, 139 n.
- Seneca, his spurious Correspondence with St. Paul, iii, 110, 111; confused with Rochefoucauld, iii, 297 n.; his *Letters*, iv, 142, 209; quoted, iv, 254; v, 78.
- Senesino, Francesco Bernardi, singer, iii, 155.
- Sentiments of a Church of England Man, The*, i, 111, 135 n.
- "Serjeant's Head, in Cornwall, The," i, 165.
- Settle, Elkanah, iv, 350 n.
- Seville, Treaty of, iv, 86.
- Seymour, Sir Edward, quoted by Chetwode, ii, 250.
- Shadwell, Sir John, physician to Queen Anne, ii, 207 n., 246; account of, ii, 246 n.
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st Earl of, i, 172 n.; iii, 41.
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of, his *Letter Concerning Enthusiasm*, i, 111, 136.
- Shakespeare, William, his Works, iii, 451; quoted and referred to, i, 45; ii, 24, 273, 274; iii, 7; iv, 20, 228, 277; vi, 39; Swift's knowledge of, iv, 112, 329 n.; monument to, iv, 463.
- Shannon, The, iv, 312.
- Shannon, Henry Boyle, 1st Earl of, iv, 313 n.
- Sharp or Sharpe, John, Archbishop of York, and the *Project*, i, 152; pre-judices Anne against Swift, i, 152 n.; ii, 21 n., 212 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 196, 209-211; death, ii, 162 n., 212 n.; reconciled to Swift, ii, 212 n.
- Sharp, Joseph, his *Lawyer's Tears*, iii, 160 n.
- "Sharp, Martha," *i.e.*, Lady Johnson, *q.v.*
- Sharpe, Rev. John, the friend of Robert Hunter, ii, 41, 42.
- Shaw, Thomas, his cause against Lord Dunsany, iv, 372, 373.
- Sheal, John, a hawker, v, 451.
- "Sheba's Garden," iii, 264.
- Sheen, Mrs. Anne. *See* Sheridan.
- Sheen, John, marries Anne Sheridan, v, 154, 155.
- Shelburne, Henry, 3rd Lord, his friendly relations with Swift, i, 188 n., 268 n.; v, 43, 168; created Earl, v, 43; his kindness to Mrs. Pratt, v, 43, 152; account of, v, 43 n.; presents Professor Denoue's anatomical models to Trinity College Medical School, vi, 138 n.
- Shelburne, John Fitzmaurice, Earl of. *See* Fitzmaurice.
- Shelburne, William, Earl of, v, 171 n.
- Sheldon, Gilbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Sir John Temple, i, 54 n.; and the Chetwodes, ii, 241 n.; his advice on marriage, iv, 123.
- Sheldon, Roger, i, 373.
- Shelton, Richard, and Prior, ii, 19; iii, 77.
- Sheppard, Anthony, senior, vi, 6.
- Sheppard, Anthony, junior, death, vi, 6.
- Sherard, Bennet, Lord, M.P. for Rutlandshire, ii, 413.
- Sheridan (of Shercock), probably related to Thomas, iii, 212 n., 233, 257, 258.
- Sheridan, Anne, daughter of Thomas (1), iii, 273; v, 208; vi, 212; her idleness, v, 154; marries John Sheen, v, 154, 155, 190, 208; sent to stay with Mrs. Perrott, v, 155.
- Sheridan, Counsellor, v, 200.
- Sheridan, Elizabeth or Betty, daughter of Thomas (1), iii, 242; vi, 212.
- Sheridan, Richard, son of Thomas (1), v, 312, 369, 462; account of, v, 313 n.
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, son of Thomas (2), iv, 230.
- Sheridan, Thomas (1), his Correspondence with Swift, i, vi; iii, 453; vi, 204; relations with Delany, iii, 18,

19; iv, 409; account of, iii, 18 n.; offends Swift by *The Funeral*, iii, 19; his relations with Swift, iii, 19 n., 79, 198, 324, 332; iv, 452, 458, 459; v, 211; vi, 106 n., 210-212, 222, 227; his school in Dublin, iii, 19 n., 55, 174, 234 n., 235, 246, 247, 250; iv, 41, 42, 408, 409; v, 148, 150, 151, 261 n.; vi, 12; arranges Swift's visit to Mr. Mathew of Thomastown, iii, 34 n.; his horses, iii, 83, 244, 275; his part in the *Wonderful Wonder*, etc., and the *Blunderful Blunder*, etc., iii, 125, 126; the performance by his scholars of Hippolytus, iii, 125 n.; libelled in rhyme, iii, 128; his house at Quilca, iii, 128, 131 n., 137 n., 146-148, 174, 191 n., 235-279; iv, 461; v, 209, 221; subscriptions for his boat, iii, 146, 147; robbed, iii, 147; his mock-Latin, fictitious and nonsense correspondence, iii, 177; iv, 297-300, 460; v, 73-75, 82, 83, 119, 120, 139, 191, 197, 207, 208, 239, 240, 445, 446; his inventory of the contents of Laracor, iii, 193 n., relations with Lord Carteret, iii, 234, 235, 244, 247, 263, 267, 268, 271, 272, 274, 275; v, 150; his scholarship, iii, 235, 247; v, 150; vi, 93; his ill-health, iii, 235, 268; iv, 408; v, 260, 266, 323, 333, 336, 337, 340, 341, 346, 347; vi, 93; his servants, iii, 241, 242, 275; v, 201; his visits to Dublin, iii, 241, 242; v, 230-232, 239, 287, 292, 347, 373; and Tickell, iii, 241, 242, 270-273; a survey of his lands, iii, 243; character, iii, 243, 245-247, 267, 268, 271, 275; iv, 409; v, 191; presented with the living of Rincurran, iii, 244-247, 263, 270, 280; his friendship with Stella, iii, 245, 246, 314, 324, 327, 388, 389, 404, 419; iv, 460, 461; vi, 210; his Jacobitism, iii, 245; and the head-mastership of Armagh School, iii, 250; v, 343; and the *Address to Both Houses of Parliament*, iii, 266; in Cork, iii, 266; iv, 41; his unfortunate sermon, iii, 266-270, 280, 289, 346, 431 n.; loses his chaplaincy and is forbidden to appear at the Castle, iii, 266, 272, 273; his age, iii, 267; his children, iii, 268, 273; v, 154, 155, 190, 191, 208, 259, 260, 292, 312; vi, 212; and Bishop Bolton, iii, 271; and Tighe, iii, 272, 273; iv,

42; v, 208; his gift from the Archdeacon of Cork, iii, 274; receives the degree of Doctor of Divinity, iii, 315; and Stopford, iii, 347; his gifts to Swift, iii, 399; v, 209, 210, 323, 361, 362, 364, 365, 379; his translation of the *Satires of Persius*, iii, 402; his verses on Stella's sickness, iii, 403; and Pope, iii, 421, 433; iv, 6, 49; and the *Holyhead Journal*, iii, 425 n., 426 n.; iv, 4; meets Swift on his return to Ireland in 1727, iii, 426; his house at Rathfarnham, iii, 433; takes a tour with Swift in the south-east of Ireland, iv, 33 n.; friendship with the Achesons, iv, 38 n., 42, 53; vi, 210; Archbishop King's rebuke to, iv, 41 n.; suggested removal to Hamilton's Bawn, iv, 42; and Primate Boulter, iv, 44; and Whaley and Walmesley, iv, 44; his verses upon Ballyspellan, iv, 48; vi, 211; and the *Intelligencer*, iv, 61, 307, 308, 485; his proposed *Treatise upon English Bulls*, iv, 162, 163, 168; a frolic with Mrs. Pilkington in Swift's cellar, iv, 236 n.; attacked by Tisdall, iv, 305 n.; acts in the mock trial at Ardsallagh, iv, 371 n.; his will, iv, 408, 409; v, 155 n.; vi, 212; injured by a rival school, iv, 409; v, 73, 82 n.; his *Collection of Bons-Mots*, iv, 409; v, 239; vi, 24; rides with Swift to Tallagh, iv, 442 n.; visits Stella at Woodpark, iv, 461; executor to Stella, iv, 462; and the Worralls, v, 50; answers Swift's *Irish Eloquence*, v, 50, 51; and the McGwyres, v, 51, 463; exchanges his living for that of Dunboyne, v, 82 n.; exchanges Dunboyne for a school at Cavan, v, 82 n., 150, 151, 153-156, 170, 188-194, 197, 198, 239, 240, 299, 300, 308, 309, 331; at Castle Hamilton, v, 83, 84, 114 n., 119-121; his desire to visit England, v, 101, 445, 446, 462; persuades Swift to write to Blachford, v, 114 n.; acquaintance with the Perrotts, v, 119, 155; his property at Drumlane, v, 119; puts his money in Swift's strong box, v, 121; and Eaton Stannard, v, 139; and Andrew Fitzherbert, v, 148, 150; and the Duke of Dorset, v, 150, 299, 300; his unhappy relations with his wife, v, 154, 155, 191, 198, 300; vi, 212; and Mrs. Whiteway, v, 191, 192,

- 199, 317, 318, 329, 330, 336, 337, 341, 343, 355, 362, 373, 374, 379, 380, 393-395; vi, 25, 210, 211; signs a document admitting his optimistic disposition, v, 191 *n.*, 453; Swift's loan to, v, 200, 209, 292, 312, 323, 330, 368, 379; his debt to the Bishop of Kilmore, v, 200, 209; cheated by William Sheridan, v, 200; death, v, 200 *n.*; vi, 106, 211, 212; his improvements at Cavan, v, 209, 210, 219, 220; entertains Swift at Cavan, v, 219, 247-249, 251, 252, 259-262, 266, 366, 367; his domestic economy, v, 259-263, 270, 275, 285-287, 340-343, 347, 348, 361, 362; his dog Lampey, v, 262; friendship with Lord Clancarty, v, 266; vi, 23, 24; collecting subscriptions for a school house, v, 292; plays backgammon, v, 292; and the Rochforts, v, 308, 311, 312, 322, 337, 338, 347; his *Dialogue between Lady Betty Tattle and John Solemn*, v, 308; his financial difficulties, v, 308, 309, 316, 317, 368, 369, 373, 380, 394; vi, 6; and Jones, v, 312; his dream of Cato, v, 316, 317; his Satire on Fairbrother, v, 317, 318, 322, 328, 330, 332, 333; his accounts with Mr. Macaulay and Mrs. Lucas, v, 335; anxious to become a Justice of the Peace, v, 335, 360; *The Legion Club* ascribed to, v, 342; his friendship with Carter, v, 355, 462; enlarges his house, v, 355; and Dr. King, v, 369; sends lake water to Molly Harrison, v, 379, 393, 394; his birthday poem to Swift, v, 394, 395; sends his son to Westminster, v, 445; at Dr. Grattan's, v, 453; his guests contribute towards Makkin's winding sheet, v, 456; and Mrs. Whiteway's son, v, 461; and John Browne, v, 462; his project of opening a school in London, v, 462; and Lord Orrery, v, 464; stays with Lady Mountcashel, vi, 23-25; his *Royal Birthday Ode*, vi, 211; gives up his school at Cavan, vi, 211; doubts as to his sanity, vi, 211, 212.
- Sheridan, The Character of*, vi, 212, 219.
- Sheridan, Mrs. Thomas (1), born MacFadden, iii, 147, 174; v, 232, 235, 263, 271, 292, 340, 341, 347, 354, 355, 367, 373, 379, 395; vi, 212; her idleness and bad temper, iv, 408, 409; v, 50, 154, 155, 189-191, 259, 260, 285, 286, 329, 333; disliked by Stella and Mrs. Dingley, iv, 460; marries her daughter, v, 154, 155; ill-treats her maidservant, v, 198; called "Diabolissam," v, 311; and her sons, v, 369.
- Sheridan, Thomas (2), son of Thomas (1), his edition of Swift's *Works and Life of Swift*, i, vi, *et passim*; marries Miss Chamberlain, iv, 230 *n.*; Swift's opinion of, v, 312; described by Samuel Johnson, v, 312 *n.*; at Westminster School, v, 312 *n.*, 445, 462; and his mother, v, 369; at Trinity College, Dublin, v, 369 *n.*; vi, 24.
- Sheridan, Mrs. Thomas (2), born Chamberlain, iv, 230 *n.*
- Sheridan, William (1), Bishop of Kilmore, i, 8 *n.*, 37 *n.*
- Sheridan, William (2), runs away in Thomas Sheridan's debt, v, 200.
- Sheriff, Swift loses money by, iii, 252.
- Sherlock, Thomas, Master of the Temple, ii, 68.
- Sherwin, Dr. William, v, 48.
- Shiell, John, Swift's wine merchant, v, 185, 270, 275-278, 288.
- Shipman, Rev. Robert, Rector of Compton, i, 13 *n.*
- Shirley, Mr., son of Lord Ferrers, his claim on Chetwode, owing to Jackman's absconding, iv, 88, 92-94.
- Short View of the State of Ireland, A*, iii, 83 *n.*; iv, 82 *n.*, 308, 342 *n.*
- Shovell, Cloudesley, Admiral, ii, 211 *n.*
- Shower, Rev. John, and the Bill against Occasional Conformity, i, 310 *n.*, 390-392.
- Shrewsbury, Charles, 1st Duke of, his correspondence quoted, i, 18 *n. et passim*; relations with Harley, i, 195; ii, 185, 189; appointed Lord Chamberlain, i, 195 *n.*; and the First Fruits, i, 196, 197; Lord Lieutenant, i, 199, 315, 319-321, 323, 325, 326; ii, 67, 69 *n.*, 72, 79, 81, 84, 91, 102 *n.*, 103, 108, 111, 187; v, 89 *n.*; vi, 145 *n.*, 233 *n.*, 234 *n.*; character, i, 326; ii, 79; iii, 115; at Windsor, i, 339; ii, 67; Swift dines and plays ombre with, i, 339, 340; goes to Paris, i, 355 *n.*; ii, 14 *n.*, 60; and H. M. Davenant, ii, 83; his efforts to conciliate Dublin City and Castle, ii, 100, 101 *n.*; relations with Boling-

- broke, ii, 101 *n.*, 171, 185, 189, 215; and the Primacy, ii, 103, 108 *n.*; and the Irish Speakership, ii, 117 *n.*; and Manley, ii, 125; resigns the Lord Lieutenancy, ii, 138, 179; endeavours to reconcile Oxford and Bolingbroke, ii, 179, 187; and the Office of Historiographer, ii, 185, 419; iii, 115; Lord Treasurer, ii, 205, 207, 215; on the Council of Regency, ii, 213 *n.*; to lead the Tory party, ii, 215 *n.*; expected impeachment, ii, 292; rumoured flight to France, ii, 295; entertaining Prior at Heythrop, ii, 401.
- Shrewsbury, Duchess of, wife of the 1st Duke, daughter of the Marquis of Paleotti, i, 315; ii, 60; and Archbishop King, i, 315, 319, 323; ii, 103; account of, i 315 *n.*; calls Swift "Presto," i, 315 *n.*; at Windsor, i, 338, 339; ii, 67; her ball, i, 338, 339; plays ombre with Swift, i, 338, 339; and Mrs. Touchet, i, 340 *n.*; going to France, i, 355; scandal about, ii, 103 *n.*
- Shute, John, afterwards Viscount Barrington, Secretary to Lord Wharton, i, 127, 128, 136; account of, i, 128 *n.*
- Shuttleworth, Mrs. Anne, v, 33.
- Siam, King of, v, 76.
- Sibylla Cumaea, iv, 228.
- Sican, Mrs. E., wife of John (1), her acquaintance with Swift, iv, 121; v, 272, 286; vi, 184 *n.*, 191, 195; Swift gives her a letter of introduction to Pope, iv, 121, 140, 149; account of, iv, 121 *n.*; acquaintance with Stella, iv, 121 *n.*; sees the ostrich, iv, 140; social circle in Dublin, v, 265, 266; and Mrs. Whiteway, v, 284, 287; and C. Donnellan, v, 356.
- Sican, John (1), Dublin merchant, on the Grand Jury, iv, 121 *n.*; juryman on Swift's lunacy, vi, 184, 185.
- Sican, Dr. John (2), son of John (1), in Paris, v, 265, 286; recommended to Róbert Arbuthnot, v, 267; and Ramsay, v, 267; vi, 49 *n.*, 50; account of, v, 267 *n.*; murdered, v, 267 *n.*
- Sichel, Mr. Walter, his *Sheridan*, iii, 18 *n.*
- Sicilian Ambassador, *The*, ii, 146.
- Sicily, ii, 138.
- Sicily, King of. *See* Victor Amadeus.
- Sid Hamet, the Magician's Rod*, i, 298 *n.*
- Sidney, Sir Philip, iv, 78.
- Singleton, Henry, Prime Serjeant, son of Rowland, ii, 272 *n.*; v, 122 *n.*, 172; and Richardson, v, 140; vi, 88, 105; account of, v, 140 *n.*; his niece married to Philip Tisdall, vi, 134 *n.*
- Singleton, Rowland, ii, 272.
- Sion House, v, 302.
- Skerrett, his petition to the House of Lords, v, 134, 135.
- Skerrett, Maria, Walpole's mistress identified with Gay's "Polly," iv, 51 *n.*; married to Walpole, vi, 52.
- Skull, iii, 173 *n.*, 468.
- Slane, Baron. *See* Fleming.
- Slingsby, Sir Thomas, i, 110 *n.*
- Sloane, Dr., afterwards Sir Hans, Secretary of the Royal Society, i, 153, 154 *n.*, 161, 162.
- "Sluttery, *The*," iii, 137.
- Smallpox, ii, 344; iv, 16, 21, 286 *n.*, 313, 316, 365; v, 368; vi, 12 *n.*
- Smalridge, George, Dean of Carlisle and Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, ii, 68; v, 466; recommends Fiddes to Swift, ii, 68, 69, 106, 107; account of, ii, 68 *n.*; and the *Tale of a Tub*, ii, 68 *n.*; and the primacy, ii, 108 *n.*; and Atterbury's quarrels, ii, 310 *n.*; and Addison, iii, 16; and Berkeley, iii, 212.
- Smedley, Jonathan, Dean of Clogher and Killala, attacks Swift in *Gulliveriana*, i, xxii *n.*; ii, 52 *n.*, 351 *n.*, 352; vi, 244; his sermon on the birthday of the Prince of Wales, ii, 351, 352.
- Smith, Swift's tenant, ii, 282.
- Smith, Dr., i, 71, 178, 382.
- Smith, Edmund, author of *Phædra*, v, 399.
- Smith, Edward, Bishop of Down, his debt to Swift, ii, 359, 380, 386, 387.
- Smith, Erasmus, his endowments at Trinity College, iv, 1 *n.*, 59 *n.*; founds Tipperary Grammar School, v, 370 *n.*
- Smith, John, Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigns with Godolphin, i, 194.
- Smith, Mr., and Sheridan's justiceship, v, 336.
- Smith, Skeffington Randal, iii, 436 *n.*
- Smyth, a grazier, v, 200.
- Smyth, George, of Nitley, i, 306.
- "Smyth, Mrs." *See* Long.
- Smyth, Sir Thomas, Uncle to Dr. William King, his connection with Lady Bellew, v, 458, 459.
- Snape, Andrew, Provost of King's Col-

- lege, and Canon of Windsor, his reply to Hoadly, ii, 389; iii, 130 n.; account of, ii, 389 n.; recommends some choristers to Swift, iii, 130.
- Sobieski, Princess, married to the Pretender, iv, 327 n.
- Society, The, or the Brothers' Club, i, 336 n., 337 n.; ii, 18, 25, 138, 141 n., 270 n., 398; iii, 49, 70 n., 140, 182, 183, 350 n.; iv, 276 n.
- Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, The. *See* Promoting.
- Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, The. *See* Propagation.
- Socrates, i, 68, 176; iv, 460; v, 290; vi, 57.
- Soldier and Scholar. See* Hamilton's *Bawn*.
- Solicitor-General for England. *See* Harcourt, Raymond.
- Solicitor-General for Ireland. *See* Bernard, Brodrick, Forster, Jocelyn, Levinge, Rogerson, Tisdall, Whitshed.
- Solomon, iii, 380; v, 290.
- Solon, iii, 91.
- Somers, John, 1st Lord, his relations with Swift, i, 39, 85 n., 86, 155 n., 157, 176, 383, 384; iii, 118; v, 186, 466; on the Occasional Conformity Bill, i, 39; and the First Fruits, i, 61, 65, 87, 88, 92; his enmity to Harley, i, 76 n.; his cautious nature, i, 76 n.; iii, 41; Lord President, i, 85, 116, 135, 156; and Prince George, i, 85 n.; his relations with Marlborough, i, 85 n.; with Godolphin, i, 85 n.; with Queen Anne, i, 85 n.; endeavours to reconcile Wharton and Swift, i, 148 n.; and Richard Freeman, i, 214 n.; dismissed from office, i, 225 n.; his mean extraction, iii, 41; and Addison, iii, 118; his "humdrum parson," iv, 219.
- Somerset, Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of, leaves the Council in protest against Harley's Memorial, i, 75; at Windsor, i, 278; his quarrel with the Harley Ministry, i, 278, 279, 312, 313; vi, 79; at Ascot Races, i, 278, 312; Master of the Horse, i, 278 n.; loses his place, i, 310, 313, 314; dines at Greenwich, ii, 202; at Anne's last Council, ii, 206 n., 215 n.; his daughter, iv, 221 n.
- Somerset, Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of, wife of the 6th Duke, her enmity towards Swift, i, 239 n.; ii, 21 n., 212, 218; vi, 242; attacked in the *Windsor Prophecy*, i, 278 n., 310 n.; succeeds the Duchess of Marlborough as Mistress of the Robes, i, 279; her influence with Anne, i, 279, 310 n.; ii, 21 n.; her antagonism to the Harley Ministry, i, 313; ii, 168; her relations with Lady Masham, ii, 168; and Bolingbroke, ii, 168; on Sion House, v, 302; death, v, 302 n.; niece of the Countess of Essex, vi, 242.
- Somerville, Sir James, M.P., Lord Mayor of Dublin, and Edward Reilly, vi, 46; his farewell banquet, vi, 46 n., 206, 207; on Swift's Lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- Somerville, Rev. Thomas, v, 464.
- Sophia, Electress of Hanover, death, ii, 152.
- Sophia Dorothea, Queen, wife of George I, iv, 471.
- Sorrel, William III's horse, iii, 345.
- South, John, Commissioner of Revenue, ii, 73 n.
- South, Mrs., widow of John, ii, 73, 95.
- South, Dr. Robert, Prebendary of Westminster and Rector of Islip, i, 157, 165, 166, 176, 190; account of, i, 157 n.
- South Sea Company, The, i, 266 n.; ii, 148, 176, 238; iii, 49-51, 67 n., 68, 74, 75 n., 84 n., 104 n., 116, 121, 138 n., 141 n., 144 n., 154, 225; iv, 13 n., 61, 95, 221, 285, 293, 301, 302, 324, 325, 335, 351, 364, 389, 443, 458, 459; v, 385; vi, 78.
- Southampton, a Mayor of, iv, 423.
- Southern, Thomas, author of *Oronooko*, v, 2, 3, 358 n.
- Southwell, Rt. Hon. Edward, son of Sir Robert, Chief Secretary for Ireland, i, 86, 133 n., 217; ii, 8 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 86, 94, 215-220, 276; account of, i, 86 n.; Clerk to the Privy Council, i, 86 n.; his politics, i, 86 n.; ii, 423; his friendship with Archbishop King, i, 86 n., 103, 105, 246, 316; ii, 27 n., 29 n., 423; iii, 108 n.; his relations with Swift, i, 86 n., 129 n.; his visits to Ireland, i, 94; his wife, i, 94 n.; and John Taylour, i, 147 n.; his loud voice, i, 163; his friendship for Dawson, i, 178 n.; and Irish Yarn, i, 248 n.; and Swift's preferment, i, 335 n.; and

- the living of Moymet, ii, 25, 26, 50*n.*; and the Speakership, ii, 316*n.*; and Swift's intercepted correspondence, ii, 423.
- Southwell, Sir Robert, Secretary of State for Ireland, Swift recommended to by Temple, i, 1-3, 362*n.*; account of, i, 1*n.*; his connection with the Ormonds, i, 86*n.*; and Temple's papers, i, 173.
- Southwell, Sir Thomas, vi, 243.
- Spa, i, 136; iii, 154, 180; iv, 439, 440, 443; v, 36.
- Spain, the campaign in, i, 73, *and see* Peterborough; and the Peace, ii, 2, 14, *and see* Utrecht; Treaty of Commerce with, ii, 78, 79, 168, 169, 171, 172; threatened war and treaty with, in 1727, iii, 377, 383, 389, 434, 435; Convention with, in 1730, vi, 106, 107; war with, in 1739, vi, 144*n.*
- Spain, King of. *See* Charles, Philip.
- Spanheim, Mlle., daughter of the Prussian Ambassador, i, 144.
- Spaniel*, Swift's *Story of the*, ii, 173.
- Speaker of the English House of Commons. *See* Bromley, Compton, Hamner, Onslow.
- Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. *See* Brodrick, Levinge.
- Speedwell, H. M. S., i, 61*n.*
- Spencer, Hon. John, son of the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, married to the Hon. Georgiana Carteret, v, 68, 319*n.*
- Spencer, Hon. Mrs. John. *See* Carteret.
- Spencer, John, 1st Lord, son of the Hon. John, v, 68*n.*
- Spenser, Edmund, his *Faery Queen*, iii, 352.
- Spinosa, Baruch, iii, 210.
- Spon, Jacques, iii, 93.
- Sprat, Thomas, Dean of Westminster, ii, 58.
- Squire, Dr. Thomas, Rector of Cole-raine, vi, 14*n.*, 60, 61, 70, 71, 76, 89, 106, 122, 124, 125.
- Stage Coach, an Irish, iii, 85.
- Stair, Thomas Dalrymple, Earl of, succeeds Prior as Envoy to Paris, ii, 267*n.*
- Stamp Duty. *See* Newspapers.
- Stanhope, James, 1st Earl of, General at Brihuega, i, 225, 226, 233; Secretary of State, ii, 202, 276, 360; and Swift's intercepted correspondence, ii, 276*n.*, 283*n.*, 421-423; Prime Minister, ii, 361.
- Stanhope, Philip. *See* Chesterfield.
- Stanhope, Philip Henry, 5th Earl of, his *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, i, 66*n.*, *et passim*.
- Stanislaus, King of Poland, i, 169; v, 233.
- Stanley, Sir John, Secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury, ii, 67; v, 89*n.*; vi, 233, 234; related to Mrs. Pen-darves, ii, 67*n.*; v, 89; his villa, "Paradise," at Fulham, v, 89, 297, 300, 301, 376; at Tunbridge, v, 377; his property in Ireland, v, 386, 387.
- Stannard, Eaton, Recorder of Dublin, iv, 406-408; account of, iv, 406*n.*; executor to Swift, iv, 406*n.*; v, 159, 160; advises Swift gratuitously, v, 48, 49; and Gorges' petition, v, 59, 60; and Sheridan, v, 139; and the lowering of the Gold, v, 331*n.*; conveys the freedom of the City of Cork to Swift, vi, 42, 43; and William Swift, vi, 177; on Swift's lynch Commission, vi, 182.
- Stapylton, Sir Miles, M. P., v, 345.
- Staremburg, Marshal, i, 225, 226.
- Staunton, Rev. Robert, Vicar Choral, iii, 103*n.*
- Staunton, Roda, sister of Mrs. Davys, iv, 361, 362, 383.
- Staunton, Thomas, does Swift's business with the Cathedral, ii, 314, 316, 345; iii, 241; and Lord Palmerston, iii, 298, 299.
- Stearne, Enoch, cousin of the Bishop, i, 43*n.*, 199, 200.
- Stearne, John, Rector of Trim, afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's, Bishop of Dromore and of Clogher, his relations with Swift, i, vi, 66, 71, 72, 90*n.*, 229, 303, 382, 383, 385; ii, 21*n.*, 70, 73, 77, 95*n.*, 318, 321, 324, 414; iv, 401; v, 15-17, 72, 73, 355; his friendship with Archbishop King, i, 36*n.*, 180*n.*, 216; ii, 27, 32, 385; iii, 104*n.*, 125*n.*; appointed Dean of St. Patrick's, i, 53, 55*n.*, 120*n.*, 318; ii, 26*n.*, 365*n.*; v, 16; account of, i, 66*n.*; family connections, i, 66*n.*; v, 195*n.*; his library, i, 70*n.*, 84*n.*, 90, 181, 311; and the livings of St. Nicholas and St. Luke's, i, 72*n.*, 79, 117; ii, 51*n.*, 257*n.*; v, 16, 17; his additions to

- St. Patrick's Deanery and at Clogher, i, 82, 85, 91, 124, 181, 311; ii, 28, 29, 32, 53 *n.*; iii, 104 *n.*, 124 *n.*; his will, i, 84 *n.*; his garden, i, 85, 311; his "club" of friends in Dublin, i, 90, 191, 200, 311; ii, 67; iii, 191; love of puns, i, 90, 121; his wine and style of living, i, 90, 199, 200; iii, 141 *n.*; Swift's correspondence with King, addressed to his care, i, 92 *n.*, 106 *n.*, 147; his friendship for Stella and Mrs. Dingley, i, 121, 179, 311; iv, 454; and Stoughton's sermon, i, 138; and the First Fruits, i, 216; appointed Bishop of Dromore, ii, 21 *n.*, 23, 51 *n.*, 67, 337, 404, 405; and the living of Moymet, ii, 26; designs a spire for St. Patrick's, ii, 28, 29; consecrated by Archbishop King, ii, 28 *n.*; Prolocutor, ii, 69 *n.*; staying at the Deanery, ii, 103, 111 *n.*; and Worrall, ii, 103; his palace at Dromore, ii, 103; and Dr. Marsh, ii, 103, 104; politics, ii, 111; and the rights of the Dean, ii, 114, 148; Swift's accounts with, ii, 124, 147; his goods at the Deanery, ii, 131, 132; his cat, ii, 247, 249; staying in Dublin, ii, 256, 306, 315, 316; and Anthony Dopping, ii, 323; his Christmas party at Dromore, ii, 345 *n.*, 352, 356, 357; iv, 458; translated to Clogher, ii, 375, 376, 380; and Provoost Pratt, ii, 375; entertains Swift at Clogher, ii, 381-383; iii, 131, 132; at Magheralin, ii, 382-384; at Drogheda, ii, 386, 387; and Chetwode's case, iii, 188; invited to dine with the "old club" at the Deanery, iii, 191; Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University, iii, 401; and the borough of Clogher, iv, 401; allegations of cupidity against, v, 15 *n.*, 16, 18, 72; Chancellor of St. Patrick's, v, 16.
- Stella. *See* Johnson.
- Stella at Wood Park*, iv, 461.
- Stella's Cottage at Moor Park, illustrated, i, 48, 112.
- Stella's Cottage, near Laracor, illustrated, iv, 460.
- Stephen, Sir Leslie, his *Swift*, i, x, *et passim*.
- Stephens, Mrs., of Cavan, v, 367.
- Sternhold, Thomas, iii, 283.
- Steward, Lord. *See* Argyle, Buckinghamshire, Chesterfield, Devonshire, Dorset, Paulet.
- Stewart, Mr., ii, 392.
- Stewart, Mrs., formerly Le Hunte, iv, 63, 64.
- Stewart, Rebecca, afterwards Mrs. Powell, lawsuit with her mother, iv, 63, 64.
- Steyaert, Martin, v, 236.
- Steele, Sir Richard, his friendship with Addison, i, 80, 100, 169, 179, 186; ii, 34, 37-39; Gazetteer, i, 80, 106, 113, 204 *n.*; friendship with Ambrose Philips, i, 100, 166, 169; and Hunter, i, 136; friendship with Swift, i, 100, 106, 114, 145, 166, 167, 179, 186, 187, 200 *n.*, 204, 213 *n.*, 384, 385; iii, 117, 118; vi, 68; and *The Tatler*, i, 115 *n.*, 161 *n.*, 166 *n.*; iii, 50, 51; and Crowther, i, 134 *n.*; and Pate, i, 134 *n.*; and Lord Halifax, i, 166, 186; and Swift's *Miscellanies*, i, 167, 185, 306; and St. John, i, 304; publishes *The Guardian*, ii, 19, 26, 27; his quarrel with Swift, ii, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33-35, 37-39, 129 *n.*; vi, 324; loses the office of Gazetteer, ii, 27 *n.*, 33, 34; Commissioner of the Stamp Office, ii, 27 *n.*; relations with Harley, ii, 27 *n.*, 33, 34, 37; iii, 117; vi, 68; and the English language, ii, 39; supposed to have written *The Hue and Cry after Dean Swift*, ii, 155 *n.*; his niece married to Lord Cavan, iii, 290 *n.*; *Gulliver* attributed to, iii, 359 *n.*
- Steers, William, of Trim, Swift's tenant, ii, 54, 346.
- Steevens's Hospital, Dr., iii, 200, 204, 205 *n.*, 418; iv, 345; vi, 73, 245; Stella's bequest to, iii, 318; iv, 462, 463; vi, 148, the Chaplain of, vi, 148.
- Steevens, Mrs., sister of the Doctor, her charity, iii, 418.
- Stillingfleet, Benjamin, grandson of the Bishop, his poem upon *Conversation*, vi, 17.
- Stillingfleet, Edward, Bishop of Worcester, his *Rational Account of the Protestant Religion*, i, 28.
- Stoat, Mrs., Archbishop King's landlady in London, ii, 354.
- Stokes, Professor George T., his *Worthies of the Irish Church*, i, 13 *n.*, *et passim*.
- Stokestown, ii, 346.
- Stone, Hester, daughter of John. *See* Vanhomrigh.

- Stone, John, Commissioner of Irish Revenue, iii, 454.
- Stone, Dr. Richard, ex-Master of Chancery, iii, 54.
- Stone, Robert, the Wantage carrier, ii, 172.
- Stonehenge, iv, 158, 174.
- Stonhouse, Sir John, Controller of the Household, ii, 202.
- Stony Middleton. *See* Middleton.
- Stopford, Dr. James, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, half-brother to Mrs. Chetwode, ii, 243 *n.*; iii, 202; iv, 88 *n.*; character and attainments, iii, 202, 231, 242, 256, 276, 289, 290, 326; iv, 89, 95, 214; v, 145, 178; his fellowship, iii, 202 *n.*; iv, 93 *n.*; mediates between Chetwode and his wife, iii, 217, 218, 225, 226, 229-231; his friendship and correspondence with Swift, iii, 217, 239 *n.*, 240, 453; v, 404; vi, 204; takes charge of his nephew Valentine Chetwode's education, iii, 217, 218, 225, 227; his love affair and marriage, iii, 218, 256, 322; iv, 93 *n.*; v, 145; travels as tutor to young Graham, iii, 238, 239, 255, 256, 269, 276, 288; iv, 238 *n.*; Swift gives him letters of introduction, iii, 239, 240; Stella's loan to, iii, 239, 289, 446; love of cards, iii, 242; and Lord Carteret, iii, 249, 255, 256, 276, 289, 290, 346; recommended to Tickell, iii, 255, 256; and Pope, iii, 256, 257, 269, 276, 288, 321, 326, 380, 381, 433; iv, 6; and Arbuthnot, iii, 257, 382; and Gay, iii, 257, 326, 348, 353, 382; iv, 72; birth and fortune, iii, 255, 256; in Paris, iii, 287, 320; sends Swift a picture of Charles I, iii, 287, 305, 320; meets an Indian Queen, iii, 288; his love of travelling, iii, 288; his brother and sisters, iii, 289; iv, 88; and Provost Baldwin, iii, 289, 290; advised to live in England, iii, 322; and Rollinson, iii, 346, 348, 353; in London, iii, 347, 352, 353, 379, 380, 382; and Bolingbroke, iii, 379; returns to Ireland, carrying letters from the Bolingbrokes, Gay and Pope to Swift, iii, 379-383; ill, iii, 446; vi, 154; his relations with Chetwode after Mrs. Chetwode's death, iv, 89, 92, 93, 95, 229, 230; Vicar of Finglas, iv, 93 *n.*; Provost of Tuam, iv, 179; Pulteney's kindness to, iv, 179; v, 143, 144, 168, 169, 178, 403, 404, 419; vi, 154, 162; goes to England in 1735, v, 146; returns to Ireland, v, 168, 176, 179; and the Duke of Dorset, v, 169, 403, 419; Archdeacon of Killaloe, v, 403, 419; Dunkin recommended to, vi, 18, 22, 23; his curate, Bury, vi, 18, 22, 23; invites Swift to dine at Finglas, vi, 23; offers to pay the interest due from his mother to Swift, vi, 153, 154.
- Stopford, Mrs. James, sister of 1st Lord Courtown, iii, 218 *n.*; iv, 93; vi, 18.
- Stopford, Mrs., mother of James, formerly Mrs. Brooking, ii, 243 *n.*; vi, 18, 23; her debt to Swift, vi, 153, 154.
- Storms, i, 37 *n.*, 44 *n.*, 63, 66.
- Stoughton, William, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, his sermon on the 30th of January, i, 138, 300, 301; recommended as chaplain to Lord Wharton, i, 150.
- Stoughton Grange, Sir George Beaumont's place, i, 153 *n.*
- Stoyte, Sir Francis, ii, 67 *n.*
- Stoyte, Francis (2), Recorder of Dublin, iv, 406 *n.*
- Stoyte, Alderman John, brother of Sir Francis, afterwards Lord Mayor of Dublin, his friendship with Stella, i, 121 *n.*; iv, 454; and the Dublin card club, ii, 67; account of, ii, 67 *n.*; messages to, ii, 70, 73, 77, 148, 166.
- Stoyte, Mrs. John, "Goody," her friendship with Stella, i, 121 *n.*; iv, 454; and the card club, ii, 67; messages to, ii, 70, 77, 132, 148, 166, 203, 227.
- "Strada del Po," synonym for Lombard Street, iv, 341, 352.
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, ii, 122 *n.*; iii, 41; iv, 82 *n.*
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of (second creation), i, 253 *n.*, 338 *n.*; iii, 140 *n.*; v, 7 *n.*, 38 *n.*; plenipotentiary at Utrecht, i, 315 *n.*, 356; ii, 231; returns from Utrecht, i, 326; attack on Marlborough, i, 326 *n.*; sent to the Hague, ii, 138; v, 356; his secretaries, Watkins and Harrison, i, 356, 357; dissipation, ii, 141; on the Council of Regency, ii, 231; ordered to surrender his papers and correspondence, ii, 267; Swift recom-

- mends Skerret to, v, 133-135; relations with Swift, v, 133 n.; friendship with Pope, v, 133 n.
- Stratford, Lady, on Harrison, i, 356 n.; and the Duke of Beaufort, ii, 141.
- Strangways, Colonel, i, 308.
- Strangways, Thomas, M.P. for Dorset, ii, 202.
- Stratford, Francis, Swift's schoolfellow, i, 200 n., 279 n., 373.
- Stratford, Dr. William, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, ii, 190 n.; friendship and correspondence with the 2nd Lord Oxford, ii, 190 n., 196, 200, 310 n.; on Swift's adherence to Lady Masham, ii, 200; on Lady Lansdown, iii, 140 n.; on Boulter, iii, 203 n.; on the *Prometheus*, iii, 226 n.; entertains Swift at Oxford, iii, 386, iv, 1 n., 277 n.; v, 196 n.; and the *Marmora Oxoniensis*, iii, 424 n.
- Strephon and Chloe*, v, 51, 53, 289.
- Stuart, Charles Edward, son of James, birth, iii, 138 n.
- Stuart, James, son of James II, "the Pretender," i, 164 n., 262, 323, 324; ii, 143, 155, 180, 245, 337, 382, 423; iv, 422 n.; his attempted invasions, i, 78, 98, 318-320; ii, 229, 303; at St. Germain's, i, 133; feeling against in Ireland, i, 283, 289; ii, 20, 116; Tory intrigues with, ii, 31 n., 285, 340-342, 348, 349, 352, 362; vi, 22; proclamation against, ii, 163, 164, 419; his Declaration, ii, 255; and Bolingbroke, ii, 277 n., 325 n., 348, 349; iii, 27 n., 28 n.; and Ormond, ii, 295, 362; iii, 28 n.; Swift's attitude towards, ii, 348, 349, 352; iii, 115, 157; and Wharton, iii, 1 n.; and Chetwode, iii, 10 n.; and the Earl of Mar, iii, 24; and Cardinal Alberoni, iii, 28 n.; his birthday, iii, 84; his sons, iii, 138 n., 406 n.; his marriage, iv, 327.
- Stubbs, Dr. John William, his *History of the University of Dublin*, i, 2 n.
- "Stumphanympa," iv, 410 n.
- Subjects for a Volume*, i, 186 n.
- Subscribers to the Bank*, etc., *The*, iii, 108 n.
- Succession Act, *The*, ii, 235, 361.
- Suetonius, quoted, iv, 22.
- Suffolk, Charles, 9th Earl of. *See* Howard.
- Suffolk, Edward, 8th Earl of, his Fool, i, 237 n.
- Suffolk, Henrietta, Countess of. *See* Howard.
- Suffolk Street, i, 264.
- Sufi, The, v, 421.
- Summerhill, ii, 346.
- Summerstown, ii, 346, 355-359.
- Sunderland, Anne, Countess of, daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, wife of the 3rd Earl, i, 61 n.; her influence over her husband, ii, 275; her son succeeds her sister as Duke of Marlborough, v, 319 n.
- Sunderland, Charles, 3rd Earl of, and the First Fruits, i, 61, 65, 87 n., 88, 94, 95, 105; and the Test Act, i, 67 n.; and Addison, i, 79, 80 n., 142; Secretary of State, i, 80 n., 166; and Somers, i, 86 n., 87; visits Moor Park, i, 87 n., 172 n.; his tutor, i, 87 n.; introduces Swift to Godolphin, i, 92, 93; correspondence with Dodington, i, 104 n.; dismissed from office, i, 185 n., 208, 212 n.; left out of the Regency, ii, 217 n., 230; connection with Marlborough, ii, 217 n., 275; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ii, 275 n., 276 n., 278 n., 292, 362 n., 370, 394 n., 422, 423 n.; iii, 61 n., 198 n.; at Bath, ii, 276 n., 278 n.; ill, ii, 278, 424; iv, 468; in opposition to Townshend, ii, 360, 361; with the King in Hanover, ii, 363; Secretary of State for the second time, ii, 363 n.; and Swift's intercepted correspondence, ii, 422-424; his children, iv, 341 n.; v, 68 n., 319 n.
- Sunderland, Robert, 2nd Earl of, resigns his office, i, 24; his relations with Temple, i, 24 n., 172; his humble friends, iv, 219.
- Sundon, Viscountess. *See* Clayton.
- Sussex, Talbot Yelverton, 1st Earl of, and Lancelot, iv, 36, 177, 178; account of, iv, 37 n.
- Swammerdam, v, 237.
- Swan Tripe Club, The*, i, 164 n.; ii, 60 n.; iii, 158 n.
- Swanton, Ferdinand, married to Honoria Swift, i, 11 n.; iv, 456; vi, 213; account of, v, 11 n.
- Swanton, Mrs. Honoria. *See* Swift.
- Swanton, Katherine, married to John Swift, vi, 214.
- Swearer's Bank, The*, iii, 75 n., 101 n.
- Sweden, King of. *See* Frederick Augustus, Stanislaus.

- "Sweetheart," Swift's cook, ii, 247, 248, 344, 381.
- Swift, Abigail, born Erick or Herrick, wife of Jonathan (1), Swift's mother, her family connections, i, 2 n., 3 n., 37 n.; fears Swift will fall in love with Betty Jones, i, 3 n.; iv, 55; Swift visits her at Leicester, i, 12, 62, 153 n.; her age, i, 37 n.; correspondence with Swift, i, 382-385; lodges with Mrs. Worrall, iii, 98 n.; her marriage, iv, 475; vi, 316.
- Swift, Abraham (1), son of Thomas (1), vi, 212, 215.
- Swift, Mrs. Abraham (1). *See* Billing-ton.
- Swift, Abraham (2), son of Abraham (1), vi, 215.
- Swift, Adam, son of Thomas (1), i, 24, 367 n.; vi, 127, 212, 216, 217; account of, i, 24 n.; vi, 216, 217; living at Magheralin, i, 31 n.; and the Warings, i, 31 n., 34; death, iv, 190 n.; takes refuge in Chester at the time of the Revolution, vi, 113 n.; his wives, i, 24 n.; vi, 217.
- Swift, Mrs. Adam. *See* Cotterell, Hopper.
- Swift, Alexander, son of Meade, vi, 214.
- Swift, Mrs. Alexander. *See* Pratt.
- Swift, Anne, "Nan," afterwards Mrs. Perry, daughter of Adam, i, 24 n., 367; vi, 217.
- Swift, Christopher, son of Godwin (1), vi, 214, 215.
- Swift, Deane (1), son of Godwin (1), living in Portugal, i, 10-12, 30, 37; iv, 385, 386, 418 n.; vi, 213, 214; account of, i, 10 n.; kindness to Swift, i, 37.
- Swift, Mrs. Deane (1). *See* Lenthall.
- Swift, Deane (2), son of Deane (1), i, 10 n.; vi, 214; his *Letters written by Swift and his Friends*, i, vi; vi, 223 *et passim*; his *Essay*, i, x; vi, 223 *et passim*; his baptism, ii, 373 n.; in litigation with Stafford Lightburne, iii, 236; iv, 418 n.; on the relations between Swift and Vanessa, iii, 460, 461; sells and mortgages his land to Swift, iv, 418, 419; v, 48, 49, 130; vi, 86 n.; account of, iv, 418 n.; vi, 126, 127; his land at Castlerickard, iv, 419; at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, v, 238, 245, 246, 393 n.; vi, 127; his age, v, 238 n.; his marriage to Mary Harrison, v, 261 n., 393; vi, 5 n., 135, 136, 147, 148, 150, 162, 164; and Dr. William King, vi, 27, 29, 73, 74, 112, 127, 128; at Goodrich, vi, 73 n., 80, 81; gifts to Swift, vi, 99, 100; Swift gives him a copy of his *Works*, vi, 108, 109; and Pope, vi, 126, 127, 129, 133, 134, 162, 164; and Lyttelton, vi, 128, 134, 137, 138; and William Richardson, vi, 136, 155, 160; intimate relations with Swift in his later years, vi, 149, 153, 188-190, 225; and Robert Nugent, vi, 156; accused by Delany of keeping Swift's friends away from him, vi, 221, 223, 224; dispute with Swift's executors, vi, 223; Swift gives him an *Elzevir Virgil*, vi, 245.
- Swift, Mrs. Deane (2). *See* Harrison.
- Swift, Dryden, son of Thomas (1), i, 8 n.; vi, 212, 215.
- Swift, Elizabeth (1), daughter of Thomas (1), vi, 212, 217.
- Swift, Elizabeth (2), daughter of William (1), married to Godwin (2), i, 8 n.; ii, 364 n.; vi, 112 n., 213, 216.
- Swift, Elizabeth (3), daughter of Godwin (2) married to Ffolliott White-way, vi, 213, 214.
- Swift, Elizabeth (4), daughter of Deane (1), married to Godwin (3), vi, 213, 214.
- Swift, Godwin (1), son of Thomas (1), i, 8 n.; v, 452; vi, 127; his marriages and descendants, i, 10 n.; iv, 190 n.; vi, 212-215; and his brother, Thomas' affairs, i, 371; account of, i, 271 n.
- Swift, Mrs. Godwin (1). *See* Deane, Meade, Webster, Wheeler.
- Swift, Godwin (2), son of Godwin (1), vi, 112 n., 213.
- Swift, Mrs. Godwin (2). *See* Swift (Elizabeth, 2).
- Swift, Godwin (3), son of Godwin (2), vi, 213.
- Swift, Mrs. Godwin (3). *See* Swift (Elizabeth, 4).
- Swift, Hannah, daughter of Willoughby, afterwards Mrs. Stafford Lightburne, i, 11 n.; ii, 370; iii, 236; v, 11 n.; vi, 213; her coins, iv, 31; litigation with Deane Swift (2), iv, 418 n.
- Swift, Hannah Maria (1), daughter of Godwin (1), i, 10; vi, 214.

- Swift, Hannah Maria (2), daughter of Godwin (2), vi, 213.
- Swift, Honoria, daughter of Wiloughby, wife of Ferdinand Swanton, i, 11 n.; v, 194; vi, 213; friendship with Stella, iv, 456, 462; v, 11 n.; her daughter's elopement, v, 11, 12; account of, v, 11 n.; her will, v, 12 n.
- Swift, Jane, daughter of Jonathan (1), sister of the Dean, afterwards Mrs. Fenton, i, 8 n.; iv, 475; vi, 216; at Moor Park, i, 8, 9; her marriage, i, 30 n.; relations with her brother, i, 30 n.; v, 254; her legacy from Mrs. William Swift, ii, 364 n.; Swift's allowance to, ii, 387; iv, 133; v, 243, 244, 254; her son, v, 244, 254.
- Swift, John, son of Meade, vi, 214.
- Swift, Mrs. John. *See* Swanton.
- Swift, Jonathan (1), son of Thomas (1), father of the Dean, Steward of the King's Inns, Dublin, i, 8 n., 37 n., 212, 216; iv, 475; vi, 212, 216.
- Swift, Jonathan (2), son of Jonathan (1), his portraits and busts, i, frontispiece, xxxvii, xliii, 82; ii, 333 n.; iii, 262, 263, 265; v, 111, 194, 201, 389 n.; vi, 57 n., 119, 150, 230; collections of his letters, i, vi-x, xix-xxii, *et passim*; the letters at Montagu House signed with his name, i, xxii; ii, 410; relations with Hester or Esther Johnson ("Stella"), i, xxii-xxvii, 21, 22; iv, 449-463, *and see* Johnson; relations with St. John, i, xxiii, xxxii, *and see* St. John; relations with Chetwode, i, xxiii, *and see* Chetwode; relations with Archbishop King, i, xxiii, xxvii-xxx, *and see* King; friendship with Arbuthnot, i, xxiii, xxxi, xxxii, *and see* Arbuthnot; Dean Smedley's attack upon in *Gulliveriana*, i, xxiii n., *and see* Smedley; his reputed marriage to Stella, i, xxiv, 42 n., 59; iii, 461; iv, 458; vi, 188; relations with Archdeacon and Mrs. Walls, i, xxiv, *and see* Walls; attitude towards love and matrimony, i, xxv, 3-5, 19, 20, 33-35; his relations with Esther Vanhomrigh ("Vanessa"), i, xxv-xxvii; iii, 453-467, *and see* Vanhomrigh; the significance of his allusions to coffee, i, xxv, *and see* Coffee; his *Journal to Stella* written to Stella and Rebecca Dingley jointly, i, xxv n., *et passim*; Dean of St. Patrick's, i, xxvii-xxx1, 82; ii, 21, *et seq.*; his friendship with Parnell, i, xxviii, *and see* Parnell; relations with Archbishop Lindsay, i, xxx, *and see* Lindsay; his interest in his choir, i, xxx; ii, 59, 70, 288; iii, 130, 305, 340-342, 356; iv, 16, 21, 22, 80, 86, 169, 189; v, 106; vi, 99-101, 123, 128, 129, 133, 168; his church patronage, i, xxx, xxxi; ii, 383-386; iii, 138, 157; and the monuments to the Duke of Schomberg, Archbishop Jones, and others in the Cathedral, i, xxxi; iv, 82-85, 87, 218, 230, 243, 283, 377, 389; v, 253; friendship with the Rev. John Blachford, i, xxxi, *and see* Blachford; friendship with Dr. Delany, i, xxxi, *and see* Delany; a Freemason, i, xxxi, xxxii; friendship with Pope, i, xxxi, *and see* Pope; his love for Robert Harley, i, xxxii, *and see* Harley; friendship with Gay, i, xxxii, *and see* Gay; friendship with Addison, i, xxxii; friendship with Atterbury, i, xxxii, *and see* Atterbury; friendship with John Barber, i, xxxii, *and see* Barber; relations with the Duke of Dorset, i, xxxii, *and see* Dorset; relations with Lord Carteret, i, xxxii, *and see* Carteret; friendship with Lord Bathurst, i, xxxii, *and see* Bathurst; friendship with Lord Peterborough, i, xxxii, *and see* Peterborough; friendship with Patty Blount, i, xxxii, *and see* Blount; relations with the Duchess of Queensberry, i, xxxii, *and see* Queensbury; relations with Lady Elizabeth Germaine, i, xxxii, *and see* Germaine; relations with Mrs. Howard, i, xxxii, *and see* Howard; relations with the Duchess of Ormond, i, xxxii, *and see* Ormond; friendship with Lady Masham, i, xxxii, *and see* Masham; his epistolary style, i, xxxii-xxxvi; v, 126 n., 146 n.; his relations with Sheridan, i, xxxiii, *and see* Sheridan; the publication of his correspondence with Pope, i, xxxiii; vi, 197-202, *and see* Pope; his care to preserve his correspondence, i, xxxiii; iii, 452; vi, 16, 17, 203, 204; his puzzle and nonsense letters, i, xxxiv; iii, 177 *et seq.*; his poetical powers and care in composition, i, xxxv, 7, 8, 200 n.,

203 *n.*, 204 *n.*, 363-366; v, 211, 303; his feeling towards Ireland and championship of Irish interests, i, xxxvi, 57; iii, 64, 75, 100 *n.*, 115, 148, 308-311; iv, 90, 311, 312; vi, 97; his popularity with the Irish people, i, xxxvi, 233; iv, 161, 193 *n.*, 331, 415, 433; and Trinity College, Dublin, i, xxxvi, xxxvii, 2, 10, 16 *n.*, 90 *n.*; iv, 451; v, 112; his opposition to Wood's halfpence, i, xxxvi, *and see* Drapier, Wood; friendship with Stopford, i, xxxiv, *and see* Stopford; his opposition to Dr. Baldwin, i, xxxvii, *and see* Baldwin; his efforts for his friends' preferment, i, xxxviii-xxxix; his hopes of preferment, i, xxxviii, 10, 30, 33 *n.*, 69-73, 79, 82, 116, 118, 119, 123, 134, 139, 145, 157, 176, 189, 190, 254; ii, 4, 11; interest in John Jackson, i, xxxix, *and see* Jackson; recommends Alderman Aldrich to the Duke of Dorset, i, xxxix, *and see* Aldrich; intimacy with the Grattans, i, xxxix, *and see* Grattan; his carefulness about money and later avarice, i, xxxix, xl, 204 *n.*; iv, 76, 91, 114, 126; v, 107, 212, 274 *n.*, 403, 404; his patronage of the Pilkingtons, i, xxxviii, *and see* Pilkington; his servants, i, xxxix, 198; ii, 45 *n.*, 248, 260, 288, 293, 349, 350, 381; iii, 6, 127-129, 316; iv, 47, 81, 236; v, 3, 115, 141, 149, 201, 261, 270, 317, 350, 399, 404; vi, 179; his horses, i, xxxix, 153, 179, 180; ii, 242-244, 249, 265, 272, 274, 280, 281, 293, 305, 306, 343-345, 356, 357, 365; iii, 53, 83, 127, 147, 441; iv, 193, 219, 220, 277, 321, 431; v, 3, 107, 115, 141, 190, 210, 223, 301; his wine, i, xxxix; ii, 172, 281, 346, 355, 358, 365, 405; iii, 128, 140, 158; v, 107, 115, 141, 185, 225, 227, 270, 271, 275, 276, 278, 283, 285-287, 290, 291, 322, 323, 351, 407, 440, 441; vi, 62, 195; his generosity and benevolence, i, xl; iii, 99 *n.*; iv, 410; vi, 97; his scheme for the endowment of a madhouse, i, xl; iii, 129; iv, 414; v, 128, 136, 159, 160, 211, 217, 226, 240, 293; vi, 6, 48, 86, 87, 228; his reading and attainments, i, xl, xli, 4; iii, 94 *n.*, *and see* under separate authors; his books, i, xl, li, 25-28, 41, 119, 154 *n.*, 182, 311; ii, 148;

iii, 11, 128, 151, 423, 428, 451; iv, 12, 38, 77, 78, 101, 133, 190, 318, 446; v, 217, 267; vi, 9, 65, 108, 119 *n.*, 227, 229, 238, 246; no inclination for metaphysics, i, xli; his own estimate of Gulliver, i, xli-xliii; relations with Motte, i, xli, *and see* Motte; his acquaintance with Shakespeare, i, xli *n.*; iv, 112, 329; his knowledge of French, i, xli *n.*; iii, 33-36, 107; his character and temperament, i, xlii-xlvi, xlix, liv, lv, 8 *n.*, 130, 228; iv, 141, 203; v, 259 *n.*, 454, 455; reads the third chapter of Job on his birthday, i, xlv; vi, 103; his relations with Bishop Stearne, i, xlv, *and see* Stearne; relations with Lord Palmerston, i, xlv, *and see* Palmerston; his choice of society, i, xlv; iv, 30, 218, 225; social circle in Dublin, i, xlv, xlvi, 90, 120 *n.*, 241, 291, 292; iv, 62, 233, 293; v, 2-4; his friendship with Mrs. Pendarves, i, xlv, *and see* Pendarves; friendship with Dr. Helsham, i, xlvi, *and see* Helsham; his attitude towards the clergy, i, xlvi; his wit and humour, i, xlvi; ii, 16 *n.*; his coarseness, i, xlvi, xlvi; relations with his cousin, Mrs. Whiteway, and her family, i, xlvi, *and see* Harrison, Whiteway; his love of puns, i, xlvi, 70, 71, 82, 125, 142, 153-155, 373-381; his discouragement of vice and licentious talk, i, xlvi; his relations with Anne Long, i, xlvi, *and see* Long; his religious convictions and loyalty to the Church, i, xlix, l-lvi, 117, 120, 121, 124 *n.*, 135 *n.*, 205, 268; his attitude towards theological speculation, i, li; iv, 289; his relations with Sir Andrew Fountaine, i, lii, *and see* Fountaine; relations with Mrs. Wesley, i, lii, *and see* Wesley; his prayers for Stella, i, lii; iv, 462; on the death of Lady Caermarthen, i, lii, *and see* Caermarthen; his sermons, i, liv, 29; iii, 9 *n.*, 64 *n.*; instrumental in the building of fifty new churches in London, i, lv *n.*; 268 *n.*; relations with Sir William Temple, i, 1, 10, 13-15, 30; at Moor Park, i, 1-10, 21-30, 57, 361-368; iii, 414 *n.*; iv, 451; recommended to Sir Robert Southwell, i, 1, 2; his family and relatives, i, 2, 8 *n.*, 37 *n.*; ii, 172; iii, 363; iv,

190*n.*, 475; v, 11*n.*, 193; vi, 32, 112, 113, 121, 123, 126, 127, 212-217, 245; forced to leave Dublin University by the political troubles, i, 2; his connection with the Temple family, i, 2*n.*; his *Autobiography*, i, 2*n.*; relations with Rev. J. Kendall, i, 3, and *see* Kendall; at Leicester, i, 3-5, 10, 37*n.*, 60-62, 153-158*n.*, 183*n.*; at Oxford, i, 3*n.*, 7, 9, 10, 29, 344, 361; iii, 303*n.*, 305, 306*n.*; iv, 294; v, 113; goes to Ireland in 1690, i, 3*n.*; iii, 414*n.*; early flirtations, i, 4-6, 29; love affair with Betty Jones, i, 4*n.*, 29; iv, 55; relations with Dryden, i, 8*n.*; his *testimonium*, i, 9, 366; takes his degree, i, 9*n.*, 366*n.*; his ordination, i, 10, 12-15; presented by Temple to William III, i, 10, 157, 262*n.*; relations with Willoughby Swift, i, 11, and *see* Swift; in Ireland in 1694, i, 13; iii, 414*n.*; relations with Jane Waring, i, 15-20, 22, 30-35; at Belfast, i, 15*n.*; at Carrickfergus, i, 15*n.*; appointed prebendary of Kilroot, i, 15*n.*; his fellow undergraduates, i, 16*n.*, 42*n.*; his verses to Lady Donegal, i, 17*n.*; returns to England in 1696, i, 18; acquaintance with Lord Capel, i, 18*n.*; resigns his living, i, 22-26, 30; relations with Winder, i, 22, and *see* Winder; at Castle Dobbs, i, 28*n.*; relations with his sister, i, 30; ii, 387; iv, 133, 241; v, 243, 244, 254; in Dublin in 1700, i, 31; chaplain to Lord Berkeley, i, 31*n.*, and *see* Berkeley; superseded in his employment by Arthur Bushe, i, 31*n.*; his living of Laracor, Rathbeggan and Agher, i, 32*n.*, 159*n.*, 168, 171, 174*n.*, 179*n.*; 182, 187; ii, 49-54, 240, 305, 335, 336, 344, 352, 353, 357, 358, 361, 362, 364; iii, 10, 467; his financial position and affairs, i, 34, 57, 158; ii, 70, 73, 148, 165, 166, 188, 227, 387; iii, 143; iv, 32, 81, 82, 95, 124, 129, 133, 141, 143, 151, 192, 458, 459; v, 107, 211, 323; his love of cleanliness, i, 35; in London in 1701, 1702, and 1703, i, 37, 48; his account books, i, 37*n.*, 129*n.*, 152*n.*, 168*n.*, 171*n.*; ii, 40, 44, 45*n.*; iii, 467; iv, 419*n.*, 452, 454, 456-458; relations with William Tisdall, i, 38*n.*, and *see* Tisdall; relations with Archbishop

Burnet, i, 39, and *see* Burnet; relations with Somers, i, 39*n.*, and *see* Somers; relations with Lady Giffard, i, 40, and *see* Giffard; friendship with Dillon Ashe, i, 42*n.*, and *see* Ashe; his opinion of Charles Leslie, i, 43; his friendship with the Leighs, i, 43, and *see* Leigh; his relations with Archbishop Marsh, i, 44, and *see* Marsh; writes against the Occasional Conformity Bill, i, 44; his disease of labyrinthine vertigo, and other illnesses, i, 44, 129, 147, 150, 153, 168, 325, 329, 331, 346, 349; ii, 46-49, 51-55, 243, 406; iii, 20-22, 29, 50, 53, 69, 82, 83, 86, 107, 120, 123, 125, 131, 132, 156, 179, 180, 189, 215, 219, 223, 225, 226, 234-236, 250, 257, 261-263, 265, 270, 279, 287, 409-425, 439; iv, 3, 12, 15, 19, 54, 55, 59, 76, 81, 89, 161, 179, 202, 204, 233, 390, 404, 409, 424, 459; v, 1, 9, 37, 49, 57, 95, 100, 104, 119, 120, 131, 141, 143, 145, 146, 173, 180, 192, 206, 211, 218, 223, 225, 249, 296, 300, 307, 308, 311, 317, 319-321, 350, 362, 363, 373, 375, 376, 394, 396, 397, 405, 408, 409, 414*n.*, 433; vi, 5, 9, 13, 16, 19, 32, 39, 43, 47, 48, 53, 63, 70, 77, 90, 91, 97, 102, 113, 144*n.*, 149, 157, 160-163, 165, 186, 187, 192; his politics, i, 44, 71, 83*n.*, 94*n.*, 124*n.*, 185*n.*, 194*n.*, 198*n.*, 200*n.*, 204*n.*, 205, 211-213, 217*n.*, 220, 233*n.*; ii, 14*n.*, 16*n.*, 39, 348, 349, 396, 397; iii, 64*n.*, 120-123; iv, 163, 164; v, 302*n.*; vi, 225; said to have prevented Stella from marrying Tisdall, i, 46, 47; his will, i, 47*n.*; iv, 406*n.*; v, 37*n.*; vi, 6, 34, 45, 157*n.*; in Ireland in 1704, i, 48; at Trim, i, 48, 179*n.*; ii, 55, 56, 64, 251, 252, 279, 305, 306, 314, 332, 343-388, 392, 405; iii, 9, 33, 467; v, 9*n.*; vi, 226, 227; his journeys between England and Ireland, i, 48*n.*, 62*n.*; taken to England by his nurse in his infancy, i, 48*n.*; vi, 226; his part in the remission of the Irish First Fruits, i, 50, and *see* First Fruits; intimacy with the Duke of Ormond, i, 50*n.*, and *see* Ormond; collated to the prebend of Dunlavin, i, 53*n.*; his influence in the Chapter, i, 53*n.*; manages John Temple's property

in Ireland, i, 54-56; getting fat, i, 57, 241 n.; his relations with Mr. Percival, i, 57 n., and see Percival; relations with Thomas Swift (4), i, 59 n., and see Swift; relations with the Earl of Sunderland, i, 61, and see Sunderland; friendship with Lord Pembroke, i, 61, and see Pembroke; in London in 1708, i, 66, 81-95, 116; iv, 454; at Greenwich with Stella, i, 82, 83; iv, 454; accidents to, i, 82, 88; ii, 314, 365; iv, 281, 283, 284, 292, 293, 309, 310, 315, 317, 318, 336, 350, 351, 367; v, 259, 262, 266, 269, 271, 272, 278, 283-285, 288-290; relations with Dr. Pratt, i, 83, and see Pratt; opposition to the repeal of the Test Act, i, 83, and see Test; relations with Brodrick, i, 83, and see Brodrick; his love of gardening and improvements, i, 85, 182; ii, 53 n., 289 n., 306, 333; iii, 103, 109, 140, 157, 201, 253, 278, 430; iv, 30, 42, 44, 49, 94 n., 114, 126, 219, 258, 313, 431, 436; v, 3, 35, 270, and see Naboth's Vineyard; relations with Edward Southwell, i, 86, and see Southwell; relations with Godolphin, i, 88, and see Godolphin; relations with Ambrose Philips, i, 99, and see Philips; relations with Steele, i, 100, and see Steele; relations with Frowde, i, 101, and see Frowde; friendship with Henley, i, 112, and see Henley; relations with Hunter, i, 113, and see Hunter; at Havisham or Harrietsham, Kent, i, 114-116, 124; at Epsom, i, 116, 124; hopes for the post of Queen's Secretary, i, 117, 120, 123, 132, 134; and the livings of St. Luke and St. Nicholas Without, i, 117; ii, 51; his agent, Parvisol, i, 118, and see Parvisol; relations with Provost Browne, i, 120, and see Browne; relations with Dr. Raymond, i, 120, and see Raymond; advised to apply for the post of chaplain to Lord Wharton, Lord Lieutenant, i, 123, 124, 126, 130 n., 139, 148 n.; relations with Lord Wharton, i, 124; his feeling towards Lambert, i, 124 n.; likely to accompany Lord Berkeley to Vienna, i, 132, 134; friendship with Pate, i, 134 n.; friendship with Mrs. Finch, i, 135, and see Finch; sincerity of his writ-

ings, i, 137, 148 n.; his satire on Dennis, i, 142 n.; friendship with Catherine Barton, i, 144, and see Barton; said to have written *To Mr. Jervis*, i, 144 n.; friendship with Sir William Domville, i, 145, and see Domville; edits and publishes the third part of Sir William Temple's *Memoirs*, i, 150, 170-174; at Cranford, i, 151, 152, 237 n.; iii, 341 n.; his lodgings in London, i, 152, 238, 264 n.; iii, 303 n.; relations with Archbishop Sharpe, i, 152, and see Sharpe; his paper on the Roman Pavement at Leicester, i, 153; at Throckmorton, i, 153 n.; staying with Sir George Beaumont at Stoughton Grange, i, 153 n.; his curios and furniture, i, 154, 351-354; iii, 4, 6, 7, 44, 231-233; iv, 43, 146, 223, 356; v, 224; vi, 76, 227-229; relations with Lord Halifax, i, 155, and see Halifax; at Chester, i, 158 n., 192 n.; ii, 40, 44-46; iii, 363 n.; at Nantwich, i, 158 n.; at Burton on the Hill, i, 158 n.; returns to Dublin in 1709, i, 159; friendship with Ford, i, 161, and see Ford; his contributions to the *Tatler*, i, 161 n., 166 n., 190 n., 268 n.; his lists of letters, i, 166 n., 168 n., 282-286; a guest at Dublin Castle, i, 168, 189; iii, 234 n.; at Finglas, i, 168 n., 187 n.; vi, 23; at Clogher, i, 171 n., 177 n., 180 n.; iii, 131, 467, 468; his house at Kilroot illustrated, i, 176; stays at an inn at Virginia, i, 177 n.; at Cavan, i, 177 n.; v, 247-251, 259-293; vi, 227; interests Addison in Dawson, i, 178 n.; his mother's death, i, 182; his lodgings in Dublin, i, 183; ii, 420, 454; transactions with Tooke, i, 183-185, and see Tooke; his snuff-boxes, i, 182, 336-339; ii, 269; iii, 4, 6; vi, 229, 242; relations with Mrs. de la Rivière Manley, i, 190, and see Manley; in London in 1710, i, 192, 198-256; iv, 454; relations with Enoch Stearne, i, 199, and see Stearne; relations with Sir John Holland, i, 199, and see Holland; at Hampton Court, i, 208; his treatment by the Irish Bishops, i, 211-221; relations with Lord Dartmouth, i, 212, and see Dartmouth; friendship with Matthew Prior, i, 213 n., and see Prior; his connection

with the *Examiner*, i, 213 n., and see *Examiner*; his relations with Queen Anne, i, 218, 219; ii, 286; relations with Lord Rivers, i, 227 n., and see Rivers; and the Duke of Marlborough, i, 231 n., and see Marlborough; at Harley's Saturday dinners, i, 236 n., and see Harley; writes the inscription for Lord Berkeley's monument, i, 237, 238; dining with Lady Morice, where he hears of Guiscard's attempt upon Harley's life, i, 238; friendship with Edward Harley (1), i, 239, and see Harley; friendship with Mrs. St. John, i, 239, and see Winchcombe; relations with the Duke of Buckingham, i, 239 n., and see Buckingham; relations with the Duchess of Somerset, i, 239 n., and see Somerset; his acquaintance with Guiscard, i, 241, 242; relations with Sir Thomas Mansell, i, 241, and see Mansell; love of outdoor exercise, i, 241 n.; iii, 103, 104, 263, 355; iv, 89, 126, 134, 147, 153, 162, 166, 194, 195, 202, 217, 262, 293, 415, 422, 431; v, 107, 141, 218, 225, 226, 291, 292, 321, 351, 386, 403; vi, 16, 23, 87, 147, 148, 177; relations with John Richardson, i, 247, and see Richardson; relations with Erasmus Lewis, i, 248, and see Lewis; relations with Samuel Harris, i, 249; relations with the 2nd Duke of Argyll, i, 248 n., and see Argyll; absent from episcopal visitations, i, 252; iii, 86, 87, 385, 390, 393, 400, 402; his endeavours to make peace between Oxford and Bolingbroke, i, 253, 279; ii, 78 n.; vi, 20, 21, 37, 233 n.; at Chelsea, i, 255-264, 279 n., 287 n.; iii, 62 n.; said to have written the preamble to Harley's patent, i, 257 n.; teases Prior by reading his verses badly, i, 258 n.; predicts the failure of Hill's expedition, i, 266; his scheme for an *Academy of the English Language*, i, 266, and see *Academy*; stays with Lord Shelburne at Wycombe, i, 268 n.; at Windsor, i, 270 n., 274-277, 279 n., 288, 335; 339-346; ii, 2 n., 6 n., 69, 79, 93 n.; extent of his political knowledge, i, 279, 289, 290; his friendship with Stratford, i, 279 n., and see Stratford; friendship with Judge Coote, i, 281 n., and see Coote; and the

examination of Langton, i, 281 n.; dines with the French envoys at Windsor, i, 290; his *Works* published by Curll, i, 298; gets the Gazetteership for Dr. Wm. King, i, 316; relations with Sacheverell, i, 316, and see Sacheverell; at Kensington, i, 329, 331; ii, 40 n.; iii, 62; opens the bandbox intended to kill Lord Oxford, i, 330; friendship with Alice Hill, i, 336, and see Hill; receives a snuff-box from Jack Hill, i, 336-339; friendship with the Duchess of Hamilton, i, 337 n.; iii, 447; at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball, i, 338, 339; relations with the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury, i, 338, and see Shrewsbury; plays cards, i, 339, 340; ii, 12, 281; iii, 133, 135; friendship with Lady Orkney, i, 345, and see Orkney; prescribed for by Arbuthnot, i, 346 n.; iv, 170, 171; relations with William Harrison, i, 355, and see Harrison; his pictures, i, 358, 359; ii, 270, 364 n.; iii, 7, 44, 46, 47, 51, 178, 197, 221-223, 260, 304, 305, 320; iv, 21, 33, 424 n.; v, 111, 139, 416 n.; vi, 34, 35, 227, 237, 242; intimacy with the Vanhomrighs, ii, 12, 13; relations with George Berkeley, ii, 16, and see Berkeley; Berkeley's account of, ii, 16 n.; a member of "The Society" or the Brothers' Club, ii, 18 n., and see Society; recommends one of the Grattans to Lord Poulett, ii, 19; friendship with Diaper, ii, 24, and see Diaper; on translations, ii, 24; his handwriting, ii, 25 n.; iii, 415; relations with Sir Thomas Hanmer, ii, 30 n., and see Hanmer; relations with Sir Constantine Phipps, ii, 31, and see Phipps; returns to Ireland in 1713, ii, 32, 33, 40-46; iv, 457; vi, 20; costs of his promotion to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, ii, 32 n.; hopes for an induction grant of £1,000, ii, 32 n.; iii, 143, 315, 335; at St. Albans, ii, 43; at Dunstable, ii, 43-45; his installation as Dean of St. Patrick's, ii, 49 n.; iv, 457; his Deanery House, ii, 53 n.; friendship with Joe Beaumont, ii, 54, and see Beaumont; godfather to Archdeacon Walls' child, ii, 63; iv, 457; returns to London in 1713, ii, 66; iv, 457; friendship with the Stoytes, ii, 67, and see Stoyte;

his license, ii, 70; iii, 384, 385, 391, 410, 416; relations with Mrs. South, ii, 73, *and see* South; Proctor of St. Patrick's, ii, 76; relations with Davenant, ii, 82, *and see* Davenant; relations with Justice Nutley, ii, 83, *and see* Nutley; relations with Dr. Radcliffe, ii, 95, *and see* Radcliffe; relations with Jervas, ii, 98, *and see* Jervas; his kindness to Fiddes, ii, 106; relations with Lord Abercorn, ii, 113, *and see* Abercorn; relations with Isaac Manley, ii, 124, *and see* Manley; attacks the Scotch Peers in the *Public Spirit of the Whigs*, ii, 129, *and see* *Public*; stays with Geree at Letcombe in 1714, ii, 134-237, 418, 419; iii, 114, 460; vi, 21, 37; relations with Geree, ii, 134, *and see* Geree; applies for the office of Historiographer, ii, 161, 184, 419; iii, 114; his spelling, ii, 169; offers to attend the Earl of Oxford after his fall, ii, 198, 293, 294; returns to Ireland after the Queen's death, ii, 236; iv, 458; vi, 21, 37; Jourdain's claim against, ii, 243; his feeling towards cats, ii, 244 n., 420; not allowed to have a good-looking maidservant, ii, 248; his bonfire for George I's coronation, ii, 248; at Philipstown, ii, 252; iii, 467; at Woodbrooke, ii, 254-257, 280, 289; iii, 467; iv, 94 n.; Mrs. Brent keeps his house, ii, 256, *and see* Brent; friendship with the Rochforts, ii, 257, *and see* Rochfort; at Belcamp, ii, 262-264, 302-304; iv, 194 n.; v, 9 n.; vi, 73, 227; his tithes and tenants, ii, 266, 273, 346, 350, 351, 357, 380, 400; iii, 236; warned to hide his papers, ii, 267; quotes his grandmother, ii, 274; his correspondence intercepted in the post, ii, 282, 283, 285 n., 292, 318 n., 330, 421-424; iii, 139, 182, 307 n., 351, 387, 453; iv, 395; v, 418; vi, 28, 65, 74; acquaintance with Drummond, ii, 297 n.; friendship with Lady Kerry, ii, 299, *and see* Kerry; and young Fitzmaurice, ii, 299; and the Freinds, ii, 299, 300, *and see* Freind; friendship with Lady Betty Butler, ii, 301, *and see* Butler; his letter directed to Mrs. Holt, ii, 303; at Dunboyne, ii, 305; difficulties with his Chapter, ii, 306-311, 319 n., 323; iii, 71, 72, 157, 467; his loan

from the Cathedral, ii, 314, 316, 317; at Martry, ii, 315; at Gaultstown, ii, 316-324; iii, 9, 33, 83-104, 152 n., 467; his knowledge of Milton's Works, ii, 328, 329; and Rooke the Quaker, ii, 330; gives Mrs. Walls a painting of her boy Jacky by Jervas, ii, 351, 363; his coat of arms, ii, 364 n.; at Ardsallagh, ii, 365, 400; iii, 12 n., 467; iv, 371; friendship with the Ludlows, ii, 365, *and see* Ludlow; his transactions with the Bishop of Down's tenant, ii, 380, 386; his jokes on April Fools' day, ii, 381; iv, 287, 288, 428 n., 433; at Magheralin, ii, 381-387; iii, 467; on the Aurora Borealis, ii, 382; concocts "a lie," ii, 407; Bishop Kennett's description of, ii, 414, 415; his madness, ii, 419, 420; vi, 180 n., 185, 187-190; relations with the 2nd Marquis of Wharton, iii, 1, *and see* Wharton; and Lord Molesworth, ii, 2 n.; invited to Holland House, ii, 3; his gifts from Lady Harley, iii, 4, 6, 7; v, 224; vi, 76; his table book from Robert Harley, iii, 6; and the office of Prolocutor, iii, 9 n., 142; relations with Bishop Evans, iii, 9 n., *and see* Evans; relations with Daniel Jackson, iii, 11 n., *and see* Jackson; annoyed by Sheridan's *The Funeral*, iii, 19; applies the picture of "Picrochole" to the Pretender, iii, 28; visits Mr. Mathew at Thomastown, iii, 34 n.; his curates, iii, 37, *and see* Lightburne, Warburton; satires on himself, iii, 42; iv, 167; and Barclay, iii, 54 n.; enmity with Whitshed, iii, 65, *and see* Whitshed; advises Dean Mossom, iii, 71, 72; sorrow at Mary Vanhomrigh's death, iii, 73; his hospitality at the Deanery, iii, 79, 191, 287, 304 n.; iv, 465; v, 358, 378, 407, 411, 414 n., 426; vi, 159, 195; his opposition to the Irish Bank, iii, 101, 104; at Leixlip, iii, 104; at Cloncurry, iii, 104; visits Wallis with Stella, iii, 105; iv, 460; corrects Bolingbroke's inscriptions, iii, 112; his services to the Whigs with the Tory Ministers, iii, 117, 118; and the plague, iii, 124; his wall round Naboth's Vineyard, iii, 127, 201 n.; iv, 114, 137; a Governor of Bedlam, iii, 129; vi, 244; at Loughgall, iii,

131 *n.*, 134, 135, 137, 467, 468; at Quilca, iii, 131 *n.*, 137 *n.*, 147, 187 *n.*, 234-275, 468; iv, 461; troubled by vermin, iii, 136; at Wood Park, iii, 161, 468; his southern journey after Vanessa's death, iii, 162, 166, 174, 464; v, 464; at Clonfert, iii, 162, 165, 173, 468; to travel with Henry Jenney, iii, 163, 165; at Carbery, iii, 173 *n.*; entertained by the Corporation of Cork, iii, 173 *n.*; eats duck like goose, iii, 173 *n.*; friendship with the second Lady Bolingbroke, iii, 185, *and see* Villette; his liberty in danger, iii, 186; iv, 45; subscribes to the restoration of the Church at Tallaght, iii, 187; wishes to write the life of Robert Harley, iii, 197, 320; relations with Tickell, iii, 198, *and see* Tickell; interest in Dr. Steevens's Hospital, iii, 199, 200; relations with Proby, iii, 205, *and see* Proby; his knowledge of fruit, iii, 216; the Proclamation against him as the author of the *Drapier's Letters*, iii, 220 *n.*; gifts from the 2nd Lord Oxford, iii, 222, 223, 265, 270; his verses on a card, iii, 230; gift of a screen from, and friendship with Mrs. Pratt, iii, 231-233, *and see* Pratt; entertains Lady Carteret in Naboth's Vineyard, iii, 234 *n.*; receives the freedom of the City of Dublin, iii, 234 *n.*; iv, 127; relations with Count Gyllenborg, iii, 240 *n.*; his losses by Pratt's defalcations, iii, 251, 252; relations with the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, iii, 303, *and see* Caroline; visit to England in 1726, iii, 303; iv, 461; v, 225 *n.*; stays with Bolingbroke at Dawley, iii, 303; with Pope at Twickenham, iii, 303, 312, 386, 448, 449; iv, 45, 173; v, 117; friendship with Pulteney, iii, 303 *n.*, *and see* Pulteney; relations with Walpole, iii, 304, 307, *and see* Walpole; friendship with Lady Eustace and her daughter, iii, 304 *n.*, *and see* Eustace; his driving tour with Pope and Gay, iii, 312; vi, 132; visits Lord Bathurst at Oakley Park, iii, 312; v, 252; in Windsor Forest, iii, 312; at Wokingham, iii, 312; buys a watch for Stella, iii, 318; staying with Gay at Whitehall, iii, 325, 341, 387; iv, 17; relations with Rollinson, iii, 326; his return to Ire-

land in 1726, iii, 332; visits Stowe with Pope, iii, 332 *n.*; gives Pope some silver cups, iii, 333; iv, 6; plays cards and backgammon with Mrs. Pope, iii, 335; liking for backgammon, iii, 335; iv, 62, 204, 211, 294, 336; v, 38, 50, 285, 292; his acquaintance with the Tuscan Court, iii, 336; relations with Faulkner, iii, 343, *and see* Faulkner; relations with Lord Chesterfield, iii, 348, *and see* Chesterfield; and Sir William Wyndham, iii, 350, *and see* Wyndham; his ring from Mrs. Howard, iii, 353; iv, 182; gives Mrs. Howard the "Crown of Lilliput" and some Irish poplin, iii, 353, 354, 369; iv, 265; acquaintance with Lady Hervey, iii, 357; and the Duchess of Marlborough, iii, 359 *n.*; welcome back to Dublin in 1726 and 1727, iii, 360 *n.*; iv, 103 *n.*; sends a picture to Mrs. Greenvil, iii, 363; and Mrs. Kenna of Chester, iii, 363; assists in depriving a parson, iii, 368; at Skull, iii, 368; his rule for making presents, iii, 372; visits Marble Hill, iii, 375 *n.*; his visit to England in 1727, iii, 384; iv, 461; v, 225 *n.*; his intended visit to France, iii, 385, 388, 394, 395, 397, 403, 412; iv, 182, 233, 375; discharges his Deanery proctor, iii, 386; at Goodrich, iii, 386 *n.*; at Tetsworth, iii, 386 *n.*; visit to Lord Oxford at Wimpole, iii, 387 *n.*, 389; called "the copper farden Dean," iii, 391 *n.*; acquaintance with Voltaire, iii, 395, *and see* Voltaire; and the Abbé des Fontaines, iii, 397; and George II, iii, 399, 400; v, 253; attributes his disease to eating fruit, iii, 400, 410, 413; relations with Andrew Ramsay, iii, 405; and the Rev. Matthew Earberry, iii, 408; and the Drelincourts, iii, 408; *and see* Drelincourt; relations with the Lancelots, iii, 410, 416; *and see* Lancelot, Rolt; at Sheen, iii, 414; iv, 66, 67; returns to Ireland in 1727, iii, 420; at Hammersmith, iii, 421; delayed at Holyhead, iii, 424, 430, 431; presents a chalice to Goodrich Church, iii, 426 *n.*; opinion of Compton, iii, 433; friendship with the Moores, iii, 435, *and see* Moore; owns to the authorship of *Gulliver*, iii, 438; his shortcomings as a correspondent, iii, 453; said to have had

a son by Stella, iii, 461; friendship with the Luttrells, iii, 461, *and see* Luttrell; relations with the Marshalls, iii, 463-465; visits Vanessa at Celbridge, iii, 467; his admiration of Lady Clarendon, iv, 10; eats with his knife, iv, 10, 108, 113, 133, 173, 175; gradual loss of memory, iv, 14, 62, 125, 422, 444; v, 69, 259*n.*, 322, 396; vi, 13, 14*n.*, 32, 33*n.*, 60, 63, 70, 75, 88*n.*, 91, 94, 96, 100, 101, 113, 127, 128, 145, 160, 161, 169, 179*n.*, 192, 218; acquaintance with Lady Jenny Hyde, iv, 16*n.*; sends usquebaugh to his friends in England, iv, 20, 47, 57, 127, 134, 139, 142, 157; his Goodrich cider, iv, 22; his patronage of Mrs. Barber, iv, 22, *and see* Barber; Sir John Browne erects a monument in his honour, iv, 24, 27*n.*, 463, 464; acquaintance with William Fortescue, iv, 29; sends coins to the 2nd Earl of Oxford, iv, 31, 40, 71, 72, 76, 82; stays with the Achesons at Market Hill, iv, 38-57, 87-103, 160-166; v, 269*n.*, 455; vi, 226; relations with the Achesons, iv, 38*n.*, *and see* Acheson; his wigs, iv, 48; his nightcaps from Mrs. Worrall, iv, 48; his name and Pope's joined in "silly scandals," iv, 49; invited to go to Aix-la-Chapelle with Lady Bolingbroke, iv, 60; insulted by Ram's coachman, iv, 64; labelled as "Polidore" in *Some Memoirs of the Amours, etc.*, iv, 65; his adventure with William Flower and a drunken boatman, iv, 66, 67; receives a ham from a Quaker of Philadelphia, iv, 74; his connection with Yorkshire, iv, 76; fishes as a little boy, iv, 76; describes his daily life in Dublin, iv, 77, 128, 193, 194, 236; v, 19, 107, 141, 143, 186, 223, 300, 406; vi, 22; his gifts from Lord Bolingbroke, iv, 78; his lawsuit, iv, 81, 82, 127, 141, 147-150, 152, 156, 161, 210, 212, 219, 233, 235, 236, 240, 259, 270, 414; proposes to buy land and build at Drapier's Hill, iv, 95, 100, 101, 106, 109; his preparedness for death, iv, 104, 135, 414; calls himself a younger son, iv, 105; his reputed brother, iv, 105*n.*, 475; his unfortunate present of Hermitage from George Arbuthnot, iv, 116, 128, 134, 138, 141, 175, 379; his quarrel with Robert Percival, iv,

118, 119; his patronage of Mrs. Sican, iv, 121, *and see* Sican; attacked by Lord Allen, iv, 126, 127; acquaintance with Lady Charlotte Hyde, iv, 133; subscribes to Buckley's *Thuanus*, iv, 133; his visit to Salisbury and Stonehenge, iv, 135, 174; his rule of *vive la bagatelle*, iv, 135, 316; hides from the Duchess of Queensberry at Pope's, iv, 138; worries Lady Burlington to sing, iv, 141; his tea caddy made by Lady Carteret, iv, 146, 356; subscribes for Samuel Wesley's book, iv, 147; kindness to Dunkin, iv, 168, 169*n.*, *and see* Dunkin; said to have written an epitaph on Burnet in Salisbury, iv, 174; relations with Archbishop Hoadly, iv, 175; v, 71*n.*, *and see* Hoadly; his service of plate, iv, 175*n.*; vi, 155, 227-229; friendship with the Caesars, iv, 177; insists upon ladies making the first advances to him, iv, 180, 181; relations with Mr. Cusack, iv, 193; with Samuel Gerrard, iv, 193, *and see* Gerrard; failing sight, iv, 193, 296; v, 102, 117, 205, 386; robbed of a leg of mutton, iv, 193*n.*; his love of buffoonery, iv, 194*n.*; acquaintance with Colonel Cleland, iv, 196; his "seraglio of very virtuous women," iv, 201*n.*; appearance on horseback, iv, 202; offered the living of Burghfield, iv, 207, 250, 277, 320, 335, 352; acquaintance with the Rev. Philip Chamberlain, iv, 230*n.*; gifts from Lady Worsley, iv, 223, 356; vi, 229; relations with Lord Orrery, iv, 238*n.*, *and see* Orrery; disowns the counterfeit letter to Queen Caroline, iv, 245-249; corrects a poem for Tickell, iv, 245; stays with John Towers at Powerscourt, iv, 258; v, 218*n.*; vi, 226; relations with Conolly, iv, 259, *and see* Conolly; promises to stand godfather to Mrs. Pilkington's child, iv, 261; friendship with Miss Kelly, iv, 279, *and see* Kelly; interest in Ryves' suit, iv, 285; disowns Pilkington's *Infallible Scheme* and *Epigram upon Taylor*, iv, 286, 287; relations with the Meredyths, iv, 295; attacked in the *Answer to Hamilton's Barun*, iv, 303; lists of his Works, iv, 308, 484; v, 39; his knowledge of Tipperary, iv, 311, 312; rides in gambadoes or spatter dashes, iv, 313, 315,

318, 336; v, 188; his telescope, iv, 319; his connection with the *Intelligencer*, iv, 307, and see *Intelligencer*; receives an anonymous packet from Wogan, iv, 327, and see Wogan; sign-posts to Inns bearing his head as the Drapier, iv, 331; some of his works published with Pope's in a *Miscellany*, iv, 342 n., and see *Miscellany*; relations with Sir William Fownes, iv, 343, and see Fownes; a Governor of Miss Mercer's Hospital, iv, 346 n.; relations with Ewin and the Davys's, iv, 361, 362, 383, 384; v, 217; a foreboding of Gay's death, iv, 366; Delamar recommended to, iv, 379; dunned by Mrs. Barmby, iv, 384; interest in the case of Vernon v. Dublin, iv, 396, and see Vernon; and the election of a Recorder for Dublin, iv, 406; criticism of Pope's *Epitaph on Gay*, iv, 412, 413; relations with Deane Swift, iv, 418, 419, and see Swift (Deane); stays with George Nugent at Castlerickard, iv, 419; v, 9 n., 174; vi, 226, 227; opposition to the Excise Bill, iv, 422, 428; his snuff, iv, 424; parodies his own poem, iv, 428 n.; at The Grange, iv, 433; v, 9 n., 193, 454; vi, 227; fastidiousness as to grammar, iv, 436 n.; v, 13, 239; friendship with the Donnellans, iv, 437, and see Donnellan; his expedition to Tallaght, iv, 442; his verses to Stella on her birthday, iv, 459; with Stella in the country, iv, 461; stories of his behaviour at Stella's death, iv, 462; his lampoon upon Tisdall, iv, 479; at Howth Castle, v, 9, 59, 116, 192; vi, 227; his journeys in 1733, v, 9 n.; relations with the Swantons, v, 11, and see Swanton; destruction of his letters to Mrs. Pendarves, v, 13; his efforts on behalf of Lord Mayor French's election for Dublin, v, 25, 44; his kindness to Mrs. Dingley after Stella's death, v, 29, 121, 417; vi, 40, 205, 206; purchases Mrs. Ridgeway's annuity to save it from her husband's extravagance, v, 29, 209, 336; his lodging in Lord Bathurst's wood, v, 34; his friendship with the Countess Granville, v, 47, and see Granville; receives a walking stick from the Duchess of Queensberry, v, 50; sends Sheridan his *Irish Elo-*

quence, v, 50 n.; the publication of his *Six Poems*, v, 51 n., 59 n.; relations with Bubb Dodington, v, 52; opposition to the Bill for remitting the Tithes on Flax and Hemp, v, 54 n.; Bettesworth's attack upon, v, 54-57, and see Bettesworth; relations with Lord and Lady Howth, v, 59 n., and see Howth; his Irish birth, v, 64; vi, 21, 22; reproved by Bolingbroke for want of care in his recommendations, v, 67; gifts from Miss Hoadly, v, 70; asks the Duke of Chandos to give the Clarendon MSS. to Dublin, v, 87, 88, 97, 109, 110; vi, 64, 65; stays with Prebendary Webber, v, 108, 223; receives venison from Mr. Hamilton, v, 120; recommends McLorinan's cause, v, 122, and see McLorinan; his representation to the Duke of Dorset against Whitcombe's dispensation, v, 123-126, and see Whitcombe; a wager referred to him, v, 129; recommends Isaac Bullock for the Blue Coat School, v, 131; acquaintance with the Earl of Strafford, v, 133 n., and see Strafford; friendship with William Richardson, v, 140, and see Richardson; endeavours to reconcile Andrew Fitzherbert to his parents, v, 148-150; lampoons Bishop Hort in *The Storm*, v, 151 n.; criticizes Thomas Beach's poems, v, 161-164; invited to join Archbishop Bolton at Fennor and Cashel, v, 172-174; his profits from his works, v, 180; his *Letters* published by Curll, v, 184, 186, 205, 217, 457, 458; invited to meet Bishop Tennyson at Kilfane, v, 192; his health drunk as "The Drapier," v, 199; recommends Lord Tyrone to Barber, v, 204; his emaciation, v, 218, 259 n., 303, 348; dislike of young Masham, v, 225; vi, 38, 75, 92; his horse frightened by Butler's shooting, v, 230, 232-234; relations with Dean Crosse, v, 232; friendship with Dr. William King, v, 237 n., and see King; at Lord Mayor Grattan's dinner, v, 240; friendship with the Rev. James King, v, 255, and see King; his kindness to the Throps, v, 262, and see Throp; John Sican sends him verses and Pine's Horace, v, 267; his welcome to Cavan, v, 274; entertains the principal inhabitants of Cavan, v, 274,

278; attended by Jacob the barrack surgeon at Cavan, v, 274, *and see* Jacob; endeavours to improve Sheridan's domestic economy, v, 275; his birthday celebrated, v, 288, 289, 291, 394, 395, 409; vi, 102-104; dislike of freshly killed mutton, v, 289, 290; dines with Bishop Rundle, v, 302; complains of being deserted by his friends, v, 303, 347, 351, 387, 396, 406; revises Bishop Hort's skit upon Quadrille, v, 307, *and see* Hort; denied to his friends, v, 314, 357, 398, 399; vi, 151, 221-224; liking for plovers' eggs, v, 323 *n.*; his opposition to the lowering of the gold, v, 324; vi, 47, 48, 64, 206, 218, 219; recommends Marmaduke Phillips for preferment, v, 324-326; in danger of being shot, v, 333; promises Mrs. Whiteway £100 to apprentice her son John, v, 334; relations with John Nichols, v, 355, *and see* Nichols; dislike of Alexandrines, v, 361; his lady friends at Cavan, v, 367; visits Colonel Newburgh at Ballyhaise, v, 367; friendship with Carte, v, 371, *and see* Carte; repeats scandal about Bolingbroke, v, 374, 375; relations with Rev. John Lyon, v, 383, *and see* Lyon; gives Mrs. Barber his *Polite Conversation*, v, 390, 391; his "Deanery puddings," v, 407, 411; presents John Temple with Lady Giffard's portrait, v, 416 *n.*; presented with the Freedom of the City of Cork, v, 421, 433; vi, 42-44; interest in the Delane case, v, 428; his patronage of Lloyd, v, 429; opposes the importation of English halfpence, v, 432, 433; vi, 1, 27; relations with Lady Santry, v, 437-439, *and see* Santry; his relationship to the Drydens, v, 452, 453; composes a couplet in the night, v, 453, 454; and Lord Charlemont, v, 455; and "the virtuous captain," v, 464, 465; his list of distinguished friends, v, 466; invited by Lord Orrery to Marston, vi, 1, 2, 39; defends the Liberty of St. Patrick, vi, 9, 10; recommends Edward Reilly for the Blue Coat School, vi, 36, 46; popular joy at his recovery from illness in 1737, vi, 43 *n.*, 47 *n.*; his dread of madness, vi, 45 *n.*; his quarrel with Archbishop Boulter at Lord Mayor Somerville's

dinner, vi, 46 *n.*, 206, 207; his petition to be exempted from the Mortmain Bill, vi, 48, 49; relations with Andrew Ramsay, vi, 49, *and see* Ramsay; recommends Lady Rivers-ton's cause to Lords Oxford and Orrery, vi, 52, 53; recommends Macaulay's *Thoughts upon Tillage*, vi, 55, 56, 207, 208; his patronage of Clancy, vi, 56-58; affection for Katharine Richardson, vi, 59, *and see* Richardson; recommends a lame boy to Dr. Steevens's Hospital, vi, 73; friendship with the second Lady Orrery, vi, 83 *n.*, *and see* Hamilton; his loans to various people, vi, 86 *n.*; supposed attempt to interest him in Samuel Johnson, vi, 91, 209, 210; entrusts the publication of *On His Own Death* and the *Four Last Years* to William King, vi, 107, *and see* *Four, On*; Cardinal de Polignac's estimate of him, vi, 112; recommends William Swift to Barber, vi, 112, 113; suggests the gift of Dr. Denoue's anatomical models to Trinity College Medical School, vi, 138 *n.*; relations with Francis Wilson, vi, 150, *and see* Wilson; his autograph in Temple's *Works*, vi, 119 *n.*; acquaintance with George Lyttelton, vi, 128, *and see* Lyttelton; his interest in Macaulay's election, vi, 134; his coach, vi, 152 *n.*, 180; his loan to Mrs. Stopford, vi, 153; acquaintance with Robert Nugent, vi, 156 *n.*, *and see* Nugent; burns most of his unprinted papers, vi, 161; declared a lunatic, vi, 180-185, 219; his last interview with Mrs. Whiteway, vi, 185, 186; said to be exhibited by his servants, vi, 188 *n.*; death, vi, 190; dictates his letters to Mrs. Whiteway, vi, 192, 193, 218; recommends Rev. Joseph Moore to the Earl of Arran, vi, 193-195; biographical account of, vi, 216; his last years, vi, 218-226; his temperance, vi, 218; his *Exhortation to the Chapter*, vi, 220, 221; his funeral, vi, 222, 223; a lock of hair cut from his head after death, vi, 222 *n.*; his admiration of the Misses Lutwidge, vi, 226; his travels after 1727, vi, 226, 227; at Gorey, vi, 226; in the North of Ireland, vi, 226; his Bible and Prayer book, vi, 229; gift of a book to Mary Harrison, vi, 229; his wine

- bottles (illustrated), vi, 229, 230; a wine glass belonging to him, vi, 229; his christening robe, vi, 229; his correspondence with Adrian Drift, vi, 234-238; his ring in memory of Prior, vi, 235; the Duchess of Somerset's opinion of, vi, 242; sends Oxford *Some Observations on the Privy Council of Ireland*, vi, 243; his assignment of the property in his scattered poems to Bowyer, vi, 245; his criticism of John Hughes' verses, vi, 246; his *Works*, see under individual titles.
- Swift, *The Character of Dr.*, v, 30, 31.
- Swift, Jonathan (3), son of Godwin (2), vi, 213.
- Swift, Martha, daughter of Adam, married to Theophilus Harrison and Edward Whiteway. See Whiteway.
- Swift, Meade, son of Godwin (1), vi, 214.
- Swift, Mrs. Meade. See Delgarno, L'Estrange.
- Swift, Michael (1), son of Godwin (1), vi, 214, 215.
- Swift, Mrs. Michael (1). See Hodson.
- Swift, Michael (2), son of Godwin (2), vi, 213.
- Swift, Richard, his daughter married to John Sympson, iii, 328 n.
- Swift, Susanna, wife of William (1), vi, 215.
- Swift, Rev. Thomas (1), of Goodrich, i, 8 n.; v, 452; persecuted by Cromwell, vi, 127; his descendants, vi, 212-217.
- Swift, Mrs. Thomas (1). See Dryden.
- Swift, Rev. Thomas (2), son of Thomas (1), i, 8 n., 157 n.; vi, 212, 213; his invalid institution to the living of Thorpe Mandeville, i, 369-373; account of, i, 369 n.; his church of St. Edmund's burnt in the Fire of London, i, 373.
- Swift, Mrs. Thomas (2), daughter of Sir William Davenant, i, 157 n., 362, 369 n., 372 n.; vi, 215.
- Swift, Rev. Thomas (3), son of Thomas (2), afterwards Rector of Puttenham, i, 9 n., 362 n.; vi, 215; with Swift at Kilkenny and Trinity, i, 9 n.; Swift visits him at Oxford, i, 9 n., 362; his spiteful remarks upon Stella, i, 59; account of, i, 59 n.; chaplain to Sir William Temple, i, 59 n., 387; and *The Tale of a Tub*, i, 59 n., 184, 186; his verses, i, 363-366; staying with Sir John Morgan at Kinnersley, i, 362, 366; and the Davenants, i, 367; ii, 81 n.; dedicates his *Noah's Dove* to Harley, i, 387, 388.
- Swift, Thomas (4), son of Godwin (1), vi, 213.
- Swift, Mrs. Thomas (4). See Jervis.
- Swift, Thomas (5), son of Meade, vi, 214.
- Swift, Mrs. Thomas (5). See Dennis.
- Swift, Thomas (6), reputed brother to Jonathan (2), iv, 475.
- Swift, William (1), son of Thomas (1), i, 8-10, vi, 127, 212, 215, 216, 241; account of, i, 8 n.; and Swift's *testimonium*, i, 366 n.; and William Marshall, iii, 463.
- Swift, Mrs. William. See Bromeston, King, Naylor, Swift (Susanna).
- Swift, William (2), "Billy," son of William (1), i, 8 n.; vi, 216.
- Swift, William (3), son of Adam, i, 24 n.; vi, 217.
- Swift, William (4), son of Godwin (2) a Templar, vi, 112, 113, 116, 118, 121, 123, 177, 213, 214; account of, vi, 112 n.
- Swift, Willoughby, son of Godwin (1), a merchant in Portugal, i, 10-12, ii, 370 n.; iii, 152 n.; iv, 418 n.; v, 11 n.; vi, 32, 213; account of, i, 11 n.
- Swift, Mrs. Willoughby, i, 12.
- Swiftsheath, ii, 364 n.
- Swords, i, 119 n.
- Swords, Rev. Henry, Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's, ii, 105.
- Sydney, Henry, Viscount, afterwards 1st Earl of Romney, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, i, 283.
- Sykes, the tumbler, v, 203.
- Sympson, John, jeweller, married to the daughter of Richard Swift, iii, 328 n.
- Sympson, Ralph, bookseller, i, 367, 368.
- "Sympson, Richard," the name used in the negotiations with Motte as to the publication of *Gulliver*, iii, 328-331, 386.
- Synge, Edward (1), afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, i, 53; iii, 95 n., 214; Stearne's rival for the Deanery of St. Patrick's, i, 53, 54; ii, 365 n.; v, 16; and Archbishop King, ii, 381; iii, 71.
- Synge, Edward (2) son of the Arch-

- bishop, afterwards Bishop of Ferns, ii, 365; iii, 403; account of, ii, 365 *n.*; recommended by Swift to Lord Carteret, iii, 248; vi, 98 *n.*, 99; related to Mrs. Pilkington, vi, 98 *n.*; his musical judgement, vi, 99.
- Synge, Dr. Samuel, Dean of Kildare and Precentor of St. Patrick's, i, 71, 72, 83; ii, 76-78, 103, 114, 149; scandal about, i, 71 *n.*; ii, 76 *n.*
- Synods in Ireland, ii, 275.
- Tacitus, iii, 31, 185; his story of "Rufus" applied to Harley, i, 243, 246, 250; quoted, ii, 374; iii, 181; iv, 99; v, 129; translated by Mrs. Grier-son, iv, 120, 170, 223.
- Tack, The, i, 86.
- Talbot, Charles, afterwards 1st Lord, Solicitor General and Lord Chancellor, son of the Bishop, iv, 320, 371 *n.*, v, 134, 141, 142, 346; account of, iv, 320 *n.*
- Talbot, Miss (1), daughter of Charles, Mrs. Barber's poem attributed to, iv, 371 *n.*
- Talbot, Miss (2), narrowly escapes drowning with Pope, v, 377.
- Talbot, Rector of Burghfield, willing to exchange his living for Swift's deanery, iv, 320, 321.
- Talbot, Richard, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, i, 123; iv, 149 *n.*
- Talbot, William, Bishop of Oxford, Salisbury, and Durham, iv, 320.
- Talbot's Castle, Stella's property, iv, 459.
- Tale of a Tub, The*, i, 20 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 183 *n.*, 184, 186; ii, 22 *n.*, 68 *n.*, 212 *n.*; iii, 57 *n.*; v, 97 *n.*
- Tallaght, ii, 355, 356; restoration of the Church at, iii, 166, 167; subterranean stream at, iv, 442, 443.
- Tallard, Count, prisoner in England, i, 143.
- Tara, Hill of, iv, 468.
- Tara Hall. *See* Brabazon Lodge.
- Tart Hall, i, 162.
- Tasso, Torquato, quoted, v, 199.
- Tatler, The*, i, 115 *n.*, 134 *n.*, 143 *n.*, 152 *n.*, 161, 163, 166 *n.*, 183, 189, 190; iii, 51 *n.*, 171, 209; iv, 329 *n.*
- Taubman, Matthew, iv, 350 *n.*
- Taverner, William, Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's, vi, 221.
- Taverns. *See* Inns.
- Taylor, Charles, Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's, ii, 281, 282.
- Taylor, Chevalier, a quack oculist, iv, 287.
- Taylor, Jeremy, Bishop of Down, Down, and Connor, ii, 103 *n.*
- Taylor, Joe, Clerk to Bridewell Hospital, iv, 22, 138, 139, 211.
- Taylor, Mr., v, 103.
- Taylor, Mrs., vi, 143.
- Taylor, William, printer, ii, 285 *n.*; vi, 238.
- Taylor of Loughbrickland, innkeeper, i, 26, 30.
- Taylor, John, of the Treasury, i, 147.
- Telemachus, iv, 390.
- Temple, Dorothy, Lady, born Osborne, wife of Sir William, i, 2 *n.*, 15, 59 *n.*
- Temple, Henry, afterwards Viscount Palmerston, son of Sir John, i, 57, 172; iv, 66 *n.*; v, 291 *n.*; account of, i, 57 *n.*; his grant of rooms in Trinity College to Elwood, i, 57; iii, 297-301; v, 417.
- Temple, Jane, legacy from Stella, iv, 462.
- Temple, Jane Martha, daughter of Sir John, wife of the 3rd Baron Berkeley of Stratton and afterwards Countess of Portland, i, 171 *n.*
- Temple, Sir John, brother of Sir William, i, 54 *n.*, 171 *n.*; iv, 66 *n.*
- Temple, John (2), son of Sir John, i, 172; his property in Ireland, i, 54-56; account of, i, 54 *n.*; living at Moor Park, i, 57; v, 417; at Bath, v, 391; kindness to Mrs. Barber, v, 391, 416 *n.*; Swift presents him with the portrait of Lady Giffard, v, 416 *n.*, 417; and Mrs. Dingley, v, 417.
- Temple, Mrs. John, granddaughter of Sir William, i, 58; v, 417, 418.
- Temple, Sir William, recommends Swift to Sir Robert Southwell, i, 1-3, 362 *n.*; his relations with Swift, i, 1 *n.*, 2, 7, 10, 12-15, 24, 30, 48 *n.*, 365; iii, 300, 301; iv, 229, 361, 451; v, 466; his scheme for the reconstruction of the Privy Council, i, 1 *n.*; his house at Moor Park, Surrey, i, 3; ii, 414 *n.*; his *Essay on Gardening*, i, 3 *n.*, 58; his *The Gardens of Epicurus*, i, 3 *n.*; iii, 216 *n.*; his honeymoon at Moor Park, Herts, i, 3 *n.*; and Dunton, i, 7 *n.*, 363; his *Miscellanea*, i, 10 *n.*, 28, 150 *n.*, 172; character, i, 14 *n.*; love of gardening, i, 18 *n.*; his

- Poems*, i, 21 n.; in London, i, 21 n.; his will, i, 22 n., 40 n., 54 n., 59 n., 150 n.; iv, 450, 452; vi, 205; death, i, 30; iv, 361; v, 351 n.; his connection with Stella, i, 40 n.; iv, 449, 450; 453; relationship to Rebecca Dingley, i, 42 n.; vi, 204, 205; his property in Ireland, i, 54, 55; his family, i, 54 n.; iii, 297 n., his kindness to Daniel Reading, i, 55 n.; and Thomas Swift (3), i, 59 n., 387; his *Memoirs*, i, 150, 167 n., 171-174, 349; ii, 3; his *Letters*, i, 150 n., 172; ii, 267 n.; recommends Swift to William III, i, 157, 362 n.; iii, 301; his *Introduction to English History*, i, 172; his relations with Lord Sunderland, i, 172 n.; his position in Charles II's Government, i, 172 n.; and the Triennial Bill, i, 362 n.; and Geree, ii, 134 n.; his house at Sheen, iii, 414 n.; v, 385 n.; his *Essay preferring the Ancient Learning to the Modern*, iv, 166; his stewards, iv, 449; on long life, v, 320; and Lady Giffard's puddings, v, 407; his *Works*, vi, 119 n.
- Temple, Ode to Sir William*, iii, 414 n.
- Temple's Illness and Recovery, Sir William*, i, 170 n.
- Templecorran, i, 15 n.; illustrated, i, 304.
- Templeogue, iv, 455, 456.
- Tenison or Tennison, Edward, cousin of the Archbishop, appointed Bishop of Ossory, iv, 195, 437; vi, 245; relations with Swift, v, 192; account of, v, 192 n.; called "the Baboon," v, 202, 203; his visitation, v, 203; death, v, 288.
- Tenison, or Tennison, Harry, iv, 454; vi, 245.
- Tenison, or Tennison, Richard, of Thomastown, iv, 454; vi, 245.
- Tenison or Tennison, Mrs. Richard, marries Dr. Delany, iv, 336, 341; vi, 245; her ill-health, v, 50, 51, 137.
- Tenison or Tennison, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, iv, 195 n., 468; v, 192 n.; supports Swift's claims to the bishopric of Waterford, i, 73; and Forbes, i, 102 n., 106 n., 108; and the chaplaincy to the Lord Lieutenant, i, 126; and the proroguing of the clergy, i, 128; his interview with Higgins, i, 164 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 209, 211; on the Council of Regency, ii, 213 n.
- Tennyson, Richard, Bishop of Killala, i, 27 n.
- Tenths, remission of. *See* First Fruits.
- Terence, quoted, iv, 104; v, 299.
- Test Act, Sacramental, attempts at its repeal, i, 67, 81, 83, 84, 86-88, 94 n., 96, 97, 105, 108 n., 122, 126, 127, 129-131, 137, 138, 271 n., 280; iv, 362, 370, 371, 384; v, 38, 53 n., 304, 345, 346.
- Test, A Letter concerning the Sacramental*, i, 88 n., 111, 130, 148 n., 194 n., 298 n.; iv, 362, 367, 368, 484.
- Tetsworth, iii, 386 n.
- Tew, John, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Tew, Mark, Swift's tenant, ii, 346.
- Thackeray, W. M., his criticism of Swift, ii, 420.
- Thales, iii, 112.
- Thames, The, frozen over, i, 134.
- Theaker, Rev. Thomas, Prebendary of Saggart and Vicar of Rathcoole, ii, 56, 62.
- Theobald, Lewis, iv, 180.
- Thetford, Bishop of. *See* Hickes.
- Thistle, Order of the, iii, 362.
- Tholsel, Dublin, The. *See* Dublin.
- Thomas, William, Secretary to the Earl of Oxford, ii, 107, 157, 158, 167, 194 n., 228, 229.
- Thomastown, iii, 467.
- Thompson, Dr., attempted murder by his servant, v, 367.
- Thomson, Mrs. Anthony, her *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, iv, 20 n., 146 n., 247 n.
- Thomson, James, his *Seasons*, iv, 330; his *Liberty*, v, 58.
- Thorn, The*, iv, 484.
- Thorne, Thomas, steward for the Blue Coat Hospital, iv, 347-349.
- Thornhill, Richard, kills Sir Cholmondeley Deering in a duel, i, 257.
- Thornton, i, 3 n., 6.
- Thorold, Mr., ii, 415.
- Thorpe Mandeville, the living of, i, 369-373.
- Thoughts on Various Subjects*, i, 115 n.
- Thourot, General, lands with the French at Kilroot, i, 15 n.
- Throckmorton, i, 153.
- Throp, Rev. Robert, brother of Roger, vi, 146, 147.
- Throp, Rev. Roger, his persecution by

- and action against Colonel Waller, v, 262 *n.*, 266, 272, 273; vi, 146; account of, v, 262 *n.*; debt to Swift, vi, 86; death, vi, 146 *n.*; public sympathy with, vi, 146 *n.*
- Throp, The Case of Mr. Roger*, v, 262, 263.
- Throp, Mrs., mother of Roger, vi, 146.
- Thuanus, iii, 171, and see Mead.
- Thynne, Thomas, i, 278 *n.*
- Tiberius, iv, 22.
- Tibullus, iv, 77.
- Tickell, Major, son of Thomas, i, 187 *n.*; iii, 198 *n.*
- Tickell, Thomas, his friendship with Addison, i, 187; iii, 198 *n.*, 272; Secretary to Lord Carteret, iii, 198, 219, 269, 278; v, 142; his friendship with Swift, iii, 198, 214, 215, 219, 254, 255, 287; iv, 197; account of, iii, 198 *n.*; and Proby, iii, 204-206; and Stopford, iii, 239-241, 255, 256; and Sheridan, iii, 246, 247, 270-273, 275; death, iii, 255 *n.*; and Stella's pick-axe, iii, 256; asked to forward Swift's correspondence, iii, 303; marriage, iii, 304 *n.*, 313; and *Gulliver*, iii, 314, 316; and Swift's license, iii, 384; his correspondence with Swift, iii, 453; sends a poem for Swift's correction, iv, 245; and Pilkington's *Plague of Wealth*, iv, 256, 257; ill, iv, 257; and Dr. Felton, iv, 313 *n.*; and Pope, v, 302.
- Tickell, Mrs., "the Brat," daughter of Sir Maurice Eustace, iii, 304 *n.*, 312, 313, 385; vi, 225; Swift sends her peaches and nectarines, iv, 257, 258.
- Tighe, Mr. Edward K. B., v, 161 *n.*
- Tighe, Mrs. Henry, poetess, iv, 212 *n.*; v, 367.
- Tighe, Right Hon. Richard, reports Sheridan's unfortunate sermon to Lord Carteret, iii, 267 *n.*, 272, 273 *n.*, 275; iv, 42, 343 *n.*; Swift's attack upon, iii, 272 *n.*; Sheridan's lampoon upon, iii, 274; called "Pistorides," v, 142.
- Tillage, Bill for the Encouragement of, or Corn Bill, i, 293.
- Tillotson, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, ii, 108; vi, 167.
- Tim and the Fables*, iv, 308.
- Timon, iii, 277.
- Timothan, prebend of, ii, 320.
- Tindal, Matthew, the deist, i, 70.
- Tipperary, condition of, iv, 311-313; Grammar School, v, 370.
- Tisdall, Jack, son of William (1), i, 26.
- Tisdall, Philip, "Black Phil," cousin of William (2), i, 38 *n.*; candidate for Dublin University, vi, 134; account of, vi, 134 *n.*; on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 182, 183, 185.
- Tisdall, William (1), Sheriff of Carrickfergus, i, 26 *n.*, 38 *n.*
- Tisdall, Rev. William (2), son of William (1), his proposal to Stella, i, 26 *n.*, 40, 41, 45-47; iv, 452; vi, 134 *n.*; relations with Swift, i, 37-47, 386; iv, 305 *n.*, 452; account of, i, 38 *n.*; his character, i, 40; v, 189; his power of preaching, i, 44, 306 *n.*; politics, i, 44; iii, 290; his marriage, i, 47 *n.*; v, 189 *n.*; vi, 134; Vicar of Belfast and Rector of Drumree, i, 47 *n.*; death, i, 47 *n.*; his *Conduct of the Dissenters*, i, 126 *n.*; his intimacy with the Copes, ii, 392; iii, 163, 166; suspected of writing the *Answer to Hamilton's Bawn*, iv, 304, 305; his attacks upon Swift and Sheridan, iv, 305, 306; Swift's lampoon upon, iv, 479.
- Tisdall, Mrs. William (2). See Morgan.
- Tisdalls of Charlesfort, The, ii, 261 *n.*
- Tithes, Bill for the Recovery of, i, 283, 296, 297.
- Tithes on Flax and Hemp, Bill for Repealing the, v, 53 *n.*
- Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), i, 176.
- Titus, Emperor, coin of, iv, 31.
- Titus, Colonel Silas, his *Killing no Murder*, vi, 50 *n.*
- Tofts, Mary, "the Rabbit Woman," iii, 362, 367, 370.
- Toland, John, his *Christianity not Mysterious*, iii, 244.
- Toland's Invitation to Dismal*, i, 337 *n.*, 338; v, 39.
- Tollet, George, iii, 34 *n.*
- "Tom, Captain," *i.e.*, leader of the Mob, iii, 356.
- "Tom the water fool," probably Bowry, *q.v.*
- Tom, Swift's servant, ii, 263, 264, 285, 293.
- "Tommy." See Wharton.
- Tonson, Jacob, publisher, ii, 285 *n.*; iii, 4 *n.*, 33, 39, 52, 282, 334, 342; his dinner party at Barnes, iv, 206.
- "Tonsor, Johannes." See Barber.
- Tooke, Rev. Andrew, Master of the Charterhouse, son of Benjamin, his

- alterations to *Gulliver*, iv, 444; v, 26.
- Tooke, Benjamin, publisher, his friendly relations with Swift, i, 150; ii, 176, 302, 303; iii, 11, 21, 151, 153; iv, 95; publishes *Sir William Temple's Memoirs*, i, 150, 167, 171 n.; account of, i, 167 n.; and the *Tale of a Tub*, i, 183-186; and the *Miscellanies*, i, 298 n., 306 n., 384, 385; iv, 7; Swift obtains for him the office of Gazetteer, ii, 173; v, 385 n.; and Esther Vanhomrigh, ii, 173, 174, 209; succeeded in his business by Benjamin Motte, iii, 328 n.; v, 217 n.
- Tooke, Mr., v, 217.
- Topham, Richard, M.P. for New Windsor, "the incomparable," i, 161.
- Torcy, Jean, Marquis de, French plenipotentiary for the Peace, i, 347; ii, 2.
- Torrington, Lady, and Mrs. Barber, iv, 478.
- Tory Administration. *See* Harley.
- Tothill Fields, i, 257.
- Touchet, Miss, living with the Duchess of Shrewsbury, i, 338 n., 340; married to Lord Blayney, vi, 145 n.
- Tournay, i, 347.
- Tower, The, iv, 334.
- Tower Hill, Fire on, ii, 179, 180.
- Towers, Rev. John, Prebendary of Stagonil, Rector of Powerscourt, and Vicar of St. Luke's, iv, 258 n.; v, 101 n., 218, 219; Swift stays with, iv, 257 n., 258; coaching young Acheson, v, 219; has charge of young Rochfort, v, 337, 341.
- Towers, Mr., v, 101.
- Townsend, Richard, of Castle Townsend, and the virtuous Captain, v, 464, 465.
- Townshend, Charles, 2nd Viscount, succeeds Bolingbroke as Secretary of State, ii, 235; iii, 138 n.; dines with Oxford after Anne's death, ii, 235; removed from the position of Premier, ii, 359, 361; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ii, 363 n., 370 n.; iii, 290; very ill, iii, 435; retirement, iii, 435 n.; iv, 196; dissensions between him and Walpole, iv, 136 n.; and Lord Carteret, iv, 144 n.
- Townshend, "honest," staying at Richmond with the Ormonds, ii, 141.
- Townshend, Mr., of Cork, iii, 245.
- Trapp, Dr. Joseph, iv, 339, 350; account of, iv, 339 n.
- "Traulus." *See* Allen.
- Travers, Rev. John, Vicar of St. Andrews, Dublin, ii, 273, 321; his name wrongly written Navors, iii, 456 n.; vi, 242.
- Treasurer, Lord. *See* Godolphin, Harley, Rochester, Shrewsbury.
- Treasurer of the Household. *See* Bingley, Cholmondely, Lansdown.
- Treasury, Irish, i, 197.
- Trevor, Sir John, v, 412 n.
- Trevor, Thomas, Lord Chief Justice, ii, 170, 171, 197.
- Trifles, Some*, ii, 408.
- Trim, i, 32 n., 33; ii, 25, 26, 54, 147, 148, 256, 271; iii, 9, 34, 467; vi, 226, 227; illustrated, ii, 48; horse fair at, ii, 281; its Gate of St. Lawrence, ii, 387.
- Trimnel, Charles, Bishop of Norwich, i, 87 n., 202 n.
- Trinity College and Dublin University, i, 9 n., 41 n., 51 n., 362; iv, 1, 2; vi, 213-217; its fellows allowed to leave at the Revolution, i, 2; its Library, i, 84 n., 121 n., 271 n.; Jacobitism at, i, 105, 106, 196 n.; disorders in, ii, 285; iii, 108 n., 129; v, 112-114, 357 n.; compared with Oxford, iii, 218, 309; its grievances against the Government, iii, 309; its dispute with Provost Baldwin, iii, 399, 401, 403; election of its Chancellor on the accession of George II, iii, 399-401, 403; and Dunkin, v, 356, 357, 359, 360; and Samuel Johnson, vi, 209, 210.
- Trinity College, Provost of, i, 54, 55; *and see* Baldwin, Browne, Pratt.
- T—rs, "the wise," i, 161.
- Trismegistus, iv, 197.
- Trotter, Dr. Thomas, on Swift's Lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- Trumbull, Sir William, Ambassador, his supposed verses to Lady Betty Berkeley, v, 229, 457, 458; account of, v, 457.
- Trustee's Act, The, i, 77.
- Tuam, Archbishop of. *See* Synge, Vesey.
- Tucker, Martin, and the election for the Recorder, ii, 75, 101, 102.
- Tuke, Sir Brian, Treasurer to Henry VIII, i, 167 n.
- Tully. *See* Cicero.
- Tully, Marcus, the Cavan carrier, v, 291, 379.

- Tunbridge, iii, 324; iv, 37, 461.
 "Tunbridge Acquaintance or Correspondent, A," iv, 315, 316, 336, 439.
 Turner, Francis, Bishop of Ely, i, 363, 364.
 Turner, Thomas, his project for finding the latitude, v, 99.
 Tweedale, Grand Duke of. *See* Cosimo.
 Tweedale, John, 4th Marquess of, v, 319 n.
 Tweedale, Frances, Marchioness of. *See* Carteret.
 Twentieth Parts. *See* First Fruits.
 Twickenham, iii, 280; *and see* Pope.
 Twin girls joined together, i, 90.
 Two Green Pots, Charles Street, i, 390.
 Tyler, Farmer, ii, 164.
 Tyrawley, Charles, 1st Lord, iii, 205.
 Tyrconnel, Earl of. *See* Fitzwilliam, Talbot.
 Tyrconnel, John Brownlow, Viscount, iv, 472.
 Tyrone, Marcus (miscalled Tristram) Beresford, Lord, and the London-derry Society, v, 203.
 Tyrone's Rebellion, i, 64 n.
- Ulster Journal of Archaeology, The*, i, 18 n.
- Ulysses, v, 129.
 "Undertakers" and the Irish Parliament, i, 303, 304.
 Underwood, C. F. W., his MSS., vi, 207 n.
- Union with Scotland, The, i, 67 n.; Bill to dissolve, ii, 40, 41.
Upon Himself, ii, 212 n.
- Upper Letcombe. *See* Letcombe.
 Ursins, Princess des, iii, 432.
 Usquebaugh, iv, 20, 47, 48, 57, 62, 127, 134, 150, 157.
 Ussher, James, Bishop of Meath and Archbishop of Armagh, i, 66 n.; iii, 37 n.; v, 127 n., 324 n.
- Utrecht, the Peace and Treaty of, i, 118, 195 n., 197, 254, 255, 289, 295, 314, 315 n., 319, 322, 326, 328-331, 340, 346-349; ii, 1-4, 7-12, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 53; iii, 39; vi, 20-22, 41, 77, 78, 80; Thanksgiving for, ii, 412.
- Uxelles, Marshal d', French Plenipotentiary, ii, 2.
- Vaganseilius, J. C., v, 237.
- Valentia, Viscount. *See* Power.
 Valentine and Orson, v, 241.
 Valentini, Italian opera singer, i, 135.
 "Van, Mrs." *See* Vanhomrigh.
 Vanbrugh, Sir John, v, 466.
 Vandyck, Sir Anthony, a portrait of Charles I ascribed to him, iii, 287 n., 320.
 "Vanessa." *See* Vanhomrigh (Esther).
 Vanhomrigh, Bartholomew (1), Lord Mayor of Dublin, account of, i, 299 n.; ii, 73 n.; iii, 454-456; death, i, 299 n.; iii, 456; will, iii, 35 n., 456; marriage, iii, 453, 454; official acquaintances, iii, 458.
 Vanhomrigh, Bartholomew (2), son of Bartholomew (1), called "the Captain" and "the Colonel," i, 299 n., 340, 343; at Windsor, i, 339, 340 n.; account of, i, 339 n.; his visit to France, ii, 18, 19, 45, 60; iii, 62, 132, 137; imprisoned for debt, ii, 60; death and will, ii, 259 n.; iii, 35 n.; relations with his sister Esther, ii, 259 n.; his age, iii, 456; sent to Christ Church, Oxford, iii, 457.
 Vanhomrigh, Esther or Hester, "Vanessa," daughter of Bartholomew (1), her Correspondence with Swift, i, vi, vii, 341 n.; iii, 453-467; relations with Swift, i, 299, 335, 336, 384, 385; ii, 142 n., 259, 260, 277, 403; iii, 34-36, 56, 58-60, 79 n., 84, 85, 87, 88, 131-137, 162 n., 213 n., 441-446, 457-462; iv, 460; friendship with her cousin, Anne Long, i, 299, 306, 307; account of, i, 299 n.; iii, 453-467; made free of the City of Dublin, i, 299 n.; iii, 453, 454; and the eldest Hatton, i, 307; iii, 458; her will, i, 309 n.; iii, 137 n., 162 n., 462-464; v, 122 n., 155 n.; her friendship with Lewis, i, 309, 339, 341-343; ii, 40, 51; iii, 253 n.; iii, 132, 137; her life in London, i, 339, 340; relations with Ford, i, 339; ii, 48, 53; iii, 59, 63, 458, 462; walks to please Swift, i, 340; iii, 48; her coffee, i, 340, 344; ii, 44; iii, 57, 61, 63, 68, 85, 131, 132, 135; iii, 462, 463; with Swift at Windsor, i, 340-344; her age, i, 341 n.; iii, 453, 454, 456, 458; rallies Swift about Alice Hill, i, 342, 343; vi, 242; Swift lends her money, i, 343; ii, 173, 174; iii, 459; goes to Oxford with Swift, i, 344; ii, 142 n.; and Sir Andrew

- Fontaine, ii, 13; iii, 458, 462; reads Davila and Rochefoucauld, ii, 44, 54; iii, 282 *n.*; business with Mr. Partinton, ii, 45; iii, 85, 87, 88, 131-133, 135-137, 464; at Dunstable, ii, 45; iii, 62; her bedside receptions, ii, 46; traditional connection with Saggart, ii, 56 *n.*, 281 *n.*; financial difficulties, ii, 173, 259, 260; iii, 34 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 459; her mother's death, ii, 173; jealous of Swift's friendship with Tooke and Barber, ii, 209; wishes to accompany Barber to Letcombe, ii, 210; visits Swift at Letcombe, ii, 210, 234, 276; iii, 62, 460; her character and temperament, ii, 234; iii, 84, 87, 88, 134; follows Swift to Ireland, ii, 252; iii, 460, 461; her house at Celbridge, ii, 252, 404; iii, 56-63, 131-135, 189 *n.*, 444-446; vi, 229; lodging in Turnstile Alley, Dublin, ii, 253; her proposed visit to Ireland in 1711, ii, 253 *n.*; her family, ii, 259; iii, 35 *n.*, 453, 454; acquaintance with Dr. Pratt, ii, 404; Swift calls on her while she is out, ii, 404; acquaintance with Archbishop King, iii, 34, 443; thinks of returning to London, iii, 34 *n.*, 85, 461; her proposal from Dean Winter, iii, 34 *n.*, 57 *n.*, 461; her knowledge of French, iii, 35; her health, iii, 35, 58, 60, 444; verses to, iii, 56, 57; called "Governor Huff," iii, 56, 58, 61; and Dean Price, iii, 57 *n.*; death, iii, 57 *n.*, 162 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 306, 464, 465; iv, 460; v, 464; vi, 205; called "Skinage" and "Heskinage," iii, 59, 60, 136; borrows money from Barber on her jewels, iii, 59 *n.*, 67; has company at Celbridge, iii, 61; visits Swift at Kensington, iii, 62, 132, 137, 459; her first journey to London, iii, 62 *n.*; goes to Dublin to see Swift, iii, 63; visited by Swift at Celbridge, iii, 67, 467; her sister's death, iii, 73; meets Swift at Kendall's, iii, 131; with Swift in Ryder Street, iii, 132, 137; and *Gulliver*, iii, 133; her Act of Parliament, iii, 136; with Swift in St. James' Street and Cleveland Row, iii, 137; her cousins, iii, 137; her final rupture with Swift, iii, 162 *n.*, 462; buried in St. Andrew's Churchyard, iii, 167 *n.*; makes Berkeley her executor, iii, 213 *n.*, 462, 463; appoints Robert Marshall her executor, iii, 306, 462, 463; said to have directed the publication of *Cadenus and Vanessa*, iii, 306, 465; her "old Dragon," iii, 444; her birthday, iii, 453; her social circle in London, iii, 458, 459; visits Swift at Chelsea, iii, 459; jealousy of Stella, iii, 460; supposed proposal of marriage to Swift, iii, 462; supposed letter to Stella, iii, 462; said to have given way to drink, iii, 462; her legacies, iii, 463; v, 122 *n.*, 155 *n.*; libelled in *Some Memoirs of the Amours*, etc., iv, 65 *n.*
- Vanhomrigh, Ginkel, son of Bartholomew (1), 299 *n.*; iii, 35 *n.*, 456, 457.
- Vanhomrigh, Mrs. Hester, daughter of John Stone, "Mrs. Van," i, 299 *n.*; ii, 60; said to be married to Sir William Robinson (1), i, 56 *n.*; iii, 457; account of, i, 299 *n.*; iii, 453, 454; acquaintance with Swift, i, 299 *n.*, 336, 340, 344, 384, 386; ii, 12, 13, 40; iii, 435 *n.*, 457, 458; living in Park Place St. James', i, 340, 343; Swift sends her a haunch of venison, i, 342, 343; relations with Joshua Dawson, i, 390; her journey to England in 1708, i, 390; iii, 456, 457; lodging at the Two Green Flower Pots in Charles Street, i, 390; acquaintances in Dublin, i, 390; friendship with Sir Andrew Fontaine, ii, 12, 13; iii, 457; her coffee, ii, 44, 45; death, ii, 173; debts, ii, 173; iii, 34 *n.*; and Anne Long, iii, 457; her circle of acquaintance in London, iii, 458, 459; iv, 85 *n.*
- Vanhomrigh, Mary, daughter of Bartholomew (1), "Molkin," i, 299 *n.*, 336, 340; ii, 13, 40, 43, 45-47, 143, 210, 260; iii, 34 *n.*, 35, 62, 63; at Bath, i, 306; ill-health, i, 343; ii, 44, 56, 57, 61, 67, 68, 444; her "even so," ii, 44; Swift writes to, iii, 56-58, 61, 69; liking for Ford, iii, 59; death, iii, 73; date of birth, iii, 456.
- Van Lewen, Dr. John, quarrels with Pilkington, v, 381 *n.*
- Varina. *See* Waring.
- Vatia, v, 78.
- Veal, recipe for cooking, iii, 344, 345, 350-352.
- Vendome, Duke of, i, 225, 226.
- Venter, of Virginia, i, 162.

- Venus, i, 142; iv, 479.
- Vere, Baron. *See* Beauclerk.
- Verney, John, M.P. for Leicester, i, 62 *n.*
- Vernon, Admiral Edward, said to have written the letter signed by Grant, v, 60 *n.*; and the expedition to Carthage, vi, 178 *n.*
- Vernon, Captain John, his cause against the city of Dublin, iv, 396-398, 406, 407, 411, 417, 437.
- "Verres." *See* Wharton.
- Versailles, v, 268.
- Verses under the Picture of England's Archpoet*, iv, 360 *n.*
- Vertue, George, his prints from Richardson's portrait of Prior, iii, 52; verses on, iii, 52 *n.*; his engraving of Swift's portrait, v, 450.
- Very Young Lady, A Letter to a*, v, 261 *n.*; and *see* Rochfort.
- Vesey, Agmondisham, Accountant General of Ireland, son of the Archbishop, v, 342.
- Vesey, John, Archbishop, i, 77 *n.*, 296; ii, 126 *n.*, 365 *n.*; Lord Justice in Ireland, ii, 50, 238; his house attacked, ii, 75; his politics, ii, 75 *n.*; appointed President of the Irish Upper House of Convocation, ii, 94 *n.*; death, ii, 315.
- Vesey, Mrs., daughter-in-law of Agmondisham, v, 342 *n.*
- Vesey, Thomas, Bishop of Killaloe and Ossory, ii, 126 *n.*
- Vesey, William, son of the Archbishop, marries Mrs. Dixon, v, 194, 199.
- Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's, their action against Lord Abercorn, ii, 113, 114, 121, 242, 271; iv, 346 *n.*; their unsuitable behaviour, iii, 100; vi, 220, 221.
- Victor Amadeus, King of Sicily, and the Pope, ii, 128, 129, 137, 138; gives Lord Peterborough a watch, v, 295.
- Vienna, Treaty of, iii, 370.
- Villa Viciosa, i, 226 *n.*
- Villette, Marquise de, afterwards Lady Bolingbroke, her liaison with Bolingbroke, ii, 327 *n.*; iii, 23, 376; marries Bolingbroke, iii, 109, 170, 340, 341; her property near Nogent sur Seine, iii, 109, 317; her house in Paris, iii, 109; her knowledge of English, iii, 185, 377; her friendship with Swift, iii, 185, 211, 376; iv, 60, 101, 137, 154, 220, 316; in London, iii, 211, 337, 376; and Gulliver, iii, 376, 377; her bad health, iii, 376, 381; iv, 15, 32, 37, 51, 76, 97, 142, 143, 195, 197, 208, 209, 254, 255, 302, 309, 316, 321; v, 66; at Dawley, iii, 376, 377; iv, 15, 37, 197; invites Swift to Dawley, iii, 377; iv, 445; sends Swift Gulliver fans for Stella, iii, 377, 379; Swift sends her usquebaugh, iv, 20; at Bath, iv, 32, 37; goes to Aix-la-Chapelle, iv, 60, 97, 101; her kindness to Gay, iv, 72; age, iv, 97; sends Swift Voltaire's *Henriade*, iv, 446; living in France, vi, 92, 123, 129.
- Villiers, George, 1st Duke of Buckingham. *See* Buckingham.
- Vindication of His Excellency Lord Carteret, A*, iv, 151, 484.
- Vines, grown out of doors, i, 58, 59.
- Virgil, i, 180; iii, 91, 94, 155, 175, 293-295, 352; iv, 163, 228, 399; vi, 246; quoted, iii, 118; iv, 66, 136, 155; vi, 1, 2, 31; travestied by Cotton, v, 193.
- Virginia, Bishopric of, i, 143.
- Virginia, Governor of. *See* Hunter, Orkney.
- Virtues of Sid Hamel's Rod, The*, i, 194 *n.*, 198 *n.*
- Vivaldi, Antonio, musician, vi, 223.
- Voiture, Vincent, his *Letters*, iv, 126, 142; v, 251.
- Voltaire, François Arouet de, on Rochefoucauld, iii, 282 *n.*; in England, iii, 395, 438; acquaintance with Swift, iii, 395, 438; iv, 446 *n.*; gives Swift letters of introduction, iii, 395, 396; his *Henriade*, iii, 438; iv, 446; sends some books to Lord Carteret, iv, 446.
- Wade, Chaplain to the Duke of Shrewsbury, vi, 234.
- Wadgar, Dame, Lady Berkeley's deaf housekeeper, iv, 200, 284.
- Wadman, Rev. Thomas, headmaster of Armagh school and Rector of Donoughmore, iii, 54.
- Waghorne, John, a chorister, iv, 22.
- Wahull, John, Baron de, iv, 473, 474.
- Wahull, Thomas, Baron de, iv, 473, 474.
- Wainwright, John, Baron of the Irish Exchequer, on the *Essay on Man*, v, 102; account of, v, 102 *n.*; on Lord

- Ortery's marriage, vi, 83*n.*; on Swift's last years, vi, 225.
- Wake, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, iii, 203*n.*; his Correspondence quoted, i, 79*n.*; iii, 7*n.*, 9*n.*, 37*n.*, 48*n.*, 65*n.*, 87*n.*, 102*n.*, 234*n.*
- Wales, Prince of. *See* Frederick, George.
- Wales, Princess of. *See* Augusta, Caroline.
- Walker, cabinet maker of Dublin, vi, 227.
- Walker, Rev. E. M., on Letcombe, ii, 143.
- Walker, Middleton, man midwife, ii, 45.
- "Walker, Patricius," *Rambles by*, i, 3*n.*
- Walker, William, Lord Mayor of Dublin, vi, 46, 206.
- Walkington, Edward, Bishop of Down, i, 24, 25.
- Wall, Mr., vi, 216.
- Wall, Richard, of Rogane, i, 355*n.*
- Wall, William, of Maryborough, iii, 80.
- Waller, Ludlow's tenant, iv, 469.
- Waller, Edmund, iv, 163.
- Waller, Colonel John, his persecution of Roger Throp, v, 262, 266, 270-273; vi, 146, 147.
- Walley, Rev. Randolph, i, 119.
- Wallis, Rev. Thomas, Vicar of Athboy, Swift's proxy at diocesan visitations, iii, 82, 86, 236, 385; entertains Swift, Stella, and Mrs. Dingley, iii, 82*n.*, 105; iv, 460; in Dublin, iii, 105, 106; and the improvements to Laracor, iii, 105, 158; his Memorial to Primate Lindsay, iii, 158; his buildings, iii, 385; death of his wife, iv, 50; his son, iv, 51.
- Wallis, Mrs., iii, 385; iv, 50.
- Walls, Mrs. Dorothy, wife of the Archdeacon, born Newman, her puns, i, 70, 71, 121; her card parties, i, 121*n.*; ii, 167, 257, 281, 366; her intimacy with Stella, i, 121, 257, 281; birth of her children, ii, 63-65, 332; rallied about Joe Beaumont, ii, 64, 65; messages to, ii, 70, 73, 77, 95, 125, 131, 132, 148, 149, 166, 203, 227, 264, 279, 282, 306, 315-317, 324, 366, 367, 369, 380, 382, 388; iii, 251; Swift gives her a portrait of her son by Jervas, ii, 344, 356, 363; stays with Stella and Mrs. Dingley with Bishop Stearne for Christmas, ii, 345, 352, 356, 357; iv, 458; to dine at the Deanery, iii, 191; Stella lives with, iv, 458; in middle age, v, 189.
- Walls, Dolly, daughter of Thomas, ii, 358.
- Walls, Jacky, son of Thomas, his portrait painted by Jervas, ii, 344, 351, 356, 363; as a stripling, v, 189.
- Walls, Rev. Thomas, Master of St. Patrick's School and Archdeacon of Achonry, his Correspondence with Swift, i, vi, 382, 383, 386; iii, 250; account of, i, 69*n.*; educated at Dublin University, i, 69*n.*; iii, 250; catalogues Dean Stearne's books, i, 70*n.*; his management of Swift's affairs, i, 118-121; ii, 124, 130-132, 147, 164-166, 203, 222, 256, 257, 263, 314, 315, 344-347, 349-351, 355-359, 363, 364, 380-382, 400, 404, 405; his friendship with Stella, i, 121; ii, 66, 67, 69, 94; iv, 458; and the Dublin card club, i, 121*n.*; ii, 67; his puns, i, 121*n.*; ii, 365; his children, ii, 63, 67, 73, 125, 131, 132, 148, 166, 332; supposed to be jealous of Joe Beaumont, ii, 64, 65; resigns the mastership of the Cathedral school, ii, 67*n.*, 94, 95; incumbent of Castleknock, ii, 67*n.*, 324; and the prolocutorship, ii, 69, 78, 93-95; and the Manleys, ii, 125; and the prebend of Malahidist, ii, 132, 319, 320, 322; his intimacy with Swift, ii, 240, 258, 291, 319, 320, 322; Stella and Mrs. Dingley lodge with, ii, 279, *et seq.*; applies for the Rectory of Castlehaven, ii, 279, 315-317, 319, 321-323; his machine for dining *sub dio*, ii, 280; informs Swift of the seizure of his Correspondence, ii, 281; and Charles Taylor, ii, 282; exchanges horses with Swift, ii, 305, 306; and Archbishop King, ii, 324; anxiety about Swift's health, ii, 332; and the Trim Charity money, ii, 347; invited to Trim, ii, 347, 356; buys tobacco for Swift, ii, 368; an acquaintance of, ii, 406; invited to dine at the Deanery, iii, 191; iv, 458; to advise Sheridan, iii, 245; kept in Dublin by bad weather, iii, 250; corresponds with Mrs. Dingley, iii, 251; sends some verses for Swift to correct, iii, 251; writes to tell Swift of Stella's illness,

- iii, 315; rides with Swift, iii, 441; his child's christening, iv, 457; out of favour with Swift, v, 189, 355, 381.
- Walmsley, Rev. John, iii, 128; iv, 44; v, 343; account of, iii, 128 *n.*
- Walpole, Edward, son of Sir Robert, v, 44, 46 *n.*, 416 *n.*; account of, v, 44 *n.*
- Walpole, Horace (1) or Horatio, afterwards Baron, brother of Sir Robert, Envoy Extraordinary at Paris, iii, 229 *n.*; returned to England, iv, 319.
- Walpole, Horace (2), son of Sir Robert, on Vanessa's coffee, i, xxv; iii, 57 *n.*; on the Grange, Northington, i, 112 *n.*
- Walpole, Sir Robert, Prime Minister to George I and George II, ii, 70 *n.*; iii, 229 *n.*, 348, 405, 415; iv, 23, 30, 173, 236, 319; v, 108 *n.*; tampers with letters in the post, i, 96 *n.*; iv, 176; vi, 28; entertained by Bolingbroke, ii, 202; Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, ii, 278, 285 *n.*; vi, 244; and Lord Townshend, ii, 360; iv, 136 *n.*; on the Duchess of Kendal, iii, 50; and Wood's coinage, iii, 216 *n.*; his unsuccessful advances to and quarrel with Swift, iii, 304 *n.*, 307-311, 315, 316 *n.*, 335, 336, 375, 388; iv, 248, 267, 374, 375; and Pope, iii, 336, 337; iv, 117; Pulteney's opposition to, iii, 337 *n.*, 388; iv, 12 *n.*, 45, 125, 249 *n.*; v, 433; his spies and pamphleteers, iii, 388, 392; iv, 9 *n.*, 255, 256; his church patronage, iii, 388; iv, 429; his foreign policy, iii, 389; vi, 31, 144 *n.*, 163; and the "Occasional Writer," iii, 392; his power on the accession of George II, iii, 402 *n.*; v, 179, 280, 281; his treatment of Gay, iii, 431; iv, 2, 12, 51 *n.*, 113, 182, 183, 267, 374, 375; his Lodge in Richmond Park, iv, 13, 157 *n.*; his mistress, Maria Skerrett, iv, 51 *n.*; vi, 52; his banquet to Queen Caroline at Chelsea, iv, 124; and the Qualification Bill, iv, 136; his house at Houghton, iv, 157; and the Excise Bill, iv, 378 *n.*, 402 *n.*, 422, 423; v, 280; and the South Sea stock, iv, 389; insulted on leaving the House, iv, 423; his proposed arrest of Swift, v, 59 *n.*; the *Dissertation upon Parties* dedicated to, v, 177 *n.*; and Lady Suffolk, v, 205; and the Repeal of the Test Act, v, 304 *n.*, 345, 346; his peerage, v, 333; recovery from illness, vi, 97; and the Duke of Argyll, vi, 178 *n.*; temporarily out of power, vi, 180 *n.*
- Walpole, Lady, first wife of Sir Robert, and Mrs. Barber, iv, 478; death, vi, 52.
- Walsh, Rev. John, Prebendary of Fennor, v, 173.
- Walsh, Mrs., v, 173.
- Walsh, William, poet, ii, 97.
- Walter, Peter, iii, 423; iv, 417.
- "Waltham Black, A," *i.e.* a deer-stealer, iii, 290.
- Walton, Isaac, i, 384 *n.*
- Walton, John, Archbishop of Dublin, vi, 110.
- Wanley, Humphrey, Librarian to Harley, i, 1 *n.*, 387, 388.
- Warburton, Mrs., Maid of Honour, i, 340.
- Warburton, Rev. Thomas, Swift's Curate at Laracor, i, 385; ii, 65, 147, 166, 295, 315, 343; his School at Trim, ii, 54, 282; recommended to Archbishop King, ii, 56; friendship with the Chetwodes, ii, 276, 284, 289, 291, 292; called "Sub," ii, 282, 289; objects to walking, ii, 289; laid up with gout, ii, 305; his marriage, ii, 366; appointed to the living of Magherafelt, ii, 366-370, 387; iii, 37 *n.*; his good preaching, ii, 366; death, v, 384.
- Warburton, Mrs. Thomas, v, 384, 402.
- Ward, Sir Edward, Chief Baron, ii, 181.
- Ward, James, Dean of Cloyne, v, 349.
- Ward, Mr. Justice, v, 360.
- Ward, Peter, Prebendary of Derry, iii, 248.
- Ware, Sir James, his collection of MSS., v, 88, 172, 173.
- Waring, Elizabeth, daughter of Roger, i, 16 *n.*
- Waring, Fenekin, daughter of Roger, i, 16 *n.*, 35 *n.*
- Waring, Jane, "Varina," daughter of Roger, her relations with Swift, i, 15-20, 31-35; ii, 53 *n.*; account of, i, 16 *n.*, 35 *n.*
- Waring, Peter, son of Roger, i, 16 *n.*
- Waring, Richard, son of William (1), i, 16 *n.*
- Waring, Rev. Roger, Archdeacon of Dromore, i, 16 *n.*, 31 *n.*, 32, 34 *n.*
- Waring, Mrs. Roger. *See* Westenra.

- Waring, Westenra, son of Roger, i, 16 *n.*
- Waring, William (1), of Waringstown, brother of Roger, i, 16 *n.*
- Waring, William (2), son of William (1), i, 16 *n.*
- Warren, Curate of St. Mary's, and landlord of Galtrim, ii, 384, 385.
- Warrington, George Booth, Earl of, i, 161 *n.*
- Warwick, St. Mary's, iv, 78 *n.*
- Warwick, Edward, 6th Earl of, iii, 3 *n.*
- Warwick, Countess of, wife of the 6th Earl, marries Addison, iii, 3, 4.
- Warwick, Edward Henry, 7th Earl of, iii, 4.
- Wat, Swift's servant, iii, 425.
- Waterford, bishopric of, i, 176; coins of, iii, 286; iv, 31.
- Waterford, Bishop of. *See* Milles.
- Waters, Edward, printer, prosecuted for printing Swift's *Proposal*, iii, 64-66, 69-71, 89, 115, 116, 156, 157.
- Watkins, Henry, Lord Strafford's Secretary at the Hague, i, 356, 357; vi, 242.
- Weavers, Irish, iii, 75, 89, 99 *n.*; iv, 82 *n.*
- Webb, iii, 263; iv, 153.
- Webber, Samuel, Prebendary of Howth, v, 108, 193, 260; account of, v, 108 *n.*
- Webster, Katherine, daughter of William, wife of Godwin Swift (1), vi, 213.
- Webster, Sir Thomas, v, 402.
- Webster, William, vi, 213.
- Welch, Mrs., landlady of the inn at Holyhead, iii, 425 *n.*
- Wells, deanery of, i, 335 *n.*; ii, 4.
- Welsh, John, juryman on Swift's lunacy Commission, vi, 184, 185.
- Wemyss, David, 3rd Earl of, v, 63.
- Wentworth, Lady Lucy, on Lord Dunkerron, v, 43 *n.*
- Wentworth, Peter, brother of Lord Strafford, i, 253 *n.*; v, 7 *n.*; at the Duchess of Shrewsbury's ball, i, 338 *n.*; on Ratcliffe's behaviour on the Queen's last illness, ii, 207 *n.*; on Lady Masham, ii, 213 *n.*, 222 *n.*; on the Duke of Marlborough, ii, 217 *n.*; on Arnall, iv, 9; on Lady Suffolk, iv, 240 *n.*
- Wentworth, Thomas, General at Carthage, vi, 178 *n.*
- Wentworth Papers*, quoted and referred to, i, 253 *n.*, *et passim.*
- Wesley, Garret, of Dangan, i, 180, 383; ii, 414; iii, 97 *n.*; account of, i, 180 *n.*
- Wesley, Mrs. Garret, i, 180, 386.
- Wesley, John, son of Samuel, founder of Methodism, iv, 130 *n.*, 131 *n.*
- Wesley, Rev. Samuel, and the *Athenian Gazette*, i, 7 *n.*; iv, 130 *n.*; his *Commentary on Job*, iv, 130-132, 142, 147, 148, 152; his *Life of Christ* in verse, iv, 130 *n.*; his sons, iv, 131.
- West, George, of Athlone, his family, iii, 128.
- Westenra, Isabella, married to Archdeacon Waring, and afterwards to Robert Greene, i, 16 *n.*, 34.
- Westenra, Peter, M. P., i, 16 *n.*
- Westmeath Conspiracy, The, i, 224, 229.
- Westminster Abbey, iv, 334.
- Westminster, deanery of, ii, 307, 310 *n.*
- Westminster Hall, ii, 389, 391; iv, 125.
- Westminster School, ii, 299; iv, 21; vi, 107 *n.*
- Wexford Spa, iv, 455.
- Weymouth, Thomas, 1st Viscount, i, 144 *n.*; v, 7 *n.*; votes for the Dissolution of the Union, ii, 41.
- Weymouth, Thomas, 2nd Viscount, his marriages, v, 7 *n.*, 14, 35; character, v, 14.
- Weymouth, Lady. *See* Carteret (Louisa).
- Whaley, Colonel Bernard, i, 169.
- Whaley, Rev. Nathaniel, chaplain to Primate Lindsay, ii, 272; iv, 44; account of, ii, 272 *n.*; appointed to the living of Donoughmore, iii, 54; goes to England on account of his lawsuit with Dean Daniel, iv, 44, 46, 60, 62, 72, 132, 141, 142, 148, 160; returns to Ireland, iv, 72, 160.
- Whalley's Almanack, ii, 288, 289.
- Wharton, Lucy, Countess of, wife of Thomas, i, 178.
- Wharton, Philip, 2nd Marquis of, afterwards 1st Duke of, son of Thomas, iii, 1, 2, 66; account of, iii, 1 *n.*, 2 *n.*; relations with Swift, iii, 1 *n.*, 2 *n.*; settles a pension on Dr. Young, iii, 150.
- Wharton, Thomas, 1st Earl, afterwards Marquis of, his electioneering energies, i, 86 *n.*, 198; Lord Lieutenant

- of Ireland, i, 116 n., 123, 124, 126 n., 132, 139, 151, 152, 165, 166, 168, 178, 187, 188, 190, 198-200, 208, 282, 283; iii, 119; iv, 343 n.; and his chaplain Lambert, i, 124, 201, 202, 283; account of, i, 124 n.; and the Repeal of the Test, i, 124 n., 126 n., 131, 138; and the Presbyterian Ministers at Drogheda, i, 126 n.; and Addison, i, 131, 140; his profligacy, i, 131 n.; iii, 1 n.; politics, i, 131 n., 190, 191 n.; ii, 111; iii, 1 n.; and the First Fruits, i, 140, 146, 148-150, 201, 202, 205, 206 n.; relations with Swift, i, 146, 148, 168, 187, 188, 190, 191, 383; ii, 268; iii, 1 n.; for leanness, i, 165; and Levinge, i, 227; and Harley's Ministry, i, 233 n.; satirized as "Verres" in the *Examiner*, i, 233 n.; and the Dublin civic election, i, 260; attacked in the Addresses from the Irish Houses of Parliament, i, 271 n., 288, 293; and William Crowe, i, 382 n.; and the *Public Spirit of the Whigs*, ii, 129 n.; left out of the Council of Regency, ii, 230, 258 n.; disliked by Anne, ii, 230 n.; Lord Privy Seal, ii, 258 n.; called "Tommy," ii, 275; last illness and death, ii, 275, 276, 278; iii, 1 n.; iv, 468, 470; vi, 244; and Trim, ii, 276; created a Marquis, iii, 1 n.
- Wharton, A Short Character of the Earl of*, i, 148 n., 227 n., 233-235; iv, 38 n.
- Wharton, Ballad on the late Lord*, ii, 421.
- Wharton, Memoirs of Thomas, late Marquis of*, i, 188 n., 198 n.
- Wharton, The Honourable Descent, Life and True Character of the Earl of*, i, 235 n.
- Wheeler, Elizabeth, married to Godwin Swift (I), i, 11 n.; vi, 213.
- Whetham, First Commissioner of Excise, ii, 157.
- Whig and Tory, party cries, i, 38, 58.
- Whimsical or Hanover Tories, ii, 47 n.
- Whiston, William, and the Longitude, i, 324, 325; ii, 186, 197.
- Whitcombe, Dr. John, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, tutor to Lord George Sackville, iv, 297 n.; v, 83; applies for a dispensation to hold his fellowship as well as the living of Louth, v, 123-126, 265.
- White, Swift's debtor, iii, 252.
- White, Mrs., of Cavan, v, 367.
- White of Farnham, iv, 451.
- White, Mrs., of Farnham, iv, 451.
- White, Rev. Newport, his *Elias Bouhereau of La Rochelle*, iii, 200 n.
- White Peruke, The, Maiden Lane, iii, 438.
- White's Chocolate House, v, 436.
- Whitehall, Rev. John, chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough, i, 369 n.
- Whitehead, Jemmy, iv, 468.
- Whiteway, Edward, married to Martha Swift (Mrs. Harrison), iv, 190 n.; v, 261 n.; vi, 217.
- Whiteway, Ffolliott, son of Edward, v, 260 n., 261, 271, 308; vi, 214, 217.
- Whiteway, Mrs. Ffolliott. *See* Swift (Elizabeth).
- Whiteway, John, son of Edward, v, 260 n., 261, 271, 334; vi, 217.
- Whiteway, Mrs. John. *See* Nugent.
- Whiteway, Martha, wife of Edward, daughter of Adam Swift, formerly Mrs. Harrison, her correspondence with Swift, i, vi; restores a book to Swift, iv, 190; her handwriting, iv, 190; account of, iv, 190 n.; vi, 217, 241; erroneously said to have been present at Stella's death-bed, iv, 462; her devotion to Swift during his later years, iv, 462; v, 170, 236, 262, 263, 266, 322, 373, 433; vi, 5, 39, 90, 91, 96, 102, 113, 188, 221, 222; widowed for the second time, v, 170 n.; relations with Sheridan, v, 191, 192, 194, 199, 210, 221, 235, 262, 263, 317, 318, 329-333, 336, 337, 341, 347, 355, 362, 373, 379, 461; vi, 5, 191; her medical skill, v, 260, 262, 271, 272; her children, v, 261; and *see* Harrison, Whiteway (Ffolliott and John); looks after the Deanery in Swift's absence, v, 263, 272, 284 n., 289; and Mrs. Sican, v, 266, 284; illnesses, v, 284; vi, 102, 103, 147-150, 153, 157; celebrates Swift's birthday, v, 288, 289; likes freshly killed meat, v, 289, 290; her son's illness and death, v, 306-310, 312; vi, 155; invited to stay at the Deanery, v, 310; and the *Legion Club*, v, 322, 323; "going to be hanged," v, 323; "eats too much turbot," v, 338; invites John Nicholls to the Deanery, v, 355, 356; dines at the Deanery, v, 355, 356, 358, 378; supposed criticism of Sheridan's presents

- to Swift, v, 364, 365; and Swift's correspondence, v, 365; vi, 191; living in Abbey Street, Dublin, v, 379; vi, 28; said to have ridden in the Curragh Races, v, 380; her friendship with the Richardsons, v, 426; vi, 8, 91, 96-98, 103-105, 108, 117, 120, 154, 155, 159, 160; called Mrs. "Alba Via," v, 461; vi, 5, 25; and Lord Orrery, vi, 2, 64-66, 157; her correspondence with Dr. King, vi, 26-29, 74, 80, 111, 112; and the return of Swift's correspondence with Pope, vi, 94, 95 n., 156, 161, 162, 164-174, 201; and Barber, vi, 96, 97, 113; born at Warrington, vi, 113; recommends Macaulay to Richardson, vi, 116-118, 120, 121; recommends William Swift to Richardson, vi, 120, 121; and Dunkin, vi, 124-126; her troubles, vi, 155; her visit to Swift in his madness, vi, 185, 186; hints to Sheridan to leave the Deanery, vi, 211, 222; death, vi, 217 n.; objects to Swift's "private" funeral, vi, 222, 223; her descendants, vi, 229.
- Whitney, Boleyn, M.P., K.C., on Swift's Lunacy Commission, vi, 182.
- Whitshed, William, Chief Justice in Ireland, Gillespy leases a farm from, ii, 355, 358, 359, 400; account of, ii, 355 n.; iii, 65 n., 116; and the prosecution of Waters, iii, 65, 66, 69, 70, 113, 115, 116, 156, 157; character, iii, 116; his sister married to Justice Farnell, iii, 129 n.; accuses Swift of Jacobitism, iii, 156, 157, 166; discharges the Grand Jury in Harding's case, iii, 226, 229 n.; iv, 121 n.; Chetwode's spite against, iv, 226; illness in Pall Mall, iv, 226; his desire to succeed Brodrick as Chancellor, iv, 226, 227; and Wood's halfpence, iv, 227; compared to Scroggs, iv, 227; his place at Delgany, iv, 288 n.; lashed by Swift in the *Lines on his own Death*, vi, 115.
- Whittingham, Charles, Prebend of Mulhuddart, afterwards Archdeacon of Dublin, ii, 338, 343 n.; v, 380, 381 n.
- Whittle, Mr., shipowner, takes Swift's picture to Mrs. Greenvil, iii, 363; and Lord Bolingbroke's usquebaugh, iv, 47.
- Whitworth, Charles, Earl, plenipotentiary to Russia, iii, 180.
- Whole Duty of Servants, The.* See *Directions*.
- Wicquefort, Abraham de, his *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, ii, 220.
- Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, i, 37 n.
- Wilcocks, Mr., i, 171.
- Wilde, Sir William, his *Life of Swift*, i, x, et passim.
- Wilding, tenant of Sir John Stanley, v, 386, 387.
- Wilford, John, arrested for publishing *An Epistle to a Lady*, v, 59 n.
- Wilkins, John, Bishop of Chester, his *Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching*, etc., i, 286.
- Will. See Geddes.
- William III, i, 56 n., 137 n., 227 n., 389; ii, 15 n., 45 n., 181 n., 290 n.; iii, 110 n.; iv, 285 n.; and Sir Robert Southwell, i, 1 n., 2 n.; in Ireland, i, 1 n., 2 n., 16 n., 23 n., 26 n., 36 n.; ii, 257 n.; his promises to Swift, i, 10 n., 157; iii, 301; his memory insulted, i, 102, 103, 196, 229; his treatment of Ireland, i, 102; and the Church of Scotland, i, 102, 103; and Sir John Germain, i, 110 n.; drinking to his memory, i, 119 n.; and Robert Pringle, i, 135 n.; and Bartholomew Vanhomrigh, i, 299 n.; iii, 455, 456; his grant of the Regium Donum, i, 301; his physician, i, 306 n.; his grants, i, 326 n.; and the Triennial Bill, i, 362 n.; his fatal fall, ii, 3; iii, 345; iv, 46 n., 283; his birthday, ii, 8; and Baron Rochfort, ii, 257 n.; called "Glorious," iii, 14; his landing in England, iii, 120; on the Irish, iii, 271, 272; entertained by Lord Mayor Pilkington, iv, 350 n.; his friendship with Bentinck, v, 80 n.; his chaplain, v, 81 n.; and plovers' eggs, v, 323 n.
- William IV, Prince of Orange, his marriage, v, 35.
- William, Prince, of Cumberland, Gay's *Fables* written for, iii, 295, 296; iv, 183.
- Williams, Edward, Vicar Choral of St. Patrick's, ii, 72, 84, 105, 106.
- Williams, John, Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper, iii, 41.
- Williams, John, Overseer of the Londonderry Society, v, 402.
- Williamson, William, Treasurer of Christ Church, Dublin, v, 382.

- Willis, Browne, Antiquary, iv, 473-475.
- Willis, Richard, Bishop of Winchester, v, 81.
- Willoughby, Mrs. Elizabeth, i, 371 *n*.
- Willoughby, Colonel Francis, i, 371 *n*.
- Willoughby de Broke, George, 4th Lord, Dean of Windsor, v, 466.
- Wills' Coffee house, iv, 391 *n*.
- Wilmington, Earl of. *See* Compton.
- Wilmot, Mrs., iv, 56.
- Wilmot-Chetwode, Mr. Edward, his Correspondence with John Forster on Knightley Chetwode, ii, 298 *n*., 419, 420; iv, 466-473.
- Wilson, Colonel, iii, 434.
- Wilson, Rev. Francis, becomes an habitu  and resident at the Deanery, vi, 150, 153, 157, 170, 195, 221, 225; account of, vi, 150 *n*.; his attack upon Swift, vi, 179-181, 187; accused of stealing Swift's books, vi, 187.
- Wimpole, Lord Harley's seat in Cambridgeshire, ii, 198, *and see* Harley.
- Winchcombe, Frances, first wife of Henry St. John, afterwards Viscountess Bolingbroke, i, 239, 336 *n*.; her property at Bucklebury, ii, 79 *n*., 211 *n*., 239, 305, 331; iv, 75, 250, 320; in London, ii, 313, 314, 326, 327; her friendship with the Duchess of Ormond, ii, 314, 327, 331; seeking indemnity for her estate, ii, 327; her loyalty to her husband, ii, 327; her tenant, ii, 328; death, iii, 23 *n*., 376 *n*.
- Winchelsea, Charles, 4th Earl of, iii, 326 *n*.
- Winchelsea, Countess of, widow of the 4th Earl, married to Rollinson, iii, 326 *n*.
- Winchelsea, Daniel, 8th Earl of. *See* Finch.
- Winchester, Bishop of. *See* Hoadly, Willis.
- Winder, Colonel Cuthbert, i, 23 *n*.
- Winder, Edward, son of John, iv, 282 *n*.
- Winder, Elizabeth, daughter of John, married to George Macartney, iv, 282 *n*.
- Winder, F.A., his *Winders of Lorton*, i, 23 *n*.
- Winder, Jane, daughter of John, married to Rev. Edward Benson, iv, 282 *n*.
- Winder, Rev. John, son of Cuthbert, Swift's successor at Kilroot, i, 22-30; account of, i, 23 *n*.; iv, 281 *n*.; solicits Swift for preferment, iv, 281, 282.
- Winder, Mrs. John, i, 26, 28, 29.
- Winder, Peter, son of John, iv, 282 *n*.
- Windsor, the Court at, i, 218, 274-278, 288, 331-346; ii, 2 *n*., 57, 79; iv, 29; the canonry of, ii, 21 *n*.; Marlborough Lodge at, ii, 253; iv, 391 *n*.; Swift and Vanessa at, iii, 132, 137, 314, *and see* Vanhomrigh (Esther).
- Windsor Forest, iii, 312 *n*., 340.
- Windsor Prophecy, The*, i, 319 *n*.; ii, 212 *n*.; v, 39.
- Wine, made in England and Ireland, i, 58; compared with Ale, i, 100; French, Spanish, and Portuguese, v, 440, 441.
- Winnington, Harriet, daughter of Salway, marries the 2nd Lord Masham, v, 411; vi, 30.
- Winnington, Salway, v, 411; vi, 30.
- Winstanley, William, his *Poems*, iv, 168 *n*.; v, 337 *n*.
- Winter, Rev. Sankey, Archdeacon of Killala, afterwards Dean of Kildare, proposes to Vanessa, iii, 34 *n*., 57 *n*., 461.
- Withers, Sir William, M.P. for the City of London, ii, 202; vi, 60.
- Wodsworth's Foundling Hospital, iv, 344 *n*.
- Wogan, Charles, sends Swift his writings to correct and publish, iv, 327-331, 391-393; v, 439; account of, iv, 327 *n*.; his condemnation of humorous poetry, iv, 330, 391; Swift sends him books, iv, 331, 392; setting out on an expedition against the Moors, iv, 391; acquaintance with Pope, iv, 391; sends Swift some Spanish wine, v, 440; asks for Swift's *Works*, v, 440.
- Wokingham, iii, 312 *n*.
- Wolf, *The*, a sloop of war, i, 158, 159.
- Wollaston, William, confused with Woolston, vi, 115.
- Women, The education of, v, 95, 96.
- Wonder of all the Wonders, The*, iv, 360 *n*.
- Wonderful Wonder of Wonders, The*, iii, 125 *n*.; iv, 360 *n*.
- Wood, Mr. Herbert, on Addison, i, 188 *n*.
- Wood, William, his patent for coining halfpence in Ireland, iii, 191-195,

- 214, 216, 224, 239, 288, 345; iv, 24 *n.*, 214; v, 64; vi, 27; verses on, iii, 226; the Grand Jury on, iii, 226 *n.*; his patent cancelled, iii, 266; his project for making iron from pit coal, iv, 150.
- Wood Park, Ford's residence, iii, 61; *and see* Ford.
- Woodbrooke, Chetwode's residence near Portarlinton, ii, 244; *and see* Chetwode; illustrated, iv, 80, 160.
- Woodcocks, i, 64, 67.
- Woodlands, illustrated, v, 295.
- Woodman, Mr. Charles Bathurst, and the Correspondence between Swift and Motte, iii, 330 *n.*, 331 *n.*
- Woodnoth, Mr., iv, 473.
- Woodward, ii, 364.
- Woodward, Dr. John, geologist, i, 153, 154 *n.*
- Woolly, Sheridan's agent, v, 453.
- Woolston, Thomas, confused with Wolleston, vi, 115.
- Wooton, John, artist, iii, 439, 440.
- Worcester, Bishop of. *See* Hough, Stillingfleet.
- Wordsworth, William, on Mrs. Finch's *Poems*, i, 135 *n.*
- Worrall, Rev. John, Dean's Vicar at St. Patrick's and Vicar Choral at Christ Church, i, 4 *n.*; ii, 74, 75, 240 *n.*, 317, 404; iii, 236, 265, 317, 327, 331, 332, 402, 418, 419; iv, 47, 48, 54; recommended to Swift by Stearne, ii, 103; and the lease to Lord Abercorn, ii, 113, 114; relations with Swift, iii, 98 *n.*; vi, 225, 226; his heir, iii, 99; at Dunleary, iii, 99; lets his house to Mrs. Dopping, iii, 99; his new house, iii, 99; his assistance to Swift in the business with Captain Pratt, iii, 241, 251, 252; and the *Drapier's Humble Address*, iii, 247, 266; and Stella, iii, 252, 317, 318, 322, 327; iv, 461; and Naboth's Vineyard, iii, 252, 305; iv, 44; has gout, iii, 263, 264; at Quilca, iii, 263; his temperance and love of walking, iii, 263; buys beer for Swift, iii, 264; asked to get a picture out of the Customs, iii, 305; living in Big Sheep Street, iii, 319, 400; and Swift's license, iii, 327, 410, 416, 419; and the *Intelligencer*, iv, 54; plays backgammon, iv, 61, 62; v, 50; Bettesworth follows Swift to his house, v, 53 *n.*, 55; Sheridan sends him venison, v, 210; signs the register of Swift's death, vi, 190.
- Worrall, Mrs. John, iii, 99, 100, 266, 305, 419; iv, 57; and Stella, iii, 253, 327; dislikes the country, iii, 264; makes Swift two nightcaps, iv, 48; able to make Swift hear, iv, 54; plays backgammon with Swift, iv, 62; v, 38, 50; and Sheridan, v, 50, 208; and Bettesworth's quarrel with Swift, v, 55; death, vi, 225.
- Worrall, Mrs., of Leicester, iii, 98 *n.*
- Worsdale, James, painter, and the Pilkingtons, v, 46 *n.*; and the Hell Fire Club, vi, 70, 71.
- Worsley, Frances, Lady, wife of Sir Robert, granddaughter of Viscount Weymouth, i, 144 *n.*; ii, 41 *n.*; iii, 233; iv, 406; v, 7 *n.*, 69, 142, 429; gives Swift a writing cabinet japanned by herself, iv, 146, 223, 332, 333, 355, 356; vi, 229; a great-grandmother, iv, 145, 333, 356; her amusements, iv, 145; professes to be jealous of Patty Blount, iv, 333, 356, 357; her dislike of the Isle of Wight, iv, 333; her kindness to Mrs. Barber, iv, 333, 357; v, 390; and the *Polite Conversation*, v, 390.
- Worsley, Frances (2), daughter of Sir Robert, afterwards Lady Carteret, i, 144; iii, 191 *n.*; iv, 2, 357, 406; v, 14, 15, 69, 89, 142, 146, 429; vi, 75; her beauty, i, 144; iv, 145, 146; account of, i, 144 *n.*; friendship with Mrs. Fitzmaurice, iii, 233; in Ireland, iii, 233, 234, 286; Swift's guest in Naboth's Vineyard, iii, 234 *n.*; the "best Queen of Ireland," iv, 145; gives Swift a tea-caddy of her own work, iv, 146, 223, 332, 356; talent for writing, iv, 165; at Bath, iv, 172; v, 391.
- Worsley, Henry, brother to Sir Robert, Ambassador to Portugal, ii, 71; Governor of Barbadoes, iv, 146, 223, 357.
- Worsley, Sir Robert, i, 144 *n.*; ii, 71 *n.*; iv, 146, 357; his place in the Isle of Wight, iv, 172, 223, 333; miscalled "Lord," vi, 75.
- Worth, Dr. Edward, iii, 158, 201 *n.*; account of, iii, 158 *n.*
- Worth, John, Dean of St. Patrick's, ii, 74.
- Wright, William, merchant, iii, 347.
- Wright, Rev. William Ball, his *Ussher Memoirs*, v, 452.

- Wycherley, William, his *Plain Dealer*, iii, 48; deathbed, iii, 295; his relations and correspondence with Pope, iii, 295; iv, 116, 396; vi, 172; and Chetwode, iv, 292; his father, iv, 416; and Swift, v, 396, 466.
- Wycombe, i, 268 *n.*
- Wykes, John, M.P. for Northampton, moves to tack the Place Bill on the Civil List Bill, ii, 231.
- Wyndham, Lady Catherine, wife of Sir William, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, iv, 221, 451.
- Wyndham, Percy, afterwards Lord Thomond, son of Sir William, iv, 276.
- Wyndham, Thomas, Lord, Chancellor of Ireland, v, 460; his judgement in the suit of Stewart *v.* Stewart, iv, 63, 64; account of, iv, 63 *n.*; and Sheridan, v, 156, 343, 360; friendship with Swift, v, 156 *n.*, 302 *n.*; Irish sympathies, v, 156 *n.*; dines with Lord Mayor Somerville, vi, 206.
- Wyndham, Sir William, Secretary of War, 24 *n.*; his patronage of Diaper, ii, 24 *n.*, 25; Chancellor of the Exchequer, ii, 194, 202; Harley's quarrel with, ii, 195; relations with Bolingbroke, ii, 214 *n.*, 277; iii, 353; opposes the payment of the Hanover troops, ii, 236; recovering from illness, iii, 283, 284; iv, 16; at Bath, iii, 284; relations with Swift, iii, 350; iv, 16, 17, 21, 22, 72, 302; with Pulteney in opposition, iii, 350 *n.*; iv, 273; vi, 30, 38; of the Brothers' Club, iii, 350 *n.*; entertains Gay, Arbuthnot and Lewis, iv, 16; his house burnt down, iv, 221 *n.*; at Dawley, iv, 221 *n.*; grief at his wife's death, iv, 221 *n.*; at Amesbury, iv, 270, 273; his legacy from Disney, iv, 276; marries Lady Blandford, vi, 30, 38; his eldest son, vi, 31.
- Wyndham, The Case of Sir William*, ii, 421, 422.
- Wynne, Dr. John (1), Bishop of Bath and Wells, quarrels with his Chancellor, v, 282, 283.
- Wynne, Dr. John (2), sub-dean of St. Patrick's, vi, 179 *n.*, 220, 221.
- Wynne, Sir Rowland, his petition against Sir Miles Stapylton, v, 345.
- Wynne, William, Serjeant, author of the *Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins*, iv, 472, 474.
- Wyon, F. W., his *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, i, 44 *n.*, *et passim.*
- Xenophon, iv, 78.
- Xiphilinus, i, 154 *n.*
- Yahoo's Downfall, The, or the Kevin Bail's New Ballad*, v, 120 *n.*
- Yalden, Dr., his confession, v, 215.
- Yarmouth, Countess of, George II's mistress, vi, 90.
- Yarn, Irish, i, 141, 248, 273; and see Weavers.
- Yarner, William, i, 55 *n.*
- York, Archbishop of. See Dawes, Dolben, Frewen, Hay, Matthew, Melton, Sharp.
- York, Duke of. See James.
- York Buildings, Harley's house in, ii, 12, 13, 32.
- Yorke, Charles, on Swift's lunacy, vi, 180 *n.*
- Yorkshire, Swift's connection with, ii, 152.
- Yorkshire Petition, The, v, 345.
- Young, Edward, author of *Night Thoughts*, pensioned by the Duke of Wharton, iii, 1, 150; censured for want of gravity, iv, 330, 331; his metre, v, 162.
- Young Gentleman lately entered into Holy Orders, A Letter to a*, iii, 75.
- Young Lady, A Letter to a Very*. See *Very*.
- Young Poet, A Letter to a*, iv, 329 *n.*
- Younger, Dr. John, Dean of Salisbury, ii, 307, 308, 313; iii, 71, 72.
- Zaragosa. See Sarragossa.
- Zeno, iii, 111.
- Zincke, Christian, his portrait of Lord Oxford, iii, 223 *n.*
- Zoroaster, iii, 171.

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